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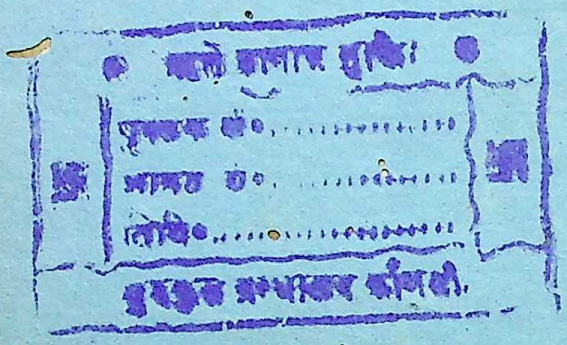


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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1923

PART II.—APRIL

# The Introduction of the Cadmeian Alphabet into the Aegean World in the light of Ancient Traditions and Recent Discoveries

By ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D., late Fellow of the Austrian Historical Institute at the University of Vienna.

(*Continued from p. 73.*)

## III.

## THE GRAECO-EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS ABOUT THE "CADMEAN" COLONIZATION OF THE ÆGEAN DURING THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

### 1. *The Ḥîn-inscription of Cnossus and the Hyksos World-Empire.*

Still more remarkable than all previous results is the exact *chronological coincidence of the new epigraphic finds* with certain hitherto neglected Alexandrian theories about the date of the legendary "Cadmus" and his expeditions to Thasos, Thrace, Boiotia, etc.

As has been mentioned incidentally at the beginning of this inquiry, the greater part of the above-discussed copper ingots have been found in a treasury-vault under the ruins of the looted and purposely burned[1] palace of

[1] Paribeni, l.c., p. 339: "indici, che l'incendio non fu casuale a me sembra che non manchino." The same applies to *all* the large Cretan palaces.



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Hagia Triada. They certainly belong to the period immediately before the great catastrophe which divides in Cnossus, Phæstus, and Hagia Triada the "Middle" and "Late" Minoan periods.

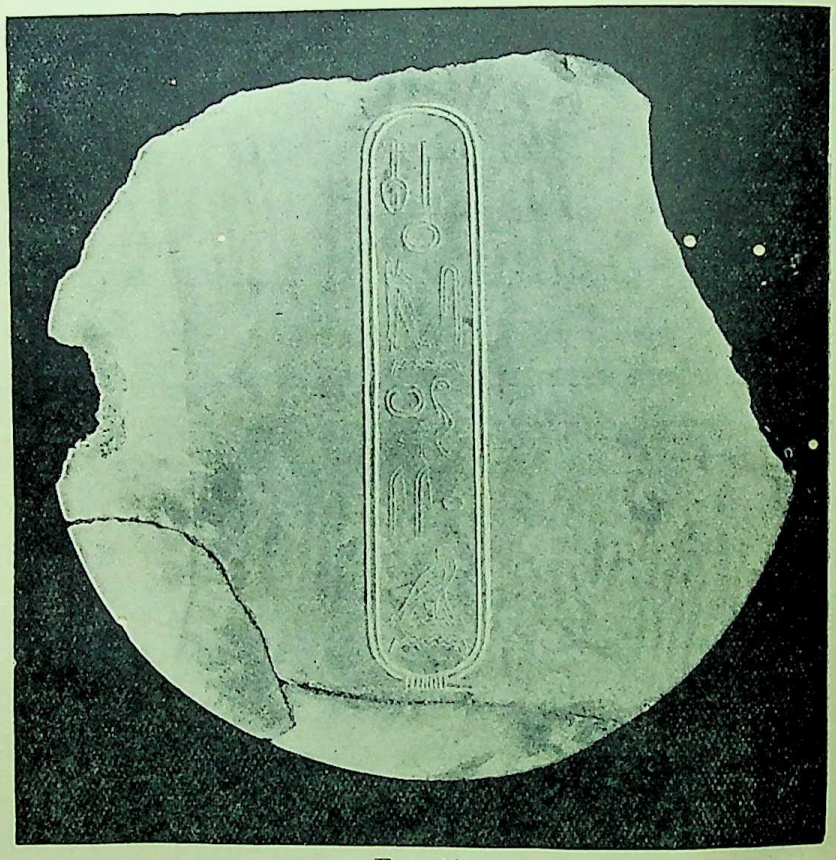

FIG. 10.
*(By kind permission of the British School of Athens.)*

Now the date of this great break in the history of "Minoan" culture is synchronically well defined by the discovery of the invaluable *alabaster* lid (fig. 10) with the names and titles of the Hyksos king, *Σίααν* or *'Ιάννας* (*'nṯr nfr Śwśr n-R' sꜣ R' Ḫꜣꜣn'*) which lay, as Sir Arthur Evans[1]

[1] Scripta Minoa, Oxford, 1906, p. 30. Cf. Evans, Ann. Brit. School of Athens, vii, p. 65, fig. 21. Griffith, Egypt. Expl. Fund, Archæol. Rep. 1900–1, pp. 37 f. Heyes, Bibel und Ägypten, Münster, 1904, p. $72_1$. v. Bissing, Anteil d. ägypt. Kunst. am Kunstleben der Völker, Munich, 1912, p. 34.

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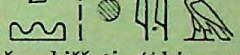
has it, "exactly on the confines between the middle and late Minoan periods." On the other side the Horus-name,

*inḳ iḏb.w*, "embracer of coasts" (or "lands"; the last ideogram may also be read *ṯ3.w*)—probably imitated from the Babylonian titles *šar kibrâti*[1] and *šar matâti*[2]—of this king, his title *ḥḳ ḫ3św.t*, "lord of the (desert, or foreign, or mountain) lands,"[2] together with the world-wide dispersion of his monuments, which have been found—not to mention the Cnossus ointment vase—from Gebelên, near the Nubian frontier, to Bubastis in the Delta, in the South Palestinian town Gezer,[3] and in the neighbourhood of Bagdad,[4] have lead Professor Breasted[5] to believe in the existence of a great world-empire of this conquering king extending over the whole of Syria and over the islands of the Ægean.

This theory, which has been accepted by Sir Arthur

[1] *Kibru* = "bank of a river", "shore of sea"; *kibratu*, "region, territory," Muss-Arnold, 367 f.

[2] Title given to the Pharaoh in the Amarna letters by the Palestinian princes, e.g. No. 83, Kundtzon; *mat*, akkad. "land" is written with the same ideograph "mountains" as *hśw·t*. *Ḫian* as *ḥḳ hśwt*, Budge, Book of Kings, London, 1908, i, p. 100;  *ḥḳ ḫ3św·t Ḫi3n*. The Old Babylonian title *šar kiššati*, "king of the universe," is applied in the Egyptian form *nb-rḏr*, "lord of the universe" (*δυναστὴς τοῦ ὅλου*, Diod., i, 53), to King Senwosret I in the so-called "instructions" of Amenemmes I (Sethe, Untersuch. z. Gesch. Äg., ii, 1, 16). Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 73, 1919, p. 73, n. 1.

[3] PEFQST., 1904, 225, Macalister, Gezer., i, 253; ii, 316.

[4] Révue Archeol., Nouv. Ser. iv, 1861, pp. 210, 256.

[5] Hist. of Egypt, New York, 1905, pp. 266 ff.

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Evans,[1] by Eduard Meyer,[2] and by Rudolf Kittel,[3] but criticized on account of the "rather slight foundation for such a superstructure" by James Baikie,[4] has quite recently received considerable support from Dr. Emil Forrer's valuable observation,[5] that there exists *both in the records of Ḫattusaš (Boghazkeui) and in the Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform monuments an entire lack of written documents* extending over more than three centuries, and *corresponding chronologically with the Hyksos period in Egypt.* As it is difficult to believe in so

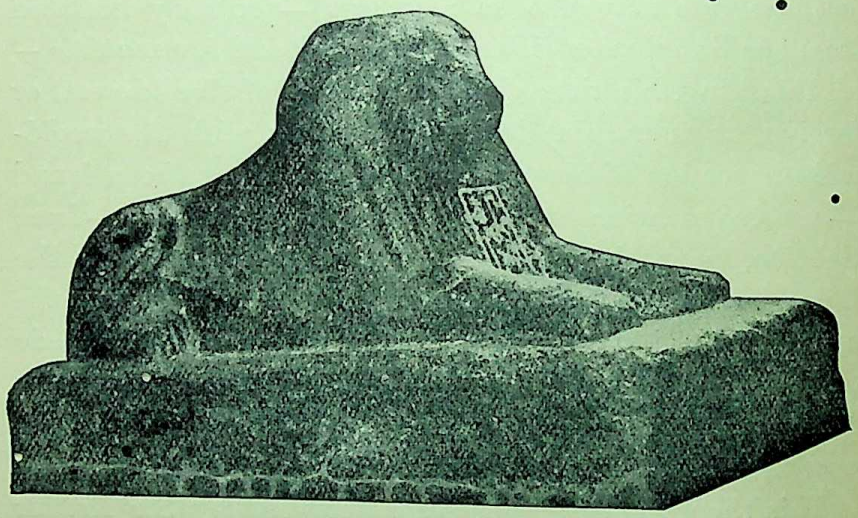

FIG. 11.

*(By kind permission of the British Museum.)*

long and absolute an interruption of all intellectual life even under the sway of harsh foreign rulers, especially since in Egypt itself no such break of literary activity was caused by the alien irruption, I should prefer to explain the fact by the very simple hypothesis that under the supposed

[1] Scripta Minoa, p. 30. See, however, "Palace of Minos" (1921), p. 121.

[2] Gesch. d. Alt.[2] I 2, p. 716.

[3] Gesch. Volk. Israel. i, [3], p. 93.

[4] Enc. Rel. Eth., vol. iv, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 890*b*, art. "Hyksos".

[5] Unpublished lecture of the 2nd of March, 1920, before the Oriental section of the Munich Anthropological Society.

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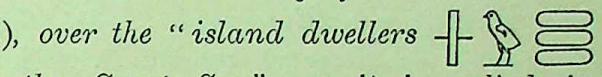
Egypto-Phœnician rule over the whole of Western Asia, the old Babylonian custom of writing on clay-tablets was temporarily superseded *by the exclusive use of perishable papyrus-documents* under the influence of the Egyptian administration and bureaucracy during the alleged Hyksos world-empire.[1]

As a matter of fact, the *two great catastrophies*, the traces of which are so clearly visible on the remains *of all the large Cretan palaces*, and which are dated somewhere about ± 1800 and ± 1400 B.C. by Sir Arthur Evans, *coincide* in a very satisfactory way *with the alleged world-empire of the Hyksos*, "embracer of coasts" (± 1700 B.C.) and *with the victory of Thutmosis III* (1501–1447 B.C.), *over the "island dwellers*  *inj·w iw·w of the Great Sea"*, as it is called in Ammon's panegyric upon that king on the famous stele of Karnak.[2]

2. *A Neglected Fragment of Conon on a Phœnician Dynasty ruling over Egypt and Western Asia.*

It has, moreover, been overlooked by most modern Egyptologists[3] that *Professor Breasted's world-empire of the Hyksos and its Ægean extension was presupposed also by a number of Alexandrian scholars*, both Egyptian and Greek, who had every opportunity of consulting the native records in the great Ptolemaic library, and who *connect these traditions with the legends about Cadmus* in such a manner that we are forcibly reminded of the above-stated chronological coincidence of the Cnossian

[1] This would be analogous to the use of papyrus (with Aramean alphabetic writing) and parchment in the chancery of the Persian world-empire.

[2] The historicity of this Ægean expedition of Thutmosis III is questioned for entirely insufficient reasons by the extremely prejudiced Professor R. v. Lichtenberg, MVAG., 1911, 2, p. 7.

[3] See, however, Maspéro, Hist. Anc. des Peuples d'Orient, p. $162_3$. Pietschmann, Gesch. d. Phöniz.; Berlin, 1889, pp. 251–2.

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*Hian* inscription with our early Phœnician *Καδμήια γράμματα* on the copper ingots of Hagia Triada and with the first conflagration and sacking of all the Cretan palaces.

The most important of these texts is a fragment of the Greek mythologist Conon,[1] a contemporary of Mark Antony, concerning the colonization of the island of Thasos, where Herodotus still admired the great Phœnician gold-mines and smelting-places of *Κοινούρα* and *Αἰνούρα*,[2] —by the legendary homonymous brother or companion of Cadmus: *Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες τότε μέγα τι (ὡς λόγος) ἴσχυον καὶ πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι τὸ βασίλειον ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις εἶχον, σταλῆναι δὲ Κάδμον οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνές φασι κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης . . . ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ μηχανώμενον πλάττεσθαι . . .* This is a very plain statement that—according to a certain tradition (*λόγος*)—there was a time when the *Phœnicians were somehow a great power, and having overthrown a great part of Asia, ruled over it from their royal residence in Thebes, of Upper Egypt*, and that precisely at that time *one of their princes set out to conquer Europe*, that is, the Ægean, "westland." As the tradition (*λόγος*), quoted by Conon, is obviously a polemic against the current Greek view of the story (*. . . οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνές φασι . . .*), it must be the local tradition of some non-hellenic place or the opinion of some barbarian *λόγιος ἀνήρ*—in this case quite patently of an Egyptian priest or scholar, just as the numerous parallel tales quoted in opposition to Greek myths from Heliopolitan or Memphian authorities by Hecatæus or Herodotus. Since a *λόγος* about *Phœnician kings residing in Upper Egypt and ruling, not only over the Nile valley, but also through a great part of Asia*, can refer only to the period of *the Hyksos dynasty*, we have to look out for

[1] In Photios, Bibl. λζ.

[2] See above, p. 63 f., n. 4.

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it among the various traditions of the Ptolemaic age concerning the dynasties between XII and XVIII of the Manethonian series. As a matter of fact Julius Africanus and Eusebius of Cæsarea,[1] in their excerpts from Manetho, call the Hyksos (dyn. xv) *Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς*, while Josephus,[2] omitting these words, only says that "*others call them Arabs*" (*τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι*)[3]. The difference is easily understood if we remember that Josephus says expressly that he himself used several occasionally diverging manuscript editions of Manetho.[4] Whether these divergencies are due to Manetho himself, who may have re-edited his book more than once, or to later editors,[5] is of minor importance; the essential is that the significant detail accords so perfectly with the quotation from Conon. As we know for certain that Manetho[6] went considerably out of his way in order to work such heroes of Greek pseudo-historic legend as Danaus and *Αἴγυπτος* into the trend of his Egyptian history—he

[1] In Syncell. ed. Bonn., i, pp. 113 ff. Cf. Euseb. Præp. Ev, x, 13. Chron., i, 157.

[2] Contra Apionem, i, 14.

[3] See Polyaen, viii, 4. *Ἄμασις* (= Ahmose Dyn., 18) *ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄραβες πολέμῳ*. Cf. below, p. 199, on Apollodor *περὶ νεῶν*. The native Egyptian texts call the Hyksos *ʿȝm·w* (= עֲמִים). Cf. the Benê 'Ammi, Gen. xix, 38, or 'Ammôn (cuneiform Ammân), "*the* people," or *walad 'Amm*, the national name of the South Arabian *Katabān*, or *Mnṭj·w*, that is (*Ἄραβες*) *Μαννεῶται*, a tribe mentioned, according to the Arabian historian Uranios, in Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μάννεως*. Cf. also the Arabian traditions about an *'Amaleqite* or *'Adaean* dynasty of Egypt, residing in *Awar*, Caussin de Perceval, Hist. Ar., i, 7–13. Yaqîdi, Expugn. Aeg. ed. Hamaker, p. 41, 60 ar. Tabari, Chron., i, pp. 209 f., 261 f. Abulfeda, Hist. Anteisl., pp. 30, 70, 100.

[4] After explaining *Ὑκουσσως* (*ḥḳ·w ȝšȝs·w*, vulgar contortion of *ḥḳ·w ḫȝśw·t*) as *βασιλεῖς ποιμένες*, he quotes from another copy (*ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ*) the explanation *αἰχμάλωτοι* (*ḥȝḳ·w*). Cf. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes[7], iii, 530, n. 66 (Leipzig, 1909). Ed. Meyer, Äg. Chronol., pp. 71 ff.

[5] Ed. Meyer, Äg. Chronol., pp. 73 ff., would not attribute to Manetho himself the identification of the Hyksos with Phœnician kings.

[6] Joseph c. Ap. i, 15, 26. F. H. G. Müller, ii, 573 [50]. Euseb. ap. Sync. chron., pp. 135 f., 293, ed. Dindorf.

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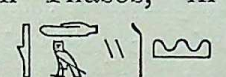
identifies them with Armais (*Ḥoremḥeb*) and *Ra'messes* (*I*)[1] or *Sethos* (*I*)—I have no doubt that he took quite as much trouble for the even more important figure of Cadmus, and that we have in Conon nothing else but *Manetho's version of the Cadmus-legend.*

### 3. *Κάδμος and Ἀγήνωρ as Egyptians and the Ethnic Names of the Hyksos Princes.*

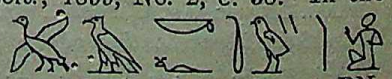
As a matter of fact, there is no difficulty in reconstructing the possible rationalistic theories of an Egyptian scholar about the *Κάδμος*-legend. Even as in Greece, where the *personal name Κάδμος* is not unfrequently met with—for instance, in Thasos,[2] in Kos,[3] in Miletos[4]—the personal name  *Ḳdmî*, "Eastman," "Easterling," (above, p. 64, n. 3), occurs in Egyptian documents of the 19th dynasty.[5] It is a typical slave's name like *p3 Kftjw·î*, "the Cretan";[5] *p3 Imrw·(î)*, "the Amorite"; *Irṯw*, "the Arzawa-man"; *Irs3*, "the Alasiote" (Cyprian); *p3 Rwk3*, "the Lukka" (Lycian); *t3-M'ḏ3*, "the Matoi-woman"; *'p3 Nhsî*, "the Nubian" or "Negro" (= פּוּנחם, *φινεες*, LXX); *p3 Ḥ3rw* (= פיכל Gen. xxi, 22) = *the Ḥorite*, *p3 Š3sw*, the Šasu (= Bedawii); *Jwnw*-(OYGIHIH)-*Twrš3*,

[1] Euseb. ap. Sync. Chronogr., 155*b*. Cf. Ed. Meyer, Äg. Chronol., pp. 77, 85. Most probably the often represented hundreds of sons and daughters of Ramses (II)—s. Breasted-Ranke, p. 356—reminded Manethos of the legendary fifty sons of Aegyptus and of the fifty daughters of Danaus.

[2] Rev. Archéol., xii, 1862, 2, pp. 372, 376. Journ. Hell. Stud., viii, 1887, 429, 38.

[3] Herod., 7, 163 f. Suid., s.v. *Ἐπίχαρμος*; Hippocr., cf. 7.

[4] Beside the legendary, possibly pseudepigraphic historian, the son of Pandion, we have K., son of Archelaos of Miletos, Suid., s.v. A Roman public slave K., an executioner in Cæsar's time, Horace, sat., i, 6, 39, is probably also an Ionian Greek.

[5] Account lists on an Ostrakon, Brit. Mus., 5630, Nos. 29558, yellow 5647*b*; see W. M. Müller, Or. Lit. Zeit., 1899, No. 2, c. 38. In the same document occurs the name  *p3 Kftjw-î*, "the Kaphtorite" or "Cretan" = Greek *Κρητῖνος* as PN.

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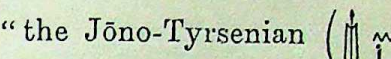
"the Jōno-Tyrsenian  [1], *p-n-Ḥwdʒr* = *he of Ḥazor*; *tʒ-nt Ḥtʒ*, "she of Ḥatti"[2]; *Mḏrî*, "the Muçrite,[3] etc., quite analogous to modern Jew's names like "Lissauer", "Berliner", "Leipziger", "Pariser", "Lemberger", *Torino*, *Milano*, etc.

Now it is very characteristic of the period between dyns. xii and xviii, the so-called Hyksos period, that in it, and almost only in it, such undistinguished "barbarous" slaves' or rather soldiers' names—most probably simply the current popular titles of the chiefs or generals of the respective foreign mercenary regiments who had locally and temporarily usurped the throne—*occur as names*, surrounded with the magic cartouches and pompous titles of Egyptian Pharaohs. We find a "[pʒ] Nḥsî", or "Nḥsî", son of the Sun, king of both South and North Egypt "the Negro"—reminding us of other famous condottiere-tyrants, e.g. of the Roman Emperor Pescennius *Niger*, a Syrian by birth, of the Biblical "Cushan" (="the Ethiopian"), Judg. xxxvii, 1–11, of רשעתים,[4] also a Syrian king of Naharain and of Lodovico *il Moro*—brazenly showing off the boomerang ideogram of the foreigner after his name,[5] a "Son of Re," *p.n.* (*R*)*tn*

[1] W. M. Müller, As. u. Eur., 380, took this to mean: "Our support (column) is (the) Turša." I prefer to think of a compound ethnic like Ἀραβαιγύπτιοι (Ptol., 4, 5, 27; Marc. Heracl. per mar. extr., 1, 11. Συροφοίνιξ, Luk. deor. conc., 4. Ev. Marc. 7, 26. Τυρσηνοὶ Πελασγοί, Soph. ap. Dionys. Hal., 1, 25).

[2] For all these names see Heyes, Bibel u. Äg., pp. 32 f.

[3] Rec. Trav., xiv, 62. Spiegelberg, Z. Assyr., xiii, 52 f. Caspari, ZATW., 1909, xxix, p. 268₂.

[4] This is Rʒ-Šʒtji, the Malaḥite-land (Sinai), Dümichen, Geogr. Äg., 174–8.

[5] Budge, Book of Kings, London, 1908, vol. i, p. 79 (Papyrus Turin, Rec. Trav., xv, 99; Ahnâs, pl. 4, B 1 and B 2). Cf. p. 100, Neḥsi, as "King's son", either the same person or rather his son.

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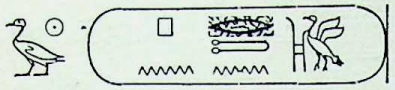
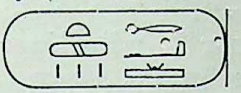
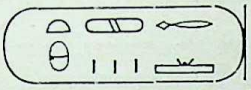
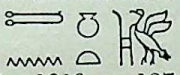

[1] *he of Reḏeneh* = ὁ Ραιθηνός = the Sinaite; a whole dynasty (xvii) of "Nomad" kings[2] reigning in Thebes: *Tꜣw'ꜣ*  *I*, written later also  [3] which is simply תֹּעֶה *Tow'ē*, the "errant" or "vagrant" one, partic. pr. of Hebr. תעה Aram. תעא "to roam", or "to wander about", that is the "Nomad",[4] *at-Tihi*, as we should say in Arabic, with the

[1] Stele of Ḏḥwtj-'ꜣ, Brit. Mus., No. 630. Budge, l.c., i, p. 86, as Pen- . . . then. But the restitution of the on the is quite certain from the determinative of the high-flying bird. See on *Rṯn·w*, variant *Ṯnn·w*  in the Sinuhe story, Eisler, Ḳen. Weihinschr. Freib., 1919, p. $137_5$, where I have first explained the old crucial ethnic of the *Rṯn·w* as that of the ذنة, *Reḏenneh* of the Sinai Peninsula, the 'Ραιθηνοί of Ptolemy, 5, 16, 3. The name was later on—in the New Empire—extended all over "Upper" and "Lower *Reḏenneh*" = Syria (somewhat like the French "Allemagne", which is meant for the whole land up to the Memel, not only for the real south-western Alemanian districts).

[2] Cf. the *Qâdjâr* dynasty reigning till quite lately over Persia, if Father Anastase (*al Machriq*, p. 868 ff.) is right in identifying this family name in its various forms, *Ghadjar*, *Kotchar*, *Katchar*, *Qatchar*, *Ghatchar*, with the Turkish word *cotchar*, "a nomad," which is used from the seventeenth century onwards for the Turkoman, Uzbeg, etc.

[3] See on these names Sethe, Untersuch. z. æg. Gesch., i, Leipzig, 1896, p. 4, n. 2. Sethe has well observed that the name—which would read (quite nonsensically) *tꜣ 'ꜣ* "great bread", if it were Egyptian—is probably non-Egyptian. He supposed syllabic orthography, and therefore transcribed T'. The above-given Semitic explanation is of the greatest historic consequence, because the descendant of these three "Nomad" kings is the very 'A'ḥ-mose who expelled the dynasty of Avaris from Upper Egypt and became the founder of Dyn. 18, which is consequently *by no means an autochthonous house*, but itself a Beduin family of Semitic usurpers. This explains the imperialistic Asiatic policy of the New Empire, the frequent new Semitic loan-words of its language, the Suteš cult of Dyn. 19, etc.

[4] Cf. the Arabian tribe *Tijâha* (sing. *Tîhi*) from Tîh (*Badiet et Tih*, "Wilderness of Wandering") = "Wandering" in the Sinai—the Biblical *'ereṣ nōd*—from תהה "to wander about" = "the erring", "wandering ones". There is also a dialectic variant טעי, טעה "to err about"; from this is derived Talm. טיעא "Arabian nomad".

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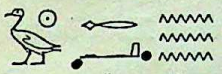
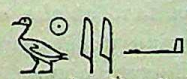
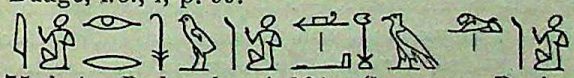
Egyptian pronoun Sḳenjen-Reʿ, "whom Reʿ has made brave," his successor, "the great Nomad". (*Tȝwʿȝ ʿȝ*), with the same Egyptian pronoun Sḳenjen-Reʿ and *Tȝwʿȝ ʿȝ ḳn III* —the "great strenuous Nomad" Sḳenjen-Reʿ, whose mummy, with a badly smashed head, is in the Cairo Museum—all of them obviously very proud of their Bedawîn origin.[1]

Finally there is a prince and "Son of Reʿ" called *ʿȝmw* = "ʿAmmw," the "Ammonite" or "Ammite".  [2] — *ʿȝmw* being written in an affected unusual orthography, comparable to the "philhellenic" orthography "Bayern" (instead of "Baiern") for Bavaria, introduced by King Max I, or to a modern "Smyth", etc. Finally there is an usurper *irsw wʿ Ḥȝrw*[3] = "*Arsawi*, a Ḥarri" (Arsawi = "man of Arzawa" in the South of Asia Minor) in the later interregnum between Merneptah and Setnekht.

If Manethos treats "Cadmus"—as he seems to do according to Conon's above-quoted text—as an Egyptian prince of the "Phœnician" (Hyksos) dynasty of Thebes, he may well have done so, for all we know, with respect to some not yet rediscovered native document mentioning a petty king or prince of that period named *Ḳdmî*, even as the slave above (p. 176, n. 5). He *has* actually recorded in his list of Hyksos kings a certain *Παχναν*,[4] that is,

[1]  *Iʿnu*, Budge, l.c., i, 99, may be יַעֲנִי *jaʿenu*, "desert-dweller" cf. Arab. *waʿnah*, "desert."

[2] Budge, l.c., i, p. 99.

[3]  Great Harris Pap., Pl. 75, l. 4. Budge, l.c., i, 194. Gressmann-Ranke, Texte u. Bilder z. Alt. Test., p. 250. See, however, Weill, Journ. As. sér. x, vol. xvi, 1910, p. 285.

[4] The article is justified if the name is an Ethnic one, but to Egyptian proper names of kings Manethos never adds the *pȝ* at the beginning. W. M. Müller's idea, MVAG., 1898, iii, 123$_2$, that Παχναν could be the name *ʿȝ-ḳnn-Rʿ* of Apophis I without the *Rʿ* at the end and with the article at the beginning is very hazardous.

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apparently, *pꜣ Knʿnỉ*, "the Canaʿanæan," a name which has not yet been found on any native monument.

In Josephus, l.c., the name reads Ἀπαχνᾶς, and it is quite possible to see in the initial Ἀπ with W. M. Müller, l.c., a remnant of an original Απ(ωφίς)παχνᾶς, the copyist having inadvertently jumped from the first π to the second; and although I cannot believe that χνᾶς or αχναν could be an adequate rendering of *ʿꜣ ḳnn Rʿ*, it is yet quite possible that Παχνᾶν is really Ἀπωφις *ʿꜣḳnn Rʿ* (ʿAáḳnon Reʿ), for we have the remarkable statements: (1) that Χνᾶς *is the native* Phœnician name of the Tyrian Ἀγήνωρ, *the father of Cadmus*, Phoinix, etc. (Chœroboscus, a late grammarian, 6th cent. A.D., but with excellent old sources, ap. Bekk. anecd. 1181, 20; Etym. Magn., 635, 30), and (2) that *this* Ἀγήνωρ father of Cadmus *ruled in Egypt*, first in *Memphis*, then in *Thebes*, which corresponds to the above-quoted passage of Konon, and with the real historical progress of the Hyksos invaders, and emigrated thence to Assyria[1] (Nonnus of Panopopolis

[1] This is a feature of the greatest interest, because it corresponds remarkably with a detail in Manethos' Hyksos-story (Fragm. Hist. Gr., ii, 566), which has been considered hitherto as a pronounced anachronism. The Phœnician invaders are said to have built Avaris as a frontier fortress against the *Assyrians*, "who were a great power at that time" (the same phrase as in Konon, *μέγα τι ἰσχυον*, above, p. 174 !). We know now, from the new Assur-finds, that as a matter of fact at the end of the 11th and during the 12th dynasty the Assyrian world-empire extended to the frontiers of Egypt. Sargon I (E. Forrer: about 2150 or 2180 B.C.) of Assyria built bridges (*tiṭurri*) and a "front-work" or "frontier structure" (*šikittu pûti ḫarran* $^{mat}$*Meluḫa*) for the "road of the land Meluḫa" (=Sinai and *au-delà*), and Šamši-Adad (I., Weidner, A.D. 1852–1860) again pushed forward the Assyrian frontier to the Lebanon and the Mediterranean coast. Canaʿan and Phœnicia *were Assyrian* provinces at that time and the independence of Egypt was threatened by the old Assyrian world-empire. It is this period which established the dominance of the cuneiform script and the Akkadian language in the diplomatic correspondence of Western Asia and Egypt, which can be traced back to Dyn. 12 (W. M. Müller, OLZ., iv, 1901, 8; MVAG., 1912, xvii, 3, p. 8, n. 2).

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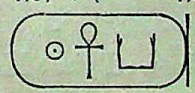
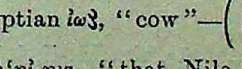
*in Egypt*, 4th cent. A.D., Dionys. 3, 2979).[1] It is therefore quite possible that Manetho may have, for the purpose of his theory about Cadmus, identified the Egyptian king *Ἀπ(ωφις) Πάχναν* (=the Cananite), ʿAa-ḳenon-Reʿ, with the legendary Tyrian *Ἀγήνωρ*, especially as the inscription Mariette mon. div. 38, stating that "Suteš of Avaris set all the lands under ʿA'akenon Reʿs soles", seems to prove that this king also ruled over an empire such as the Konon-Manetho text attributes to the Phœnicians.

Most probably the qualification of the Hyksos kings as *Φοίνικες βασιλεῖς* and as *Ἄραβες* is based in the main on a correct interpretation of such kings' names as *Παχναν* "the Cananite", *p n Rṯn*, "the Reḏenneh" or "Raithenite", *Tꜣw*ʿꜣ "the Nomad", *ʿꜣmw* the "Ammite". Just as *Rṯn·w* is in the New Empire simply a name for Canaʿan and Syria, so could Manetho take *Ḳdmâ* as another name for Phœnicia, as the land "*east*" of Egypt, especially since *Ḳedmâ* is connected with *Kpnî* in the classical Sinuḥe story, and since he may have understood (just as Gardiner in his recent edition) *Kpnî* = Gabalitis-[2] Gebaleńe as being the well known *Kpnî* = Byblos.

[1] Nonnus has throughout used good old Alexandrian sources. The tradition connecting Κάδμος and his father Ἀγήνωρ with the Nile-land goes back to Pherecydes of Athens (age of Herodotus), who makes Ἀγήνωρ marry a daughter of the Nile (FHG., i, p. 83) who begets Κάδμος. She is called Ἀγχιρόη (var. Ἀγχινόη, Ἀργιοπή), which could easily be read as Egyptian  *ʿanḫ kꜣ R*ʿ, or *ʿanḫ ḥʿj R*ʿ, a name occurring in different dynasties. In Schol. Il., 1, 42, "Agenor" is a descendant of the cow-heroine Ἰώ—which is Egyptian *iwꜣ*, "cow"—  and of her son Ἔπαφος, which is *ḥʿpi-pw*, "that Nile," or *ḥpj-pw*, "that Apis-" bull. Schol. Eur. Phœn., 247: Phoinix (=Χνᾶς (nom.), above) and Agenor are both sons of Ἰώ; Iō's father, the river-god Ἴναχός is *inj ꜣḫ·t*, "the bringer of inundation."

[2] See Ḳen. Weihinschr., p. 138, note to 137$_6$.

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### 4. *Śwśr-n-R' Ḫîsn and the Asiatic Campaign of "Σέσωστρις".*

So far the native documents agree very well with the Conon-tradition of the rule of a Phœnician dynasty in Memphis and Egypt. But were there ever native Egyptian traditions of an Asiatic and even Ægean empire of those Egypto-Phœnician rulers which can account for the most interesting part of the Conon-fragment? Most certainly the statement is *not*, like Professor Breasted's modern analogous hypothesis, based on an archæological collection of the Ḫian monuments dispersed all over the ancient world and corresponding in such a remarkable way with the tradition of a Hyksos world-empire. Did Manetho know any triumphal inscriptions of an Apopy or Ḫian, attributing to *these* kings victories over Asiatic territories and even over the "island dwellers in the Great Green", like those which the Karnak-stele attributes to Thutmosis III, whose royal spouse was a descendant of the Theban "Nomad kings"? I believe we can easily show that in any case such traditions *did exist* and *do* still exist in certain quite well-known Graeco-Egyptian legends—that is *in the legends of Sesostris and of Osiris as conquerors of the Eastern world.*

Ever since Professor Sethe, in his excellent essay on "Sesostris",[1] first investigated the ancient traditions about a world conqueror Σεσωστρις, Σωστρις,[2] *Σεσοωστρις,[3] Σεσοωσις, *Vesoris, or Sevozis,[4] and showed that Herodotus meant by his Sesostris one of the XIIth dynasty kings

[1] Untersuch. z. äg. Gesch., ii, 1, Leipzig, 1900.

[2] Malalas, p. 25, 19 ff., and Suidas, s.v. Σώστρις, Cramer, Anecd., 2, pp. 237, 27, 238, 1. Sethe, p. 8, n. 5.

[3] = "Sesoostris," Ausonius, Ep. 19, 21. But I am not sure whether the Latin *oo* is not simply a graphic device to render Greek ω.

[4] "Vesozis in Justin, Orosius, Jornandes, may be a transposition of *Seoozis or a (minuscular) misreading of Vesoris. See below, p. 191, note, l. 3.

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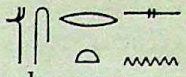
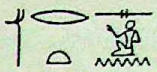
*Senwosrt*  or  [1] S-n-Wśrt,[1] names formerly pronounced *Usertesen* by modern Egyptologists, the puzzling problem has remained unsolved, how the "comparatively insignificant military exploits" of Śn-Wśr-t III [2] could have led to the detailed legend of Sesostris' world-wide conquests, especially in Asia. Besides there remained as a minor formal difficulty the second *sigma* in Σεσωστρις, which Sethe himself calls "inorganic".

The solution of this puzzle is offered in a very simple way by the monuments of Ḫian's world-empire,[3] taken in connexion with the above-quoted Conon (Manetho) fragment as to the Asiatic empire of the Phœnician kings residing in the Egyptian Thebes, if we consider that Ḫian's Egyptian prenomen [3] is: the good god, Son of Re' *Swśr n Re'* "made mighty by Re'." This would

[1] Louvre, C. 14. Sethe, l.c., 7ff. = "Man of (the goddess) Wsrt." This explains the form Σωστρις, for the *n* could be omitted and *S-wśrt* would equally mean "Man of Wśrt". This seems to decide the question of etymology discussed by Sethe, p. 7, l.c.

[2] Sethe's hypothesis that the tradition may have been derived by Herodotus from what he believed to be Sesostrian trophies in Asia and Europe is impossible. This archæologic or epigraphic method may be credited to Professor Breasted, who infers a world-empire of Ḫian from the dispersion of his monuments, but never to Herodotus. The Sesostris-legend must have been as popular wherever Herodotus went as the story of Alexander Dhu'l Karnain (Iskender Rumi) in the whole modern Orient, or he would not have been shown the Hittite rock-inscriptions of Karabeldere and Bel Kaive and countless other monuments as Sesostrian inscriptions. Or if the attribution of these monuments and countless other "Sesostrian columns" was his own idea,—which is quite possible, for he criticizes (II, 106) people who attributed them to Memnon (Ḫumbanumennu of Elam)—he must have known the Sesostris-tale before such an idea could have occurred to him. We must not forget that Herodotus could not read hieroglyphs, nor even distinguish them from "Hittite" script!

[3] Cf. basalt lion of Bagdad, Brit. Mus. 987, our fig.; colossal mutilated sitting statue from Bubastis in Cairo, Budge, Kings, i, 95.

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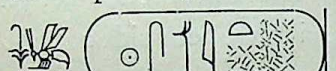
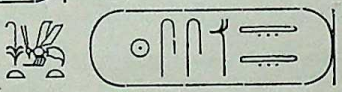
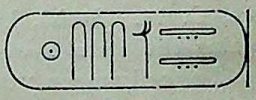
be something like **Susria* in cuneiform, and *it is* nothing else but the great conqueror's name *Σωστρις*, as given by Malalas and Suidas, most certainly after good classical sources.[1] The *n* between the two *r*'s of *Śwśr n R'* would probably be assimilated or blurred[2] in the popular dialects; besides it is syntactically superfluous, as *Swśr R'* would give about the same sense. *στ* for *ś* before *r* would be regular as in Bostra for Boṣra, *Εσδρας* for Eṣra, Asdrubal for "azru-ba'al", *Μεστραιμ* for מיצרים, etc. As to Sethe's "inorganic" second *σ* in *Σέσωστρις*, we have apparently both in the Turin papyrus and in the Karnak tablet[3] two names of the same type and evidently of the same period, of which the latter shows this second *ś*:—

 *Śwśr it(n) R'*, "made mighty by *the disk of Re'*" and  *Śśwśr tꜣwi R'*, (Karnak tablet No. 44, Lepsius, Auswahl) . . . "made mighty of both lands?[4] by Re'" (Turin papyrus, p. 126), and written in Karnak, according to Lepsius,[5] even with three *ś*'s as  . This

[1] See n. 2, p. 182.

[2] Cf. Sethe, l.c., p. 8: "das n war wohl weggefallen, wie das im Aegyptischen öfter der Fall ist."

[3] Budge, Book of Kings, i, 86 f.

[4] Upper and Lower Egypt. Prof. H. Schäfer kindly writes me (20. 4. 21) that neither he nor Sethe have any grammatical explanation to offer either for a form with , , let alone . Could it be a foreigner's barbaric orthography for *sꜣ R' śwśr tꜣwî*, "son of Re', made mighty of both lands" and *sꜣ R' sꜣ śwśr tꜣwi*, "son of Re', son of the one, made mighty over both lands"?

[5] Königsbuch, Taf. xv, No. 33. But see Sethe, Urk. 18, Dyn. iv, 609, : "unmöglich oder eder sondern wie (mś) Bénedite."

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would be in Greek letters, *Σε-σοωσρ-[1]τοι-ρι-ς,[2] and considering with Sethe, l.c., p. 9, that in *wśr* the final *r* may have been worn down at a very early period—as in so many other stems of this kind—to an (*i* or *ȝ*) and that the vowels of τοι may have been toneless. If this name *did* exist—be it even as a scribe's mistake—in certain Egyptian king's lists, *Śeśwośj-tȝwi-Ri* would be the nearest possible approach to Σεσοωστρι-ς that could be imagined.

To sum up: It is easy to see that some rather similar names of dynasty xii and of the Hyksos period have been fused into one or confused, either unintentionally or—much more probably—under the influence of the *damnatio memoriæ* against the Hyksos invaders. *Sn-wśr·t* (dyn. xii) should give regularly *Σενοωσ(τ)ρις with *n*, or Σενοωσις with *n* if the *r* was spoken as a *j* (*wosje*) and the *t* ignored as in Ἴσις, ϵCϵ for Is.t. Both these forms *could easily be mistaken in Greek* for an eventually existing name Σεσοωσ(τ)ρις = *Sswśr tȝwj R'*, or Σεσόωσις, as Diodorus, that is to say, Hecataeus of Abdera, spells the great conqueror's name, especially as the Greeks of Naucratis had a habit of writing their *ny*'s as , indeed, very like their sigma's.[3] *Dropping* the *n*, *Ś-wśr·t* = "man of *Wośret*" would give Σωσ(τ)ρι-ς, that is, almost exactly the same sounds in the spoken language as the etymologically

[1] *o*, the οὖ or ὁ μικρόν of the Greek, is occasionally, as its name shows, a *u*-sign.

[2] For the vowel of *R'* cf. cuneiform *Manachpiria*, *Nimurria*, etc., for *Mn-ḫpr-R'* and *N-m'ȝt-R'*. The form Σεσυρτωσις given by Eratosthenes (Budge, l.c., lxxiv) looks very much as if it had originated through a transposition of the very similar minuscule letters σ and ρ from *Σευοσρτωις, which would perfectly correspond to *Śewśr R' tȝwi*.

[3] See the table of alphabets appended to Larfeld's Handbook of Greek Epigraphics, [3], Munich, 1914. The form Σεσόγχωσις is due to a confusion of the great conqueror with the Pharaoh Sheshonk of Dyn. 22 (cf. Joseph. ant., viii, 10, 2, 3), whose Palestinian expedition is recorded in the LXX, and had therefore to be mentioned and discussed by the native Egyptian historians. Sheshonk (Σούσακος, Joseph., Σεσωγχις, Afric.) is indeed called Sesonchusis-Σεσόγχωσις in Eusebius' quotations from Manetho (Budge, Kings, i, lxx).



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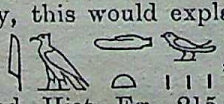
different name *Swśr-n-R'* or *Śwśr-(n)-R'* of *Ḫian*, the "Hyk-sos" whose *basalt-lion* was found near Baghdad, and who, therefore, must have penetrated with his army of Bedouin camel-riders and Cana'anite horse-chariots [1] into the very heart of the Assyrian world-empire. Nothing could be easier for the learned Egyptian priests, whose hatred against the Hyksos is so patent in every word of the Greek traditions about them,[2] than to attribute the military exploits of *Śwśr-n-R' Ḫîʒn* to the older *Ś-n-wśr-t III* of dyn. 12, whenever they discussed this greatest asset of their national "gloire" with their Greek interlocutors. It is by no means necessary to believe in the reality of a gigantic overland expedition of *Śwśr n R' Ḫîʒn* across the Taurus into the heart of Asia Minor and again over the Bosphorus into Scythia. Most probably a prince from the North-Syrian Ja'adi [3] empire of "Sam'al", that is the one

[1] Sethe has well observed (Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss., Gesch. Mitt., 1916, 137$_2$) that the Egyptian name of the horse, *ssm*, is Cana'anite סוּסִים, a dual with the specific Cana'anæan ending *-im*, instead of *-in* (Arabic or Aramean). As the word is probably originally an Aryan one (*açva*), it should be observed that according to Arrian (cf. Suid., s.v. Πάρθοι) the Parthians broke into their later dwelling-lands "at the time of Sesostris, king of Egypt, and of the Scythian king 'Ιανδύσης" (obviously Γανδύσης = Gandiš, the first Kossacan king !).

[2] They did not breathe a word to Herodotus of the whole Hyksos dynasty !

[3] If we may conclude from the name Ḫîʒn (p. 187, n. 1), that the *Ja'adi* or *Ja'udi* יאדי of Samal—mentioned in the Kalamuwa, Hadad, and Panamuwa inscriptions of Sendjirli—played a prominent part in the confederation of Semitic peoples who subdued Egypt and established the "Hyksos" dynasty, this would explain why the Hyksos are regularly called the *i'ʒdt·w*  , the "pestilent" ones (e.g. Pap. Sallier, i, 1 ; Breasted, Hist. Eg., 215 ; Maspéro, Ét. Égyptol., i, p. 198 ; R. Weill, Journ. As., 11 sér., 1913, i, p. 85$_2$ ; cf. Groff, La Malaria, 1891) by the Egyptians ; why the "plague-infected" ones are continually mentioned in all the Greek accounts of the Hyksos period, and why finally the Exodus of the Jews (*Jehudim* יהודים) was brought into connexion with the expulsion of the יאדי *Ja'udi*-Hyksos by all the Hellenistic historians. If the name *Ja'adi*, *Ja'udi* is Semitic, it can easily be explained as "the oppressors" from √אוד or אד, and Egyptian *i'ʒd·t*, "calamity," "oppressor," "plague," may well be the same word.

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place where the name *Ḫaian*[1] has been found again in the genealogy of a ruling family, who had subjected Mesopotamia and ruled over Cana'an and Egypt, and *who had the fleet of the Phœnician towns at his disposition*, could easily frighten most of the Asianic petty kingdoms into voluntary allegiance to his empire and into a revolt against the over-lordship of Ḫattusaš, re-uniting in this way all the land, which had once belonged to the world-empire under the powerful sceptre of Sargon I of Assur (2180–50 or 2000–1982 B.C.) (see above, p. 180, n. 1).

If this Egypto-Phœnician world-empire was thus based to a great extent on the naval power of a Phœnician thalassocracy, Conon's story about "Cadmus" colonizing the mining districts of Thasos and Boiotia, the well-established simultaneous burning of the Cretan palaces, and the contemporary Ḫian inscription of Cnossos are all explained in the simplest way. On the basis of a Phœnician naval supremacy even the apparently fantastic exaggerations of the extent of Sesostris' empire—its extension into Thracia, Scythia—enter into the domain of sober historic probability. Having subdued the Minyan[2] thalassocracy of Crete, the Phœnician galleys would certainly not fail to sail through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and to take up the former sea-trade

[1] Sayce, PSBA, xxiii, 1901, 96; Littmann, SBAW, 1911, 985; Lidzbarski, Eph., 1915, iii, 225. $200_3$.

[2] The Cretan *Minōs*, that is Μίνϝως, is only a different spelling of *Menuwas*, Μίννας, the "Minyan" (Fick, Griech. PN², 429; F. Hommel, Grundr., $68_4$). As PN "Menuas" occurs in the Chaldic inscriptions of Van about 800 B.C. (Hommel, l.c.) and—most characteristically—as a prince "Mnwś from the lands of the Phœnicians", in the Sinuhe story (age of Sesostris I). The Armenian landscape Μιννάς (Nicol. Damasc., cf. Joseph. Antq., i, 3, 6) is mentioned as *Minuaki* in the Gudea inscriptions (statue B, 6, 4). Cf. the Μιννὰς γῆ round Orchomenos, Μίννα in Thessaly, in Phrygia, the island Μινύια between Patmos and Lade with the different islands and towns called Μινῶα.

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of the πλευσάντων κατὰ νάκος Μινυᾶν[1] with the Colchian gold-coast and with the Scythian tribes on the northern shore of the Black Sea.[2] As the Egypto-Semitic pirate-traders established settlements for the exploitation of the gold-mines of Thasos and of the Thracian Pangaion, they certainly garrisoned the gold-coast at the Phasis-delta, where the natives collected the gold-dust of the Caucasian rivers with the famous gold fleeces.[3] Herodotus was apparently quite right where he speaks—from autopsy—of a Sesostrian colony of *circumcized* Egyptian soldiers at the mouth of the Phasis, among them black-skinned, wooly-haired Nubian *Maṯois* and—according to an ingenious observation of Dr. Emil Forrer[4]—also the Shardana mercenaries of the Egyptian army of the New Empire.

6. *The Conquest of King Osiris and the Hyksos King ʿȝ wśr-Rʿ-Βούσιρις.*

Apparently *Swśr n Rʿ Ḥȝn* was not the only great conqueror of the Hyksos dynasty. The inscription of Apophis ʿAḳenon Reʿ, "under whose soles the god of Avaris set all the lands," has been mentioned on p. 181. Most probably the other Apophis, too, ruled over a world-wide empire, for we have in Syncellus' extracts from

[1] Pindar, Ol., 4, 69.

[2] Hence the genealogical connexion of "Cadmus" and "Phoenix" with Phineus of Salmydessos and Φινόπολις.

[3] Strabo, 11, p. 499; Appian, b. Mithr., 103; Plin. n. h. 33, 15.

[4] After speaking of the Egyptian rite of circumcision practised by the Phœnicians and the Egypto-Colchians, Herodotus says (ii, 105): "I will add a further proof of the identity of the Egyptians and the Colchians. These two nations weave their linen in exactly the same way, and this is a way entirely unknown to the rest of the world. . . . The Colchian linen is called by the Greeks Σαρδονικόν." Evidently the hoplites of the Sesostrian army were Shardana, just like Manaḥpiria's most famous lansqenets. In peaceful times, when they "lay low", they may have taught the natives the special technique of Egyptian linen weaving.

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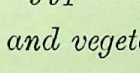
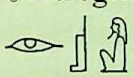
Manetho,[1] the significant words that Sesostris was held second only to "Osiris" by the Egyptians (*ὡς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὄσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι*). This shows that Manetho was already acquainted with the story of the *victorious campaigns* of Osiris throughout the *whole ancient world*, the novelistic development of which is given—not after Hecatæus of Abdera, but possibly after Euhemerus[2] or Leon of Pella[3]—in Diodor., i, $15_{6-8}$–$20_5$, 17 (cf. Plut., de Isid., 13 and 72). This tradition of Osiris as a conqueror[4] and Egyptianizing civilizer of the whole *οἰκουμένη has no foundation whatever in the genuine Egyptian myths about the martyred suffering corn-god and vegetation spirit Osiris,*  , *Wsjr.*

On the other hand the fact that certain Egyptian theologians did not hesitate to derive the name of the god  , Uśiri (also  wꜣśirj) from wśr, "mighty,"

[1] Sethe, l.c., p. 13, cf. p. 3. The fact that Josephus (Antiq., viii, 10, 2, 3) ascribes the Asiatic campaign of Sesostris, as related by Herodotus, to Sheshonk of Dyn. 22 is no reason for doubting with Sethe, l.c., the Manethonian origin of Syncellus' extracts about "Sesostris". For Josephus certainly used other Egyptian sources besides Manetho and certainly several editions of Manetho. The use of the form *Σούσακος*—instead of the Manethonian *Σέσωγχις* or *Σεσόγχωσις*—shows that Josephus has used a Jewish-Egyptian source dependent on the LXX in this place. See also Wiedemann, Theol. Lit. Zeit., 1901, 186 f.

[2] Thus Hiller von Gærtringen in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1076, l. 12. Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Busiris.

[3] *Περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν ἱερὸς λόγος*, Clemens, strom., i, 21; Augustin, Civ. Dei, xii, i; Jacoby in Pauly-Wiss., vi, 968, l. 59. Cf. E. Schwartz, ibid., v, 671, ll. 43–59.

[4] The description of his campaigns is exactly parallel to the description of those of Sesostris. He passes through Æthiopia and Arabia to India's frontiers, through the lands of Asia and over the Hellespont into Thracia. He, too, erects everywhere his inscribed victory-pillars. The tendency of the Hellenistic author becomes transparent where he gives the names of Osiris' two sons—one clad in a dog's, the other in a wolf's skin, who accompany their father as leaders of his army—as Anubis and *Μακέδον* (for the correct wolf-god's name *Wp-wꜣt*, possibly with regard to *mk-t*, "protection") and makes him Osiris' viceroy for Macedonia.

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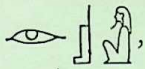
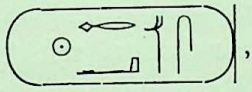
and to translate it with ὄβριμος,[1] "the strenuous one," leads to the simple explanation that the "world-conquering *king* Osiris" is not the *God*  , but a human "good god," , one of the *historic* Egyptian *kings* of the "imperialistic" period, who strove to extend the boundaries of the Pharaonic empire far beyond the realm of the old "nine bows". Now a king, whose name could be transcribed Ὄσιρις or *Usiri*—more correctly *Ἀο-ουσιρι—is the *other* Apophis  , *Wsr R'*,[2] the "Great Mighty Re'".

If this predecessor of *Śwśr n R' Ḥîʒn-Σῶστρις* was an even greater conqueror than the owner of the Baghdad lion, we can understand that *pʒ Ἀο-ουσιρ*, in Greek *Βουσῖρις*,[3] became the one really popular name of a powerful Egyptian ruler with the Greeks.[4] A "name to conjure

[1] Plut. de Is., 37, 43.

[2] Budge, i. p. 93; Rhind. Pap., pl. i; Cairo-door Rec. Trav., xiv, 27, No. xxx; Naville, Bubastis, 22, 35.

[2] Whether the names Παύσιρις and Παύσιρας are *pʒ Usiri* or *pʒ Wśr-t* or *Pʒ Wśr R'* I do not know. The initial B for *pʒ* is analogous to Βούσιρις = *pr Usiri*, the place-name of the four Egyptian towns of this name (Sethe, Pauly-Wiss, iii, 1073 f.).

[4] It has been an egregious mistake of modern historians to follow the opinion of Eratosthenes (Strabo, 17, p. 802) that there never was an Egyptian king or ruler of any kind called Busiris. Even so Herodotus, 2, 45, was misled by his Egyptian informants into denying the possibility of the Busirian human sacrifices (about them see Lefébure, Sphinx, iii, 3, p. 129). Most obviously the legend alludes to the typical representation on the Egyptian triumphal monuments of victorious kings of all ages: the king slaying with his archaic ceremonial weapon, the stone mace, a horde of kneeling prisoners of war of different foreign races, while the god of the temple in question leads a long row of fettered prisoners from vanquished lands and cities towards the king, to whom he presents the sword of victory (Sethe, MVAG., 1916, 316). Especially images referring to the annual feast of "slaying the *Iwntj·w*" (Capart, Rev. hist. rel., 43, 1901, pp. 203, 2271), i.e. the Syrian Ἰωνῖται, the sacrifice of the "Typhonian" men (*śttj·w!*) (Plut. de Is., 73; Diod., i, 84) may well have given rise to the legend of Greek (Ionian) prisoners sacrificed regularly by a cruel Egyptian king. If the

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with", like that of the Assyrian *Ninyas*—Tukulti-Ninua according to E. Forrer—of "Semiramis" (Samurammat), or of the Cretan Minos; like that of Alexander the Great in the whole near East, or of Attila, the Hun in the German mediæval sagas.

Thus, apparently, *Śwśr-n-R' Ḥîʒn* and *'Aʒ-Wśr-R'* Apophis, the two world conquerors, "Sostris" and "Osiris", of Greek legend, really mark the transition from the peaceful, defensive policy of the Old and Middle Empire to the new militarist and imperialist age of the New Empire, brought about by the introduction of new tactics with Cana'anite war-chariots into the Egyptian army, by the admixture of the warrior-blood of the desert tribes into the new dynasties, and by the prevalence of the Phœnician manufacturers' pirates and merchants trading spirit over the agricultural, autarchic, and peaceful mentality of the genuine old-fashioned and conservative Egyptian fellah.

6. *Cadmus as Contemporary of Busiris or Proteus.*

Having identified *pʒ 'Ao-usi-Ri* Apophi with the xenophobe king Busiris of the Greeks, and having found

triumphal *Σεσώστριδος στῆλαι did* exist in Thracia, Asia Minor, and Syria, they certainly showed *Śwśr-n-R'* — occasionally also called *Uśr-n-R'* (Budge, i. 160) or *pʒ 'ʒ-wśr-R'-Βούσιρις* in this position. The arresting of all "foreigners" landing in the Delta refers simply to the energetic measures of protective marine-policy against the Greek (*Ḥʒnb.w* or *Hellopian*) pirates, which we know to have been taken by several Egyptian rulers after the 11th dynasty, and which certainly became more disagreeable for the *Ḥʒnb.w* after the Phœnician mariners held the delta harbours. The story of Herakles and Busiris is quite analogous to the Theseus and Minos story; as Minos in the non-Athenian literature, so Busiris is also occasionally described as a great law-giver. If the story of the world-conquering Osiris in Diodorus (see above) makes Busiris the resident or *locum tenens* of the absent Osiris, this is clearly an Egyptian popular etymology explaining the name as *bw Usiri* in "place of Osiris". Hecatæus (Diodor., i, 45), who places Busiris more than 1,400 years — evidently one Sothis period — after Menas—that is about 2000 B.C. after the short chronology—and makes him found a dynasty of eight kings, with another Busiris at the end, seems to mean the two Apophises of the Hyksos period with his two Busirises.

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Conon (or Manetho) connecting "Cadmus" with the world-empire of the Hyksos dynasty, we shall not be surprised to find "Cadmus" treated by other ancient historians as a contemporary of "Busiris".

In the Chronicle of Eusebius[1]—where we should *a priori* expect to discover Manetho's version of the Cadmus legend—we find a passage which, although somewhat connected with the above analysed fragment of Conon, is yet manifestly derived from another source. In the year 560 of Abraham, that is 1456 B.C., there is the following entry: '*Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κάδμος ἀπὸ Θηβῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον* (= on the Nile) *ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν Συρίαν*[2] *Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος ἐβασίλευσαν*' (Jerome: *Phœnix et Cadmus de Thebis Aegyptiorum profecti apud Tyrum et Sidonem regnaverunt*), and to the same year: *Βούσιρις κατὰ τὸν Νείλου τόπον ἐτυράννει . . . ξένους κατέθυε*'. This is parallel to *another* passage of Konon (32), which has been traced back with convincing arguments by Hoefer,[3] to the *Παλληνιακά of one Hegesippos of Mekyberna*,[4] a local historiographer of Pallene of the early Alexandrian age: . . . *Κάδμος, μεθ' οὗ συναπαίρει Πρωτεὺς Αἰγύπτου τὴν Βουσίριδος δεδιὼς βασιλείαν* and to *Philargyrus* in Virg. Georg. IV, 30 . . . *Pallene insula . . . hanc Proteus quondam propter Busiridis crudelitatem Aegypto petiit.*

It is, however, highly improbable that Eusebius' notice should be derived from Hegesippus; for the mention of Proteus, whom the Greek historians held to be *contemporary with the Trojan war*, because of Odyssy, δ 365, 385, does not accord with the date 1465 B.C., assigned to "Phoinix" and "Cadmus" in Eusebius, since the fall of Troy is placed in the years A.D. 1059 by Pherecydes,

[1] Migne, Patrologia Graeca, xix, 383, cf. Patrol. Lat., xxvii, Chronic. Hieronymianum ad ann. 560. Synkell., p. 1520.

[2] Note the difference against *εἰς Ἀσσυρίαν* in Nonnos, above, p. 180, n. 1.

[3] Konon, Greifswald, 1890, p. 55.

[4] Cf. fragm. 6, Fragm. Hist. Graec., 4, 424.

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1096 by Isocrates, 1171 by Sosibius, 1183 by Eratosthenes, 1198 *by Julius Africanus*, 1208 by Kastor, and 1334 by Timæus.[1] If Eusebius had known or used a source connecting "Proteus" with the *Κάδμου ἀποικία*, he would have mentioned Proteus and placed the respective entry somewhere about the much later year of the fall of Troy. Consequently he must have used another source and may be considered as an independent witness for the Cadmus-Busiris synchronism.

How Proteus came to be connected with Cadmus is easy to guess, if we read in Herodot., ii, 112, that his *τέμενος*, south of the Ptaḥ temple of Memphis, is the *Τυρίων στρατόπεδον*, the "camp of the Tyrians", and that round it dwell *Phœnicians from Tyrus*. The historian who first spoke of the flight of king Proteus and Cadmus and made it coincide with the rule of the legendary xenophobe king Busiris, has certainly thought of a general ejection of the Phœnician *μέτοικοι* of Memphis, in a similar way as Hecataeus of Abdera (below, p. 196) interpreted the Danaus and Cadmus legend.

Diodor. i, 62—that is to say Hecatæus—gives as the Egyptian name of the king, who was called according to Herodotus, l.c., in the language of the Greeks *Πρωτεύς*, *Κέτης*[2] and adds that he was *not of royal descent*. The equation of Greek *Πρωτεύς* with Egyptian *Κέτης* or rather *Χέτης*,[3] is easily explained: the well-known Egyptian title *ḥꜣ·tj-ʿ* lit. a "prince" (= *princeps*), German "Fürst, furist" (= "first"), a "count" (from *ḥꜣ.t*), "front" (*m·ḥꜣ·t*, "at the front"), is, indeed, an exact equivalent to the Greek word

[1] Ginzel, Hdb. d. Chronol. Leipz., 1911, ii, 359. Manetho makes the fall of Troy coincide with the last king of dyn. 19 (Θουωρις), Pliny (36, 65) with Ramses II, others with Σέθως (Schol. Odyss., 14, 278; Eustath. Cram. Anecd. Paris., iii, 488; Sethe, Sesostris, $5_5$).

[2] Sethe, ibid.

[3] Cf. Diodor. i, 64. Cf. Hecatæus, Κέφρην for Herodotus (2, 127), Χέφρην = *Ḫʿf Rʿ*.

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*Πρωτεύς*—as also see the Semitic *Κάδμος* קדמי, literally the "fore" man, the man "at the front".[1] The function of such a title as a kind of personal name—as people used to call Bismarck "der Fürst", Luitpold of Bavaria "der Regent", and Wellington "the Duke"—is not unheard of in Egyptian. We know e.g. one prince and governor of Nubia (18th dyn.) named simply *pȝ Śr* "the Regent",[2] an "Hyksos"-king *Mr mš'.w*, "leader of armies" = "General",[3] who may or may not be identical with Manetho's first Hyksos-king *Σαλατις* = *šaliṭ* = the *Sulṭan* or "Commander".[4] It is, therefore, not impossible that a ruler "not of royal descent", that is a usurper, should have been known as "the Count" or "the Prince" of Memphis. The supposed synchronism of this '*Χέτης*' or '*Πρωτεύς*' with the Trojan war, that is, according to the Graeco-Egyptian scholars with the end of dyn. 19, might lead one to think of the Syrian usurper hailing from Arzawa (above, p. 179, n. 3) and ruling about 1200 B.C., that is just about the time of the fall of Troy, according to the dates of Julius Africanus and Kastor (above, p. 193, n. 1).

The flight of this Egyptian Proteus to Pallene is also alluded to by the learned Alexandrian poet and librarian *Lycophron* (born between 320 and 325 B.C.) in his "Alexandra", where vv. 115 ff. are explained by the commentaries[5] on that abstrusely enigmatic poem, probably on the basis of explanations by the author himself, as referring to the flight of the Egyptian Proteus to Pallene, in the Thracian Chersonesus and to the subsequent marriage of the hero with *Τορώνη*, the eponymous heroine of the homonymous town. The latter detail shows that

[1] Therefore = "the Eastern one", because of the *kibla* towards sun-rise.

[2] Budge, l.c., i, 153.

[3] Ibid., i, 69.

[4] Budge, Hist. of Egypt, iii, 146$_1$.

[5] Schol. Lycophr. Alex. ed. Scheer, ii, 60.

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Lycophron and Hegesippus, of Mekyberna, are not dependent on a common source, for the latter calls the wife of Proteus not *Τορώνη*, but *Χρυσονόη* "know-gold", obviously with reference to the Cadmean discovery of gold-ore in the neighbourhood of the Thracian Pangaion.[1] It is very interesting to observe that, according to the above-mentioned commentators of Lycophron,[2] the dwelling-place of this Egyptian *ἀποικία* of Proteus and Cadmus, that is the delta of the Strymon, was called *little Egypt*: "*αὔξεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς κατασυραμένης ἴλυος τῆς Νείλου*", a reason which might be believed to point to a region situated on the Syrian coast, where, indeed, all the harbours and roads are continually choked with sand and mud by the current coming from the Nile-mouths, but certainly not for the region around the mouth of the Strymon. Since we know that *Αἴγυπτος* is the *Egyptian* *ḥgb(·t)* the "flooded land", the "inundation region",[3] and not at all a Greek word applied to the Nile delta and valley by Greek settlers, it might possibly be a vestige of early Egypto-Phœnician colonization.[4] Unfortunately we do not know whether the name is old and popular or whether it is late and due to a comparison of the Strymon-delta with the Nile-mouth region by later learned geographers or seafarers of the Hellenistic age.

In all these traditions king "Busiris" of Egypt plays the part of a "Pharaoh oppressor" in what may be termed a Phœnician "exodus" legend, while Cadmus, Phoinix,

[1] Clem. Alex., i, p. 207B>Aristotle>Hellanikos (Crusius in Roscher's Myth. Lex., ii, 1864). *Κάδμος . . . μετάλλα χρυσοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸ Παγγαῖον ἐπενόησεν ὄρος.*

[2] See also Steph. Byz., s.v. *Αἴγυπτος*: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Αἴγυπτος μικρά.* Tümpel, die Aethiopenländer, Fleckeisens Jbb. Suppl. 16, 161 ff., 174. See, however, E. Maass, de Aesch. Suppl., pp. xxii, xxiv.

[3] See E. Naville, Journ. Egypt. Archeol., vol. iv, 1917, pp. 228–33.

[4] In view of what has been conjectured above, p. 188, on "Sesostrian" trade-settlements on the shore of the Black Sea, the ancient name *Aegypsus* (Geogr. Rav., iv, 5, p. $198_{15}$) for the modern Tulča in the Delta of the Danube might also be remembered.

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Proteus, etc., figure as the Moseses and Aarons leading the Semitic emigrants from Egypt into a new and happier land.

### 7. *Cadmus and Danaus.*

This characteristic view of the Cadmus legend is taken also in a fragment of Hecatæus of Abdera or Teos;[1] the author, who composed his philosophical history of Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I, relates how the Egyptians, in order to assuage a god-sent plague (see above), drove out of their land a number of heretics and foreigners who would not conform to the national cults,[2] and thereby irritated the gods against the natives: the bravest and most strenuous of the exiles emigrated *εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους τόπους, ἔχοντες ἀξιολογους ἡγεμόνας, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Δάναος καὶ Κάδμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανέστατοι. ὁ δὲ πολὺς λάος ἐξέπεσε εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν.*

It has long been noticed[3] that this is an attempt to combine the Greek legends of Danaus and Cadmus with the well-known popular contamination of an account of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the Jewish exodus-traditions. The latter combination—which is certainly not without some foundation of historical truth, and which goes back in part to the Biblical exodus documents themselves[4]—needs a special investigation. The story of "Danaus", living first in Libya, then in Egypt, and emigrating thence before the wrath of *Αἴγυπτος* to Argos,

[1] Phot. Bibl., i, 46, cod. 244; Diodor. xl (15), 3, 2, p. 542, Wessling.

[2] It is a standing complaint of the Egyptian sources against the "Hyksos" that they neglected the cults of the Egyptian gods—showing thereby the true Bedawin spirit. See the Stabl-Antar inscription of Queen Hatshepsut, the story of Seknen Re's fight against Apophis, who knew none of the gods but his lord Seth of Avaris and the Setnekht inscription, quoted above, p. 179, n. 3. Ḥî'n *Σῶστρις* calls himself "beloved"—not by Re', or Seth, etc.—but by his own genius (*kꜣ*)!

[3] Ewald, Altertümer d. Volkes Israel, [2], ii, $120_2$.

[4] Thus very acutely K. Dyroff in Helmolt's Weltgesch.[2], Leipzig, 1914, vol. iii, p. 271. I have treated the subject in detail in a still unpublished lecture before the Munich Oriental Society in 1919 about the brothers of Joseph as *sarē miḳnê* = "shepherd princes" (Gen. xlvii, 6).

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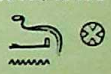
is manifestly the popular Greek version of the invasion of the mixed rabble of Libyans and seafaring Ægean pirates—among them the *Dꜣiniwnꜣ* ( = **Δανάϝονες* to *Δάναοι*, like *Λυκάονες* to *Λύκιοι-Rwkꜣ*), and

Aḳawaš = *Ἀqαῖϝοι*[1] — into the Western-Nile delta during the old age of Ramses II,[2] the king with the countless sons, above, p. 176, n. 1—and of their subsequent expulsion under Merneptah (about 1220 B.C.). Nothing could be more plausible than the flight of the vanquished pirates in their galleys to the shore of the Peloponnesus, where they seem to have imported the Egyptian name *Αἴγυπτος*, "flooded land," to a certain Argive cape, still known to the age of Hecatæus of Miletus,[3] and the Egyptian names *Ἴναχος*, *Ἴω*, *Ἔπαφος*, *Ἀγχιρόη* (above, p. 181, n. 1), and perhaps also *Φορ-ω-ν-έυ-ς* *Pr ʿꜣ n iw* "king of the coastland" into the genealogy of the Argive kings. The connexion of this "exodus" with the expulsion of the Hyksos is quite arbitrary.[4] Possibly there may be a confusion of Danaus and the *Dꜣiniwnꜣ* with the inhabitants of the Hyksos city Zoʿan  Ḏʿn = *Τάνις* at the bottom of it, perhaps not even that.

[1] The Egyptian orthography = *Αqαῖϝοι* shows that primarily the West Caucasian pirates are meant whom the Greeks (see Tomaschel's article *Achaioi*, 21, in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 205) called *Αχαῖοι* or *Ἀκεῖοι* (Arr., Peripl., 84), a name which has been plausibly derived by Schiefner from the Abkhasian word *áqâ* "coast-dwellers". It is the Caucasian equivalent of the later Greek term *ἠπειρῶτοι* = "coastmen". The *Δάναοι* or **Δανάϝονες* are the people living on the *δανάη* = "the dry land".

[2] Breasted-Ranke, p. 356; Breasted, Records, iii, 576, 579.

[3] FHG., i, p. 28, No. 357; Schol. Eurip. Orest., 872, ed. Schwartz, i, p. 185, 3 ff.

[4] Eusebius, Chron., Hieronymus, l.c., places the flight of Danaus twenty-five years before that of the *ἀποικία Κάδμου* into the year of Abraham 535 = 1481 B.C. He knew Hecatæus' theory and meant to criticize the implied synchronism. The Parian marble chronicles (ed. Flach, Tuebingen, 1883; FHG. i, 533 ff.) place the immigration of Cadmus into Thebes at 1519, that of Danaus into Argos at A.D. 1511.

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There remains again the connexion of the *Κάδμου ἀποικία* to the Ægean with the Hyksos-age, this time not with the *acmé* of the Phœnician empire over Egypt, but with its final overthrow. The statement of *Diodor. Sic.* I, 23, 4, that Cadmus, the *κτίστης* of *Θῆβαι*[1] in Boiotia came thence from the apparently homonymous Egyptian town *Θῆβαι—τῇ ἱρὶω*,[2]—is certainly derived from Hecatæus of Abdera, like an analogous passage in *Charax of Pergamon*.[3]

## 8. *The Cadmean Colonists described as Arabians by Apollodorus, Polemon of Ilion, Lysimachus of Alexandria.*

We have already mentioned incidentally (above, p. 175, n. 3) that according to Josephus' excerpts from Manetho, "certain people said that the Hyksos were Arabians." One of these Alexandrian authors, who defended this opinion—probably Ptolemaeus of Mendes[4]—is used, but not quoted by Polyænus (Strateg., vii, 4; A.D. 162), where he speaks of the campaign of the conqueror of the Hyksos, Aḥmose, against the "Arabians" (. . . *Ἄμασις ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄραβας πολέμῳ*).

[1] The name is probably akin to that of the Thessalian (Phthia) and Asianic towns *Θήβη* in the Troas, *Θήβη* near Miletus, and *Θήβη* in Kataonia; and also *Θήβασα* of Lycaonia; see Fick, Vorgriech. O.N., 78, 81, 128. As *τ* and *θ* may alternate in "Asianic" languages, we might with Prof. Sayce, JSBA., ix, 1893, 119, compare also *τάβαι*, *τάβεαι*, and Carian or Lydian *τάβα* "rock", *Θῆβαι* = "colles" in old Italian and Greek dialects, Varro, de re Rustica, 3, 1, 6. Lewy, Semit. Fremdw., p. 208, would derive *Θήβαι* from תֵּיבָה = "ark" because of the Theban legend about the "Ogygian" flood. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. *ταίναρος*: *θήβη* = *κιβώτιον* (=תֵּיבָה!).

[2] Sethe, Z. Ae., 45, 85.

[3] Mythogr. Gr., p. 324, Westermann; fr. 13. FHG., iii, p. 639, M.: *Σεμέλη ἡ Κάδμου θυγάτηρ λέγεται κυῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ γάμου· τὸν δὲ παῖδα θειότατον ὄντα ὁ Κάδμος διότι ἐκ πυρὸς ἐσώθη περιεῖπε καὶ τίθεται αὐτῷ Αἰγυπτίου Διονύσου πάτριον ὄνομα.*

[4] He is the author to whom we can most probably trace the Greek mentions of the conquest of Avaris by *Ἄμωτις* (Tatian, Or. ad Graecos, c. 38. Euseb. praep. ev., x, ii, 14 Gaisf.; Clem. Alex., Str. i, 21, 101. Euseb., l.c., x, 12, 2. Julius Afric. ap. Euseb., l.c., x, 10, 16; Syncell. Dind., i, 120, 281; [Justin], Coh. ad Graec., c. 9.

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If we find in Strabo, x, 447, that Apollodorus of Athens, the pupil of the great Alexandrian philologist and interpreter of Homer, Aristarchus, classifies in his treatise on the Homeric "ship catalogue" the companions of Cadmus immigrating with the hero into Eretria and colonizing Pallene (above, p. 192$_4$) as *Arabians* (*Ἄραβες οἱ Κάδμῳ συνδιαβάντες*),[1] it follows that he connected on the one side, like Konon, the Cadmus-legend with the traditions about the Hyksos, and that he followed on the other hand those *τινές*, for whom the Hyksos were Arabs. A passage in Bekker, Anecd. (i, p. 783 [2]) shows that Apollodorus had mentioned the introduction of the alphabet into Greece by Cadmus in this connexion.

Two more authorities for the connexion of Cadmus with the Hyksos can be traced indirectly:

First Polemon of Ilion, the famous epigraphist (*στηλοκόπας*) — 3rd/2nd century B.C. — and secondly Lysimachus (probably 1st century B.C.).

If we suppose—with Kalkmann, Pausanias der Perieget, 1886—that the latter famous but rather insipid *cicerone* is throughout dependent on the learned Polemon, whom he never quotes, in order to conceal his plagiarism, we cannot fail to see that Pausanias[3] refers to *Polemon* when he criticizes with linguistic arguments, relating to

[1] Cf. Plutarch, Theseus, 5: *οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντες οὐχ ὑπ' Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν*, and Diodor., iii, 65, after the Thebais of one Antimachos (age of Plato), who calls the Thracian Lycurgus an *Arab* king. Herodotus, 5, 57, expressly mentions the Gephyraean Cadmeans as *Φοίνικες*!

[2] . . *τῶν στοιχείων εὑρέτην . . . Κάδμον φασί, τινὲς δὲ Φοινίκων εὑρέσεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάκτορον γεγεννῆσθαι . . . Πυθοδῶρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Φίλλις* (a Delian author on music) . . . *πρὸ Κάδμου Δάναον μετακομίσαι αὐτά φασιν* (cf. however Euseb., above, p. 197, n. 4). *ἐπιμαρτυροῦσιν τούτοις οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς . . . οὓς καὶ Ἀπολλοδῶρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται.*

[3] ix, 12, 2: *τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσι εἰς γῆν ἀφίκεσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαίδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα ὄντα, ἐστὶν ἐνάντιον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὄγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τῶν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάϊς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν.*

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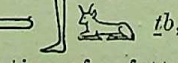
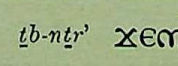
the alleged Phœnician name of Ἀθηνᾶ Ὄγγα,[1] which are certainly not his own literary property, the opinion of those who say that Cadmus, who immigrated into the Thebais, was *not* a Phœnician, but an *Egyptian*. Since we know through Euseb. Praep., ev., x, 10.$_{15}$ that Polemon [2] (fragm. 13) dealt at length with the question of the expulsion of the Hyksos by king Ἄμωσις in the first book of his "Greek History"—thus, obviously in connexion with Greek "prehistorics"—it is highly probable that he brought this event, like Hecatæus of Abdera, into connexion with the immigration of Cadmus into the Thebais (and possibly of Danaus to Argos). The linguistic argument in Pausanias, l.c., as well as other orientalizing etymologies connected with Thebes,[3] would suit the learned Polemon

[1] Schol. Eur. Phoen., 1062; Schol. Pind., Ol.2$_{44}$; Steph. Byz., Ὀγκᾶται. Hesych., s.v. Ὄγκας Ἀθηνᾶς· τὰς Ὠγυγίας πυλὰς λέγει. Tzetzes, Alex. Lycophr., 1206: Ὤγυγος Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅθεν ὁ Κάδμος ὑπῆρχεν, ὃς ἐλθὼν ἐν Ἑλλάδι τὰς ἑπταπύλους ἔκτισε καὶ Ὠγυγίας πυλὰς ἐκάλεσε, πάντα ποιήσας εἰς ὄνομα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Θηβῶν. Cf. Photios s.v. Ὠγυγια κακά, ii, p. 277, No. 6: Κάδμον τὸν Ὤγυγον. Suidas, s.v. Ὠγύγια κακά. The genealogy which makes "Cadmus" a son of Ogygos should be compared with the Arabian tradition (above, p. 175, n. 3) that the Hyksos were *Amalekites*, for עֲמָלֵק, *'Agūg* in Phœnician pronunciation—cf. Akkad. *agagu* "be powerful", Muss-Arn., 13*b*—the δυναστής is the title of the Amalekite kings (Num. xxiv, 7; 1 Sam. xv, 8, 9, 20, 32 f.) and *'Agagi* in the Book of Esther is synonymous with Amalekite.

[2] Πολέμων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνιακῶν ἱστοριῶν, Ps. Justin, Coh. ad Graec., c. 9.

[3] Cf. above, p. 198, n. 1, and Schol. Eurip. Phœniss., 638 ff.; Tzetzes, Lycophr., 1206; Etym. Magn., 450, 41; Eustath., Ilias, 2, 503, where the name of Thebes is said to be taken from the cow, which led Cadmus to the spot, for θήβα συριστὶ λέγεται ἡ βοῦς. As a matter of fact, there is no such word for cow in Syrian or Aramean, except *ṣebaḥ*, צֶבַח, a "sacrificial victim" of any kind, not necessarily a cow. But there is, in fact, as E. Assmann has observed in an otherwise very hazardous essay, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1920, 3/1, c. 18, in Egyptian (Brugsch, Wb. 7, 1347), a word  *ṯb*, "young cattle," "calf," written with the determinative of a fettered sacrificial victim. This would seem to suggest an Alexandrian origin for the said etymology of Thebes, and it might be well to remember that Manetho's birthplace Sebennytos (  *ṯb-nṯr'* ⲭⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ) was itself called after the "sacred calf" (Dümichen, Geogr. d. alt. Aeg., p. 253).

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far better than his plagiarist Pausanias. From it we gather that Polemon tried to prove that Cadmus, although hailing from Egypt, was not an Egyptian native, but—as Kŏnon-Manetho (above, p. 174 ff.) represents him—one of the *Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς*, who fled to Greece after *Ἄμωσις* had destroyed the stronghold of Avaris.

The traces of Lysimachus' treatment of the subject are found in Tacitus. He quotes Lysimachus' account of the expulsion of the Hyksos (identified with the lepers and Jews,[1] in Hist. v, 3). If, therefore, we find in another passage of Tacitus—without quotation—the statement[2] that the Egyptians claim to have invented the alphabet,[3] but that the Phœnicians brought the art of letter-writing to the illiterate people of Greece at a time when the Cana'anite fleet ruled the sea, with an express reference to the Cadmus-legend, it becomes highly probable that here, too, Tacitus is dependent on Lysimachus, and that this Alexandrian held a similar view as Hecatæus of Abdera about the over-sea migration of Cadmus being connected with the expulsion of the Phœnician invaders from Egypt. Even as Hecatæus (above, p. 196), he must have divided the emigrants from Egypt into two classes: first the *élite* under Cadmus, profiting from their command over the fleet to sail to Hellas, and second the *misera plebs* of the lepers under Moses expelled overland into the desert and building there the misanthropic state of the Jews, upon which he strives to heap every possible ignominy.

[1] Joseph, c. Ap., i, 34 f. Cf. Raymond Weill, Journ. Asiatique, 1915, p. 95.

[2] Ann., xi, 4: "Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis effingebant . . . et *litterarum semet inventores perhibent. Inde Phœnicas*, quia mare praepollebant, intullisse Graeciae . . . Quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phoenicum vectum rudibus adhuc Graeciae populis artis eius auctorem fuisse . . ."

[3] That they really did so in Plato's time appears from the famous passages, Phaedr., 274*c*, and Philebos, 18*b*, of which a new analysis will be found in my paper, Plato u. d. ægypt. Alphabet, Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philos. xxxiv, 1922, pp. 3–13.



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The result of the foregoing analyses is that there was a *consensus sapientium* among Alexandrian scholars about the historic connexion of the Cadmean colonization of the Ægeis, and consequently also about the date of the introduction of the *Καδμήια γράμματα* into Greece, either at the *akmē* or at the final expulsion of the Hyksos dynasty of Egypt. Chronologically the latter view comes nearer to the Herodotean date assigned to Cadmus (about 1510 B.C.).[1] Yet this date, obtained by dead-reckoning of generations in half-mythic genealogies, is sufficiently distant from that attributed to *Ἄμωσις*, the expeller of the Hyksos, by Alexandrian scholars,[2] to prove that their theory about the age of Cadmus is in no way influenced by the Milesian *λογογράφοι*, who were indeed, as a matter of fact, totally ignorant of the whole Hyksos episode.

In reality, there is not the slightest reason for the assumption that any part of the expelled "Hyksos" invaders *did* emigrate oversea to the Ægean coasts. The theory is purely constructive and proves no more than that the above-quoted Hellenistic scholars did take it for granted that the *Phœnician* "Cadmus" came *from Egypt* to Greece and that they naturally wanted to explain this paradox.

On the contrary, the theory about the Hyksos empire's

[1] According to Herodot., ii, 44, there are five generations between Herakles and Cadmus; ii, 142, he says that three generations are about 100 years; ii, 145, he gives 900 years as the period between Herakles and his own age (about 450 B.C.). This gives about 1060 years—not 1600 as the MSS. of Herodot., ii, 148, have—because the later scribes misread the western *ξ*-sign X=60 for the Eastern *χ*-sign X = 600, which would have been written *ψ* in Thurioi—as the period between Herodotus and Cadmus. Cf. Wiedemann, Herodot's, ii. B., p. 517.

[2] According to Manetho the last year of Aḥmose is 1657 B.C. Euseb. gives ann. Abrahæ 294=1722 B.C. – 318=1698 B.C. for *Ἄμωσις*. Julius Africanus places the "exodus" and the expulsion of the Hyksos 1797 B.C. Breasted places Aḥmose 1580-1567 B.C. according to good astronomical evidence. For Herodotus Euseb. gives 468/7 as *ἀκμή*, which would place Cadmus in 1532/3 B.C., and not into the year 1456 B.C., where he places him (above, p. 197$_4$). Evidently Herodotus' date was not considered by Alexandrian chronologists.

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temporary extension over a great part of the near East and over certain parts of the Ægean, as we find it in Conon and as we have good reason to attribute it to Manethos, accords in a most striking way with our archæological evidence: with the Bagdad lion (p. 172, n. 4, fig. 11) and the Cnossus inscription (p. 170, fig. 10) of *Ḫîn Śwśr n R'*, with the synchronous absolute lack of cuneiform documents in Babylonian as well as in the Ḫatti archives, with the discovery of Phœnician inscriptions on the Hagia Triada copper ingots. It accords quite as well with the *independent* traditions about the world-embracing conquests of one Sōstris (above, p. 183) and of a king Osiris (Busiris, *pȝ 'Ȝwśr R'*—above, p. 188 f.), and possibly also with the legend of a prehellenic king *Σαρπαδών*—a name corresponding in a striking way to the title *šar Padan u Alwan* of the Kassite king of Babylon, Agukakrime[1]—1650 B.C.—in Crete, Thracia, and Lycia-Cilicia,[2] who is reckoned as a nephew of "Cadmus" and

[1] V R., 33, 38*a*. Rogers, Outlines of the Hist. of Early Babylonia, 1895, p. 40. Hommel, Grundr., 190.

[2] "Minos" of Crete (see above, p. 187, n. 2) wars against "Sarpadon" because of "Milatos"—eponymous hero of the homonymous towns in Crete and Karia—and drives him from Crete to Lycia (Herod., i, 173). As ruler of Lycia (and Cilicia, Immisch in Roscher's Lex., s.v. c. 395 f.) he is mentioned among the allies of Troy in Homer. In Thrace a "Sarpedon", son of Europa and Poseidon, is mentioned by the same Hegesippus of Pallene, who speaks of the *ἀποικία* of "Cadmus" and Proteus to Pallene (Schol. Eurip. Rhesos, 29, cf. Lykophr. 1284, and Schol. Scheer, ii, 362). He is said to have been killed by Herakles (Apollod. Bibl., 2, 5, 9, 13), that is by the representative of the immigrating Dorians. The search for the sister (Basilios, Migne, Patrol. Graeca, 85, 478 ff.), the victorious fight of "Minos" in Crete and of "Heracles" in Thrace against "Sar Padan" may be an echo of the later downfall of the Hyksos empire over Crete and the coast of Thrace through the attack of the Minyans and Dorians, provided that the Kassite title "*šar Padan*" was borne already by the Hyksos predecessors of the Kassite rulers. The different landmarks and promontories called *Σαρπηδών(ιον)*; Immisch, l.c.) after a demon, whom Ed. Schwartz, Quaest. Herod., 13, correctly explains as the mythic representative of a "*ventus rapax et procellosus*; . . . *nautis promontoria circum vehentibus periculosus*", suggest a plausible etymology for this place-name: as the

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son of "Europa" (above, p. 66, n. 1) by the Greek genealogists and credited with a similar search for an abducted sister as "Cadmus" and "Cilix".

The traces of this short-lived Phœnico-Egyptian world-empire *must not be looked for in the domain of figured and decorative art.* The excavations in Cana'an—however insufficient they may be judged—have amply proved that *there never was a national Phœnician art* of any important originality. Therefore in Egypt the native art-tradition of the land has not in the least been influenced by the irruption of the Phœnician and Arab tribes known as the Hyksōs. Consequently it is *quite wrong* to say with René Dussaud,[1] that the excavations of characteristically "Minoan" frescoes and vases of the "Palace style" on the site of the *Καδμεία* of Thebes by Mr. Kéramopoulos "*écartent définitivement les hypothèses par lesquelles on cherchait à établir que la Thèbes préhellenique était phénicienne. On doit donc rejeter toutes les conclusions, et elles sont nombreuses, tirées de l'étymologie sémitique du nom de Cadmus.*" On the same principle we could deny that Egypt ever was a Roman province, because its art remained Hellenistic without any trace of an influence of the—non-existing—specifically Italic or Roman art.

On the contrary, the rapid spreading of the Phœnician alphabet over the whole Mediterranean cultural sphere is in itself good evidence for a dominating political influence exercised over all the lands, where the new *Καδμήια γράμματα* were adopted at a certain epoch during the second millennium B.C. The practical advantage of the Phœnician alphabet over some kind of simple syllabary

Babylonians called the west wind *šāri Amurri* (Muss-Arnold, 1106*b*) "wind from Amurru", as in Austria the west wind is popularly called "der boarisch wind" (Bavarian wind), and as the Greeks called the south-western wind Λίψ "Libyan" wind, so *šār Padan* "wind of Padan" may have been the name for the south-eastern wind blowing from Padan-Alwan on to the Lycian and Thracian shores.

[1] Civ. Préhell.[2], 1914, p. 391; cf. 179.

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like the Cypriote is negligible, not to say non-existent.[1] In any case it cannot explain why European people accepted it in preference to, let us say, the Cypriote-syllabary or the *Πελάσγικα γράμματα* (above). As the use of cuneiform script on clay-tablets by the Palestinian and Egyptian diplomatists of the Amarna period and probably even of the 12th dynasty, and as the use of clay-tablets for the Minoan script of Crete, presuppose the world-empire, the *šarrut kiššati* of Sargon I of Assur (2180 B.C.) over the whole near East and over the Mediterranean coasts up to their utmost Western limits,[2] so shall we incline now to attribute the dissemination of the Phœnician alphabet, not to the mere commercial influence of the comparatively powerless trading cities on the Syrian coast, but *to the political and economic subjugation of the whole Mediterranean world by the short-lived world-empire of Hian-Σῶστρις*. It is the administration of this Egypto-Phœnician *šarrut kiššati* which must have supplanted for a while the old wedge-writing on clay-tablets by the use of the greatly simplified Phœnico-Assyrian syllabary[3] on papyrus and leather, the customary writing materials of the Egyptian bureaucracy, thereby causing the present absence of all documentary evidence during the whole Hyksos and Cassite period as well in the Boghazkeui as in the Babylonian records. The concluding evidence for this theory is offered by the discovery and palæographic analysis of the alphabeto-hieroglypic inscriptions from the Sinai peninsula. As I have been

[1] We should remember that the Abyssinian and the Indian grammarians preferred a simple syllabary to the ordinary alphabet at a time when the latter was used over the whole *οἰκουμένη*.

[2] See above, p. 180, on the new Sargon text discovered by Dr. E. Forrer. Cf. my note in the review Janus, i, 1921, p. $21_2$.

[3] This characterization of the alphabet will be amply justified in my forthcoming book on the origin of the alphabet to appear as the next supplementary volume of the review *Klio*, Beiträge z. alt. Gesch. through the kindness of Prof. Lehmann-Haupt.

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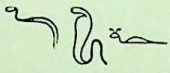
able to show,[1] a peculiar alphabeto-hieroglyphic script was developed on the border-line of Egyptian and Canaanite civilization by the mere fact that people who used both the hieroglyphic and the alphabetic signs soon began to mix occasionally hieroglyphic and *synonymous* alphabetic signs; to use, for example, for the Phœnician N-sign, with the name *naḥaš* = "snake", the different snake-hieroglyphs  etc., for the Phœnician *mêm* the Egyptian water-hieroglyph , for the Phœnician *reš* the Egyptian "head" sign , etc., just as we find Germans, who habitually mix signs of the so-called German or Gothic cursive script with signs from the "Latin" alphabet, because they have been taught both scripts at school and use the signs indiscriminately without even noticing the "mistake".

*No trace of this hieroglyphic admixture is to be found in the North-Semitic, Phœnician, and Aramean inscriptions of the first millennium B.C.*, that is, in the Cana'anite and Syrian alphabetic inscriptions, that were known before Petrie's epoch-making discoveries in Serabiṭ el Chadîm. I have therefore supposed that they were expurgated at the time, when the political influence of Egypt in Phœnicia and Syria had come to an end, that is in the period, the beginning of which is marked by Wen Ammon's account of the contemptuous treatment experienced by an Egyptian envoy at the hands of a Phœnician petty ruler.

On the contrary, I have been able to show [2] that a goodly number of *Egyptianizing signs* are to be met with in the ancient Arabic alphabets, of both the Northern and the Southern branches, *and in all the Mediterranean alphabets of Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Spain.* This could not be the case if a purely Phœnico-Assyrian script

[1] Kenitische Weihinschriften, Freiburg, iii, 1919, pp. 106 ff. This is contrary to the idea that the alphabet was *evolved from* the hieroglyphs.

[2] Ibid., pp. 113 ff.

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had been propagated from such centres as Sidon or Tyre,[1] but *it is quite natural and* according to what we should have expected if the spread of the alphabet is due to the administration of a *Phœnico-Arabian world-empire* with naval and commercial settlements on all the coasts of the ancient *οἰκουμένη, whose centre was in Memphis and Thebes.* Comparative palæography has definitely confirmed the theory of ancient Alexandrian scholars that "Cadmus" brought the alphabet to the Greek coasts *from Egypt.*

[1] The copper ingots of Hagia Triada, Mycenæ, Serra Ilixi, are all products of the Syrian (Kenit. Weihinschr. $105_2$, $168_4$) and Cyprian mines. If they came from Sinai they would show (*a*) traces of arsenic, which are characteristic of the copper ore of the Malachite-land, and (*b*) signs of the peculiar Sinai alphabet, especially the Egyptianizing ⊓ or ⊏ instead of the ɛ in the ϑθ (*th*) inscription of Hagia Triada, and the Sinai *samek* , instead of the genuine Phœnico-Assyrian ≠.

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# Hajji Mirza Hasan-i-Shirazi on the Nomad Tribes of Fars in the Fars-Nameh-i-Nasiri

By D. AUSTIN LANE

THE Fárs-Námeh-i-Náṣirí (lith. Tihrán 1313/1895–6) contains much valuable information regarding the various nomad tribes of the province.

The book is divided into two volumes, the first of which is chiefly a history of Fárs. The second contains sections on the notables of Shíráz, and on the various quarters of the city, as well as the seventy-six districts of Fárs. The final chapter is made up of miscellaneous geographical information, including two short sections on the tribes. The first of these is under the heading of "Ílát" and the other under "Ṭawáíf".

The Ílát fall into four main groups :—

1. Five Tribes.
2. Qashqáís.
3. Tribes of Kúh-Gílúyeh District.
4. Tribes of Mamassaní District.

Each of the five tribes is dealt with in brief in the chapter at the end as regards origin, location, and organization. Several notables of each tribe are mentioned, and for further historical particulars the reader is referred to other places in both volumes.

The author follows the same plan in the case of the Qashqáí tribe.

The tribes of the two remaining classes are described in the sections on the districts they occupy.

Besides these there are two other tribes—the Ghurbál Band and the Gáv Báz—regarding both of which short notices are in the section on the Ílát.

The section on the Ṭawáíf gives a few particulars about each of thirty-five separate tribes.

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In the following article, which is entirely a translation, I have touched on tribal history only so far as it throws light on the customs of the nomads and their place in national and provincial life.

Omitting lists of tribal chiefs and details of no possible interest, I have kept the translation abbreviated as far as seemed practicable.

## Part I.—Ílát

Íl (pl. "ílát") is the name given to a people who dwell in black tents in the desert and who migrate twice a year, thus spending their summers in the cold region and their winters in the hot country.[1]

### The Five Tribes [2]

#### 1. *Ainallú Tribe*

This tribe originated among the nomads of Turkestan, some of whom emigrated to Fárs in the time of the Mongol Íl-kháns and settled there. They usually supplied a force of several thousand cavalry and infantry for the Mongol rulers.

Their winter quarters are in the Districts of Khafar, Dáráb, and Fasá, and their summer quarters in Rámjird and Marvdasht.

Their chief from the time of the Safaví kings has always been a member of the Abu'l-Wárdí family, who trace their ancestry back to Muḥammad Ṣálih Abu'l-Wárdí, who was chief of the tribe in those early days. From the year A.H. 1293 up to the present Báṣir Khán Buláqí has been chief of this tribe. He inherited that office from his direct ancestors.

The writer knows for a fact that during the past forty-five years up to the present (A.H. 1304) the chief means of liveli-

[1] *Fárs Nameh-i-Náṣirí*, vol. ii, p. 309, ll. 4–6. See Fársnáma of Ibnu'l-Balkhi ed. Dr. Nicholson and Mr. Le Strange, p. 135. The particular tribe is not mentioned.

[2] See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 479–80, for particulars regarding these tribes as they are at present, also pp. 445 et seqq., for our relations with their leaders during the war.

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hood of the Ainallú tribe have been stealing, highway robbery, and pillaging in various parts of Fárs, Kirmán, and Yezd. When the governor of Fárs took steps to punish them and forbade them to rob, they confined their activities to Kirmán and Yezd. However, there has been a tendency among them to earn an honest living, and as a result of the efforts of Mu'tamidu'd Dewleh Hájjí Farhád Mírzá [1] and of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán Qawámu'l-Mulk Shírází, the worst offenders of the tribe have been punished and the obstinate among them forced to submission and obedience.

Most of the tribe have settled in the open country around Fasá. This district is the best of all Fárs for the cultivation of tobacco, the poppy, and cotton with the aid of irrigation wells, and for agriculture in general without irrigation. Since settling down they have busied themselves with agriculture, and during all four seasons of the year they do not leave the level open district around Fasá. Year by year their agricultural activity increases. As a result of their present peaceful habits valuable caravans pass in safety through their territory. The Ainallús are divided into twenty-five sub-tribes.

An ancestor of the writer, Ghulám Ḥusayn Khán Sháhiyún was at one time the Shah's commandant of artillery. According to Ḥusayn Khán Shihábu'l-Mulk he obtained for his sub-tribe, the Gúk-Pír, the title of "shahiyun" (friends of the Sháh) at the same time as several other tribes received that honour.[2]

## 2. *Báṣirí Tribe*

The winter quarters of this tribe are in Sarvistán, Kurbál, and Kavár, and their summer quarters in the Districts of Arsinján and Kamín.

From the time of the Ṣafavís the chiefship of the tribe had been held by the chief of the Arabs up to the time of Mír Maḥdí Khán Arab Shaibaní. He had two sons, to the elder of whom

[1] Governor-General of Fárs, A.H. 1293–8.

[2] *Fárs Námeh-i-Náṣirí*, vol. ii, p. 309, l. 6–p. 310, l. 7.

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Mír Salím Khán, he gave the leadership of the Arabs, while the other son, Mír Shafí' Khán, he made chief of the Báṣirís. After the latter's death he was succeeded by his son Mír Rafí' Khán Báṣirí.

The Báṣirís are divided into five sub-tribes, who speak Persian with one exception—the Chehár Bunícheh, whose language is Turkish.[1]

### 3. *Bahárlú Tribe*[2]

Since all this tribe speak Turkish,[3] they must have come originally from the nomad tribes of Turkestan, who came to Persia at the time of the Seljúq kings and Mongol Íl-Kháns and settled in Fárs; for up to the present one of the nomad tribes of Turkestán living in the plain of Khwárazm has retained the name of Bahárlú.

Their winter quarters are in the plains of Ízad Khást in Láristán and the plain of Dáráb, while their summer quarters are in the neighbourhood of Rámjird, Marvdasht, and Kamín. For some years past they have not left the neighbourhood of Dáráb; they have remained summer and winter along the banks of the rivers of that district.

The tribe's governor and leader in the time of Nádir Sháh was Hájjí Ḥusan Khán Nafar. In the year A.H. 1268 all the Bahárlú sub-tribes united in support of Mullah Aḥmad Bahárlú and obtained for him, from the government, the chiefship of the whole tribe with the title of Khán. In the year A.H. 1275 he died, and the various sub-tribes went to war with one another until Cherágh Alí Beg succeeded in pacifying most of them and then became their chief.[4]

In A.H. 1294 Hájjí Farhád Mírzá issued instructions for the conquest of the fortress of Tabar, which had been in the possession of Faẓl 'Alí' Bahárlú and a number of brigands.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 310, ll. 7–9.

[2] See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 459–60, for tribal activity during the war.

[3] i.e. a dialect of Turkish containing a large proportion of Persian words. This applies to all the Turkish spoken in Fárs.

[4] Vol. ii, p. 310, l. 22–p. 311, l. 9.

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Every day they plundered caravans far and near, and then retired to Tabar for safety. This went on for ten or fifteen years. These operations were entrusted to the Qawámu'l-Mulk, who brought the issue to a successful conclusion.[1]

Ḥusayn Khán Bahárlú succeeded Cherágh 'Alí Beg as chief, and up to the present he has endeavoured to bring the whole tribe to a state of law and order; and he has removed the stigma of brigandage and pillaging from the tribal records.

There are twenty sub-tribes of the Bahárlús.

### 4. *Arab Tribe*

The nomad Arab tribes in Fárs are a branch of the Bedouin Arabs of Najd, Oman, and Yemámeh in Arabia, who came to subdue and organize Fárs in the times of the Ummayid and Abassid Caliphs,[2] and even from the earliest times of Muslim government. According to custom the Arabs brought their families and flocks with them.

They live in black tents and wander back and forth the whole year, through mountain and plain. However, those of the Arab tribes who dwell near Rám-Hormuz, Jirráhi, and Dauráq, have no ordinary winter and summer quarters. In the summer they stay along the rivers, and in the winter in the uplands, remaining the year round in one district. The pronunciation and dialect of this section of the Arabs have retained their original purity.

As regards the other Arabs in Fárs, they spend their winters in the Sabrah District, Rúdán, and Aḥmadí. They spend their summer up country in such places as the Bawánát District, Qúnqarí, and Sar-Shahán.

The distance between winter and summer quarters is about a hundred parasangs.[3] The language of this branch of the

[1] Vol. i, p. 337, l. 1 et seqq.

[2] See Mr. Le Strange's article on Ibnu-l-Balkhi in *JRAS.* for 1912, p. 321, where it is stated that 'Adudu'd-Dawleh brought a tribe of Syrian Arabs to the Dashtistán District.

[3] Sir Percy Sykes has informed me that the range of the migration of all the five tribes does not usually exceed 200 miles; that of the Qashqáis is about 300 miles. A study of the map bears out this statement.

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Arabs has undergone so many changes both in form and pronunciation that it is no longer Arabic, nor is it ordinary Persian, Turkish, or Lurí. Nothing of their original language has remained except the Arabic pronunciation.

The tribes of Arabs were originally in two sub-divisions—Arab Jabbáreh and Arab Shaibání—the latter being known also by the name of Arab Kúchí. Both these sub-divisions are again divided into sub-tribes, numbering fifty-seven altogether.

The chiefship of the Arabs from ancient times has belonged to the Shaibání tribe. Their remote ancestor, Mír 'Isma'íl Khán Arab Shaibání enjoyed considerable favour with the Ṣafavís. His son, Mír Maḥdí Khán succeeded him and became governor of the Arabs and Báṣirís. Of his two sons, Mír Salím Khán became governor of the Arabs, and the other Mír Shafí' Khán, governor of the Báṣirís.

The year A.H. 1285 was one of drought and famine, and the nomads suffered considerable hardship. A number of the Arabs made a raid on the Qashqáís and carried off some she-asses. Then Dáráb-Khán, Íl-Begí of the Qashqáís, pursued the robbers with a hundred mounted men, and reached the plain of Dáráb, the camping ground of 'Alí Qulí Khán, chief of the Arabs. Daráb Khán stated his business and insisted on the restoration of the donkeys. In an ensuing encounter 'Alí Qulí Khán was killed and the Íl-Begí obtained his animals.

Riẓá Qulí Khán, the next chief of the Arabs, commanded the regiment of Arabs and Bahárlús, who for years fought in the Garm-Sír in the service of the government, against rebels whom they reduced to submission.[1] After his death in A.H. 1298 the chiefship of the Arabs *ceased to be held* by any member of the tribe.[2]

### 5. *Nafar Tribe*

They speak Turkish and therefore must have come from among the nomads of Turkestán. As has been mentioned

[1] Vol. i, p. 3, l. 18; p. 312, l. 28.

[2] i.e. it had already passed into the family of the Qawámu'l-Mulk, see p. 215.

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before, Hájjí Ḥusayn Khán Nafar became chief of the Bahárlú and Nafar tribes during the reign of Nádir Sháh. His son, Muḥammad Taqí Khán Nafar succeeded him.

The latter's son Ali Akbar Khán, who in turn was head of the two tribes, spent several years in the service of Hájjí Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán, Governor of Iṣfahán, where he learned the art of prosody and rhyme.[1] He was the governor's private secretary for some time.

The Nafars are divided into sixteen sub-tribes.[2]

*Amalgamation of the Five Tribes*

In the latter part of the year A.H. 1275 Ahmad Khán, chief of the Bahárlús and Nafars died. Then the Bahárlús fought among themselves and spared neither lives nor property.

The Ainallús who lived near the Bahárlús rebelled against the government and captured Dárab and Sab'eh. They also rendered many of the main roads unsafe.

Sultán Murád Mírzá, Governor-General of Fárs, appointed Ja'far Qulí Mírzá chief of the Bahárlú, Nafar, and Ainallú tribes. The former gave instructions for the punishment of the Baharlús and Ainallús and for the reparation of the damage they had done in the various districts.[3]

In A.H. 1278 Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán, who became Qawamu'l-Mulk on the death of his father Hájjí Mírzá 'Alí Akbar,[4] was appointed Governor of Dárab and chief of the Ílát-i-Khamseh[5] (five tribes).

QASHQÁÍ TRIBE[6]

When the Khalaj came to Persian 'Iráq from the provinces of Asia Minor, part of them left the main body and settled

[1] The brief notice of the tribe is supplemented with fifty-four couplets of his poetry.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 314, l. 10–p. 315, l. 16. [3] Vol. i, p. 320, l. 1 et seqq.

[4] Fourth son of the famous Hájjí Ibráhím Khán Itimádu d-Dawleh. See vol. ii, p. 47, l. 11 et seqq., for the history of the family.

[5] Vol. ii, p. 51, l. 6; also p. 201, l. 19.

[6] See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 477–9, for more recent particulars; and pp. 499–516 for an account of their investing Shíráz and final defeat in 1918.

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in Fárs. So the general public referred to the migration of these people as "qach qáí", i.e. "gurikhteh" (a fugitive), and this was afterwards changed in form to "Qashqáí".[1]

Afterwards part of them settled in the district of Qúnqarí and dwelt in villages. Up to the present their language has remained Turkish, and this division is called the Khalaj.

Those who made the semi-yearly migrations are divided into two groups—Khalaj and Qashqáí.[2]

The chief of the Qashqáís, who is always a member of the tribe, is known as the "Íl-Khání", while his deputy is known as the "Íl-Begí". Headmen of villages do not recognize any superior except the Íl-Khání and the Íl-Begí. Particulars regarding the leaders of this tribe are to be found in this Fárs-Nameh in the section on Maidán-i-Sháh—a quarter of Shíráz.

The winter quarters of the tribe in the south are in such places as the Districts of Arba'ah, Afzar, Jarah, Khisht, Khanj, Dashtí, Dashtistán, Faráshband, and Máhúr Mílátí.

They have their summer quarters in the Districts of Dizgird, Sar Ḥadd-i-Chahar Dungeh, Sar Ḥadd-i-Shish Náḥieh, Kám Fírúz, and Kákán.

There are sixty-six sub-divisions of the tribe.[3]

Muḥammad 'Alí Khán was born in A.H. 1208 and succeeded his father after his death, as Íl-Khání. In A.H. 1240 he married into the family of the Farmán Farmá and in A.H. 1248

[1] This is obviously a Persian invention. Regarding the Bayát sub-tribe, which he classes as a branch of the Qashqáís (vol. ii, p. 313), he says elsewhere (vol. ii, p. 27, l. 5): "They originally came from the plain of Qacháq in Turkestán and came to Fárs with the Qashqáí tribe in ancient times. Then they divided into two branches, one of which united with the Qashqáís and became nomads, while the other settled in the Shíráz. The Bayáts of Fárs and the Bayáts of Nishápúr in Khurásán were one tribe in the first place." See also vol. ii, p. 109, ll. 21–7: "The Ágh Aughalí tribe originally came from Turkestán with Fárs to the Bayáts and Qash-qáís. Turkish is their language up to the present."

[2] This distinction appears again in Fars Nameh only in list of sixty-six sub-tribes of the Qashqáís. See *Nuzhatu l-Qulúb* (translation), p. 249.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 312, l. 32; p. 314, l. 2.

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यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
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took offence at the latter, and withdrew all the tribe from Fárs to the neighbourhood of Kirman.[1]

Prince 'Abbás Mírzá, Governor of Kirmán, gave them a hearty reception, and appointed for their use sufficient land for 100,000 households of nomads, both in the cool region and in the hot belt of his province.[2]

Three years later Minúchihr Khán Mu'tamidu'd-Dawleh, Vezir of Fárs, forced him and Mírzá Muḥammad Fasáí to go to Ṭihrán, where the former remained as an honoured guest for years. In 1265 he returned to Shíráz, where he played an important part in the affairs of the province and died A.H. 1268.

He had three sons, the eldest of whom, Iftikháru'l-Akfá Jihán Gír Khán Íl-Begí, was born in A.H. 1230. For a time he was commandant of the Qashqáí Regiment, and spent some years in that capacity in Ṭihrán until his return to Shíráz in A.H. 1265. For two years he was governor of Dáráb and then Kázrún. After the death of his father he became Íl-Begí.

Muḥ. Qulí Khán became Íl-Khání in A.H. 1268, and until his death in A.H. 1284 he exerted such an influence for good over his tribe that no one suffered robbery at their hands.[3]

## Tribes of Kúh Gílúyeh District

When the city of Arraján flourished, its dependencies—all the Kúh Gílúyeh District—were divided into eight parts. After it fell in ruins and Bihbihán [4] flourished, the Lur tribes of this district obliterated the boundaries of these districts and caused their names to be forgotten. Each tribe overran what it could of mountain and plain and the new districts thus formed were given fresh names.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 115, l. 17.

[2] Vol. i, p. 281, ll. 1–2. Vol. i, p. 282, l. 6. They returned to Shíráz the same year.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 115, l. 17–p. 1[illegible]

[4] Mr. G. Le Strange informs me that Bihbihán replaced Arrajan, and it is rather a question exactly what are the ruins of the latter city. See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 268–9.



सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

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The Alwár (pl. of Lur) and a number of plain-dwellers speak the Lur dialect.[1]

And the Lurs of Fárs are in two divisions—those of Mamassaní, who are described elsewhere, and those of the Kúh Gílúyeh District. These latter are divided into three tribes. The men of each tribe, as in the case on Dashtistán, recognize no superior except their own chief, nor will they submit to any other.[2]

The details of the organization of the tribes are as follows :—

### 1. *Áqá Jarí Tribe*

The first of these three groups of nomads is the Áqá Jari tribe. They assign their origin to several Turkish, Persian, and Lur tribes.

In ancient times their households amounted from three to five thousand or even more, but now they number only about eight hundred. They are divided into a number of sub-tribes.

They remain in the neighbourhood of Bihbihán, which has the climate of the Garm-Sír (hot country) both winter and summer. Their abode in the winter is the black tent of the desert. In the summer they dwell in houses which they construct with the branches and leaves of the willow, and these are to be found on the banks of the rivers near Bihbihán.

In the rolling and hilly country they carry on agriculture without irrigation. Since they are not in the majority in the villages around Bihbihán, they have not given their name to that district.[3]

### 2. *Báví Tribe*

The Báví tribe is the second of this group of Lurs. They originally came from among the Arab Báví tribe of Ahwáz, who came to the neighbourhood of Básht and Kúh Murreh in the Kúh Gílúyeh District. They took possession of two small districts to which they have given the name of Báví.

[1] Professor Browne's *Litt. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 83, " also called ' the dialect of Hamadán '."

[2] Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 3–8.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 9–15.

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The number of their household exceeds fifteen hundred. In winter they live in black tents, and in summer in houses built of twigs, in the desert. They are divided into several sub-tribes. They speak the same language as the rest of the Lur tribes.

They inhabit the villages in what used to be, in ancient times, the neighbourhood of Básht and Kúh Murreh.[1]

### 3. *Jákí Tribe*

The third of this group is the Jákí tribe, which has two main sub-divisions—the Chehár Buníchéh and the Líráví. "Buníchéh" is a word applied to artizans who have to do forced labour.

The Chehár Buníchéh are again divided into four sub-tribes —Búír, Aḥmad, Churám, Dushman Ziyárí, and Nawa'í. Each of these four has settled in some part of the Kúh Gílúyeh District, and each district has taken its name from the sub-tribe occupying it.

Of the Líráví tribe there are two sub-tribes—the Líráví Dasht, who are dealt with in another place, and the Líráví Kúh. These latter are again divided into four clans—Bahm'aí, Shír 'Alí, Ṭayyibí, and Yúsufí. A branch of the Shír 'Alí tribe is known as the Sháhrawání clan.

All these tribes have given their names to various districts.[2]

### *Divisions of Ċhehár Buníchéh*

### 1. *Búír Aḥmad Sub-tribe*

This sub-tribe consists of nearly 2,000 households.

The head of the tribe belongs to the family of Ardashír. In the time of the Zend kings, Ḥádí Khán Búír Aḥmad was headman of this region and for some time chief of all the Chehár Buníchéh.[3]

In A.H. 1272 Khudá Karam Khán Búír Aḥmad attacked some of the Bakhtiárís, who were living near his tribe, with

[1] Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 15–22.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 22–7.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 271, ll. 27–30.

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two thousand followers, and ruthlessly plundered a thousand homes.

Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Faásí was sent against him with a force of 500 cavalry, two battalions of infantry from Shíráz, and a thousand irregulars from Fasá, which succeeded in recovering the stolen property.[1]

### 2. *Churám Sub-tribe*

The Churám sub-tribe settled in several places around Shábúr and near Rivin.[2]

The climate of Zíri-Kúh in summer is so warm that sometimes a number of people die from the Simoon. That of the districts of Tel-Khusravi and Rivin in Pusht-i-Kúh is so cold that its snow remains from year to year without artificial means. The climate of Shábúr is perfectly temperate, and walnuts and cherries abound there.[3]

The number of households of the Churám tribe does not reach six or seven hundred. The district in which they live contains fifteen villages, most of which are in ruins.[4]

### 3. *Dushman Ziyárí Sub-tribe*

They occupy various parts of the country around Shábúr and Rivin to the north-east of Bihbihán. The name Dushman Ziyárí is applied to two tribes, the other one living in the Mammasaní District.

The number of households of this tribe dies not exceed four hundred.[5]

### 4. *Nawa'í Sub-tribe*

They occupy several places in the country around Rivin and Shábúr, which together form the Nawa'í District. Its length, from the plain of Jawkháneh to the village of Tulián is seven parasangs, and its width, from the village of Lur-Faryáb to the village of Gúsheh, three parasangs. They

[1] Vol. i, p. 313, l. 4 et seqq.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 2–3.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 263, ll. 26–7.
[4] Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 3–8.
[5] Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 27–35.

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occupy five other villages along the Khursán River, and the length of the district comprising these villages is four parasangs, and its width, not more than half a parasang.

The Nawa'í District contains seventeen inhabited villages.[1]

### *Lírávi Tribe*

There are two sections of the Lírávís—the Líráví Dasht and the Líráví-Kúh.

The first have built houses in the plains and open country, where they live all the time. The second make the semi-yearly migrations from the hot country to the mountains of the interior and vice versa.[2]

### *Divisions of Líráví-Kúh Tribe*

#### 1. *Bahma'í Sub-tribe*

They exceed three thousand households in number, and occupy a number of places around Rivin comprising a district fourteen by nine parasangs.

The whole of their district in the mountains of the north is full of springs and rivers of sweet, wholesome water. They have no place where they grow grain. In ancient times the moat of this mountain region was full of grapes and figs, which depended on the rainfall, of which traces now remain.

During the winter they dwell in Bakhtiárí country and the plains around Rám-Hormuz. They subsist on chestnuts, acorns, roots, almonds, and game.

Ten of their riflemen are considered equal to a hundred Bakhtiárís, and they go into battle wearing no clothes.[3]

#### 2. *Shír 'Alí Sub-tribe*

In ancient times they consisted of more than six thousand households. The Shahrúí clan is a sub-division of the Shír 'Alí. After the death of Mírzá Manṣúr Khán, Governor of Bihbihán in A.H. 1256, both these sub-tribes fled from the

[1] Vol. ii, p. 274, ll. 34–5–p. 275, ll. 1–10.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 275, ll. 17–20. No further information is given regarding the Lírává Dasht. Their district is described p. 276 et seqq.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 275, ll. 20–9.

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country around Bihbihán towards Rám-Hormuz, Arabistán, and Shushtar. In A.H. 1272 Ihtisham-u-'d-Dawleh, Sultán Áwís-Mírzá pacified them, and they returned to the Kúh Gilúyeh district. After his death they were again dispersed.[1]

### 3. *Ṭayyibí Sub-tribe*

They number two thousand households and are divided into several branches. They occupy several parts of Shábúr and Rivin, and their territory is eight by six parasangs.

Their winter quarters are in various parts of Shábúr and their summer quarters in Rivin.

They carry on agriculture around Shábúr with the aid of irrigation from rivers and springs. Their crops consist of wheat, barley, cotton, rice, and sesame.[2]

### 4. *Yúsufí Sub-tribe*

From ancient times until A.H. 1256, when Mírza Manṣúr Khán died, they numbered about seven hundred households. In those times they spent their winters near Tang-i-Surúk and Tangi-Mághir, the latter being twelve parasangs north-west of Bihbihán, and their summers around Barm-Almán, in the Rivin district.

A number of years ago they dispersed around Baṣra and in Arabistán. The present number of their households (in the Kuh-Gílúyeh district) amounts to seventy or eighty.[3]

## Tribes of Mamassaní District

During the last years of the Ṣafavís the Lur tribes of Mamassaní took possession of Shúlistán and renamed the district after themselves.

They divided it into six small districts. Since the Lur tribes of Mamassaní were four in number, four districts were named after them. As in the case of the four Lur tribes of the Kuh Gílúyeh district they are called the Chehár Buníchch.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 1–5.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 6–12.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 24–7.

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None of these tribes is under anyone besides the tribal chief, and they never allow any outsider to rule them.

These four tribes are—Bakish, Jáwídí (or Jáwí), Dushman Ziyárí, and Rustam.

As regards the two remaining districts, one is Haumeh-i-Fahliyán, whose headman is a resident of Fahliyán ; the other is Kákán, which belongs to the Kashkúlí Qashqáí tribe.[1]

### 1. *Bakish Tribe*

Most of the Bakish district has the climate of the hot country, while part of it is quite equable. Its inhabitants are divided into four sub-tribes.

It contains eight inhabited villages. One of them, Shi'b Bavván, two parasangs east of Fahliyán, is one of the four earthly paradises, and is situated in a mountain valley, the length of which is nearly a parasang. They say that at one time it was in such a flourishing state, that throughout the whole of this distance the foliage of the trees, both of the cold and warm regions, was so luxuriant that the rays of the sun did not penetrate to the ground ![2]

Up to A.H. 1251 Walí Khán Bakish Mamassaní kept plundering the caravans between Búshíre Bihbihán and Shushtar, and robbed the village population far and near. Whenever he was hard pressed he betook himself to his fort at Safíd.

Husayn Qulí Mírzáí Farmín Farmá arranged a marriage between his son Tímúr Mírzáí and the daughter of Walí Khán in the hope of winning over the latter to law and order, but nothing came of it. More than ever he continued robbing and working havoc among his neighbours.

In A.H. 1251 Walí Khán was arrested in Shíráz and sent as a prisoner with a punitive expedition under Muḥammad Ṭáhir Khán Qazíní. The Bakish tribesmen made a successful night attack on the government forces, and took the whole staff prisoners.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 9–15.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 16–25.

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A second expedition under Prince Fírúz Mírzá subjugated the whole Mamassaní District.[1]

### 2. *Jáwídí Tribe*

The Jáwídí (also Jáwí) District, which contains 60 inhabited villages, has a cold climate and is mountainous. Its inhabitants are divided into eleven sub-tribes.

The headman of this district is Muḥammad 'Alí Khán Jáwídí, whose ancestors held that office before him.[2]

### 3. *Dushman Ziyárí Mamassaní Tribe*

There are several sub-tribes.

The district of this name has a cool climate, and is mountainous. It contains sixteen villages, some in ruins and others inhabited.[3]

### 4. *Rustam Tribe*

Their district has partly a hot and partly a cold climate. It comprises twenty-six villages, including those inhabited and those in ruins.[4]

### *Ghurbál Band Tribe*

These are a low-class nomad tribe who migrate north and south from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the interior.

They possess just enough animals to carry their tents and furniture. Those who are the best off among them own several cows, she-asses, goats, and sheep. Their men are usually ironmongers, and their women sieve-makers.[5]

### *Gáv Báz Tribe*

These are another nomad tribe of mean status. Another name for them is Páí.

Hájjí Mu'tamid-u'd-Dawleh Farhád Mírzá in his book, the Jama-Jam (Cup of Jamshíd), states that this tribe originally came from India and became dispersed in different directions,

[1] Vol. i, pp. 291–2.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 28–35.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 304, ll. 6–9.
[4] Vol. ii, p. 304, ll. 18–20.
[5] Vol. ii, p. 312, ll. 29–31.

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because the tribe, wherever found, call water "pání", the word used in Hindustani.[1]

Those of the tribe who are scattered throughout Fárs, make their living by dealing in cattle; they buy run-down animals for a low price, and then fatten and sell them for a high figure.[2]

PART II.—ṬAWÁÍF-I MUTAFARRIQEH (Scattered Tribes).[3]

Ṭáifeh (pl. ṭawáif) is the name given to a qabileh (tribe) which is not one of the branches of the first-mentioned nomad tribes (ílát). Its people remain in one district throughout the year, and live either in black tents or in villages.[4]

### 1. *Ál-i-Háram Tribe*

This is an Arab tribe which came from Oman to the Persian side of the Gulf in ancient times and settled around Bandar-i-Bíd Khún in the Máliki District. Bundar-i-'Asulú was built by them. Shaikhs belonging to their own tribe have always ruled the Ál-i-Haram from earliest times. Further particulars are given in the section on the Maliki district.[5]

They speak Arabic.

### 2. *Khamír Tribe*

This tribe came from Nejd and settled in the country around Rám Hormuz. Both summer and winter they dwell in black tents and do not leave the plain of Rám Hormuz in spite of its hot climate. They obtain a livelihood from sheep, asses, camels, and agriculture.

They still speak Arabic.

[1] This proves nothing, for the above loan-word occurs in many dialects along the Gulf.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 314, ll. 3–8.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 330–2.

[4] Cf. definition of "il", p. 2. The Kurshulís, a branch of the Qashqáis, have adopted this mode of living in recent years; Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 481.

[5] Vol. ii, p. 291.

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### 3. *Al-Si-zú*

This tribe is of Arab origin, and came from Oman in ancient times to the Persian side of the Gulf. They settled down in the Síraf District, and built Bandar-i-Kangán and also became governors of the above district, which office they hold to the present day.

They still speak Arabic.

### 4. *Pás-Lávi Tribe*

Their summer quarters are in Kúh-i-Nárú, between the districts of Maimund, Fírúzábád, and Ṣímkán, and their winter quarters, in the plains of Ṣímkán and Maimund. They obtain a living from their sheep, goats, cattle, and donkeys.

### 5. *Bakakí*

Their summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh District, and their winter quarters in the Jareh district. They make a living from sheep and goats, and from collecting fuel for the Shíráz market.

### 6. *Banú Ka'ab*

This tribe came from Arabian 'Iráq, and in the year A.H. 1178 Shaikh Salmán brought them to the Faláḥí District. The commercial element of the tribe settled in the town of Feláḥí, and became rulers of this district. Their chief they call the Shaikhu 'l-Masháíkh.

They speak Arabic, and make a living from agriculture and date-growing.

### 7. *Beha'u'd-Díní*

The tribal summer quarters are in Kuh Murreh and Ṣímkán,[1] and their winter quarters in the plain of Ṣímkán. They obtain a livelihood from sheep and from unirrigated vineyards.

[1] "According to Mustawí (eighth century A.H.) Ṣímkán was a fine town standing on the stream where this was crossed by a bridge; and it was remarkable that all the lands above the bridge produced trees of the cold region only, such as the plane (chinar) and the nut; while below the bridge grew oranges and lemons with other fruits of the hot region."—*Lands on the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 253, last line, and p. 254.

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### 8. *Tamímí and Málikí*

Tamímí and Málikí are two tribes who came from Oman to the Persian side of the Gulf, and settled in the Málikí District and dwelt in villages. They obtain a living from date culture and dry-farming. They speak Arabic.

### 9. *Chár Ráhí*

They were originally a branch of the Khalaj [1] tribe in the Qúnqarí District, and are tent dwellers. Their summer quarters are in the Qúnqarí District, and winter quarters on the Island of 'Ali Yúsuf in Lake Bakhtigán.[2]

They raise sheep and goats.

### 10. *Chár Kas*

Their origin was among the nomad Chár Kas tribe of Asia Minor, and they came to Fárs in the time of the Ṣafavís, settling in the village of Dizgird. They are agriculturalists.

### 11. *Jishní*

This tribe was originally a branch of the Khalaj in Qúnqarí. They spend their summers in the Sar Chahán District and their winters on the Island of Mung in Lake Bakhtigán. They raise sheep, goats, cattle, and asses.

### 12. *Cha'ab*

This is the name given by the Lur tribes of the Kúh Gílúyeh District to the Banú Ka'ab.

### 13. *Ḥammádí Tribe*

They are of Arab origin, having come from Oman. They settled in Shíb-i-Kúh in Láristán, where as village dwellers they occupy the town of Murbágh and the villages of Shíb-i-Kúh. Their means of livelihood are dry-farming and date culture, and they still speak Arabic.

### 14. *Damúkh*

These are Arabs from Nejd who live in villages in Cháh-i-Kúteh, and that neighbourhood in the Bushire District. They speak Arabic.

[1] See above under Qashqáí Tribe.

[2] See *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 277–99.

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### 15. *Sádát-i-Rizá-Tawfi qí*

They are reckoned as a branch of the Banú-Háshim. In nearly every age this tribe has produced an eminent or learned man.

Like the ílát they have their summer quarters in the Ṭayyibí District in Kúh Gílúyeh, and their winter quarters in the plains of that district.

I am not thoroughly informed regarding their genealogy, but I know that among the Lur tribes they are highly respected and much honoured. They are excused the duties of ordinary citizens and live in perfect tranquillity.

They raise many sheep, goats, cattle, and donkeys, but are not agriculturists.

### 16. *Sádát-i-Mír Sállár*

These are another branch of the Banú Háshim and dwell in tents. They shift about according to the seasons, in various parts of the Kúh Gílúyeh District. They have many cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys.

### 17. *Surkhí*

The tribal summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh Shikuft neighbourhood, and their winter quarters in the town of Surkhí in the same district. They carry on fig and grape growing for a living.

### 18. *Suqulmarchi*

Their summer quarters are in the mountains of the Kuh Murreh-i-Shikuft District, and their winter quarters in the Jareh District. They have flocks of sheep and goats, and collect fuel for the Shíráz market.

### 19. *Shabán Káreh* [1]

The tribal summer quarters are in the mountains between Maimund, Fírúzábád, and Ṣímkán, and their winter quarters

[1] Of Kurdish origin, this tribe was very numerous and powerful under the early Seljúqs. See Mr. Le Strange on Ibnu-l-Balkhí in *JRAS.* for 1912, pp. 9–14. See Fársnáma of Ibnu'l-Balkhí, pp. 164–8. The Shabán Káreh had possession of Fárs for a short time up to A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203). Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 91.

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in the plain of Ṣímkán. They raise many sheep, goats, and cattle.

20. *Shurífát*

This tribe came from Nejd and settled around Bandar-i-Hindiyán. They spend their summers and winters along the Zídún River in black tents, and consider it beneath them to live in mud houses. The country around Bandar-i-Hindiyán is ruled by them.

They carry on dry-farming and have many sheep, donkeys, horses, and water buffaloes.

21. *Shírí*

Oman was their original home. Now they live in the town of Qalát-i-Karzan, and in the neighbourhood of Shír-i-Kúh in Láristán. Their occupations are dry-farming, date culture, and sheep raising. They speak Arabic.

22. *'Ubaidlí*

This tribe originally came from Nejd. Its people are now village dwellers in Ḥairán in Shíb-i-Kúh. Farming and date culture are their chief occupations, and they still speak Arabic.

23. *Ál-i Shád Muḥammadí*

All the tribe live in tents. They spend their summers in Kúh Nárú between Ṣímkán and Fírúzábád, and their winters in the plain of Ṣímkán. Their chief wealth consists mostly of sheep.

24. *Farámarzí*

The home of this tribe is in the mountains near Jihán Gír in Láristán. They are mostly goatherds and hunters. It is well known that their goats breed three times a year.[1]

26. *Farhádí*

Their summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh and Ṣímkán Districts, and their winter quarters in the plains of Ṣímkán. They have flocks of sheep and goats, and unirrigated vineyards.

[1] There is a mistake in numbering here on the text—a common mistake in Persian MSS.

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### 27. *Karazá*

The people of this tribe are very wild in their habits and live in tents in the mountains of the Ahshám District.

### 28. *Gúnakí*

This tribe spend their summers in Kúh-i-Kharman of Ṣímkán, and winter in the Maimund District. Sheep raising is their chief occupation.

### 29. *Kúhakí Jahrum*

The whole of the tribe are tent-dwellers living between the district of Jahrum and Bíd Shahr. They raise sheep and sell the wool in Jahrum.

### 30. *Láwarí*

In the mountains east of Jihán Gíriyeh ub Láristán is the home of these wild men. Goat herding and hunting are their usual occupation. Their goats breed thrice yearly.

### 31. *Lashani* [1]

Some of this tribe have become village-dwellers and live in Khafareh and Marodaskt. Farming is their occupation. Those who are tent dwellers live all the year in the Abádeh Ṭashk District.

### 32. *Máslárí*

All this tribe live in tents, spending the summer in Kúh-i-Safídvár in Khafar, and the winter in the town of Gávkán in the same district. Sheep and goats are their chief wealth.

### 33. *Marzúqí Málikí*

This tribe is reckoned as being a branch of the Tamím. The Málikí District goes under the name of Tamímí also. The Tamímí and Málikí tribes came from Nejd and settled in the above district.[2]

[1] "The most notorious robbers in S. Persia." Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 482.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 291. Arab conquerors of Fárs included troops from the tribes of Tamím, 'Abd Fays, and Azd Ibnu'l-Balkhí, p. 112, last line.

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### 34. *Marzúqí*

Having originated in Oman, they now live in villages in Bandar-i-Mughú and near there in Shíb-i-Kúh in Láristán. Dry-farming and seafaring are their occupations.

### 35. *Nawtirgí*

These are a tribe of the Bakhtiárí Chehár Lung, whom Kerim Khán gave a home in the Fasá District when he brought the Chehár Lung tribes from the Bakhtiárí country. After his death most of the Bakhtiáris returned home except this tribe, which remained in the plain of Tang-i-Karam in Fasá. All are tent-dwellers and remain in the same plain throughout the year. They speak the Bakhtiárí dialect.

### 36. *Hushúsh*

Nejd was their original home, and they still dwell in tents around Bandar-i-Hindiyán in Feláḥí. They speak Arabic, and raise sheep, asses, camels, and carry on dry-farming.

### *Ágh Aughlí* [1]

This tribe consists of about seventy or eighty households, and originally came from Turkestán along with the Bayát and Qashqáí tribes to Fárs, where they settled in Shiraz. Up to the present Turkish has remained their language.

Like one branch of the Bayát tribe they became merchants. Most of them deal in hides and tallow, while the wealthier among them export Persian horses to India.

This tribe has produced many famous theologians and lawyers.

[1] Vol. ii, p. 109, l. 21 et seqq. Although the above have long since ceased to be nomads, I think this notice is not out of place here. The same applies to a number of the other small tribes which have settled down in villages. There is a gradual tendency in this direction on the part of many of the nomads.

*October*, 1921.

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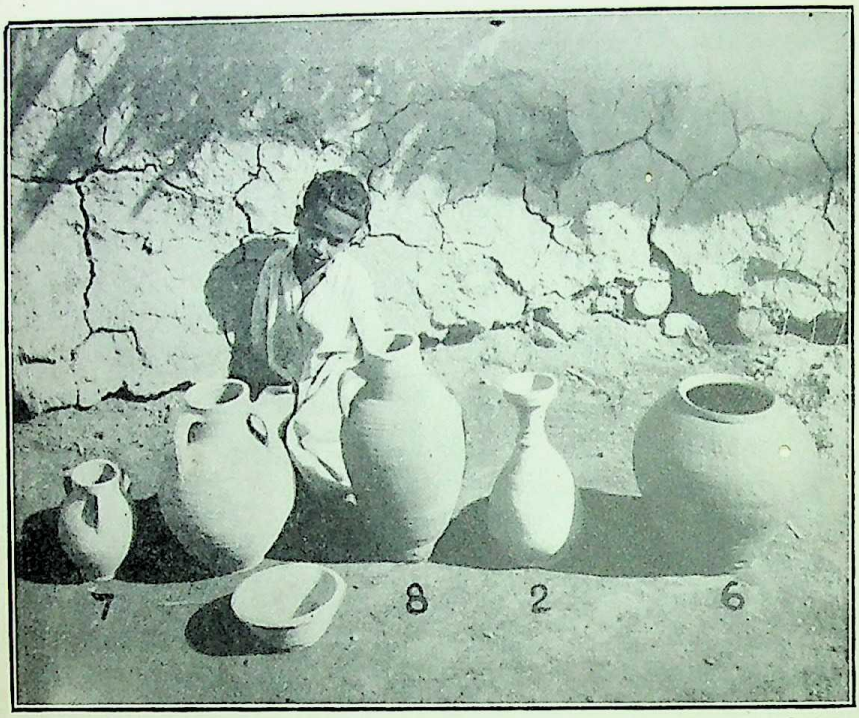
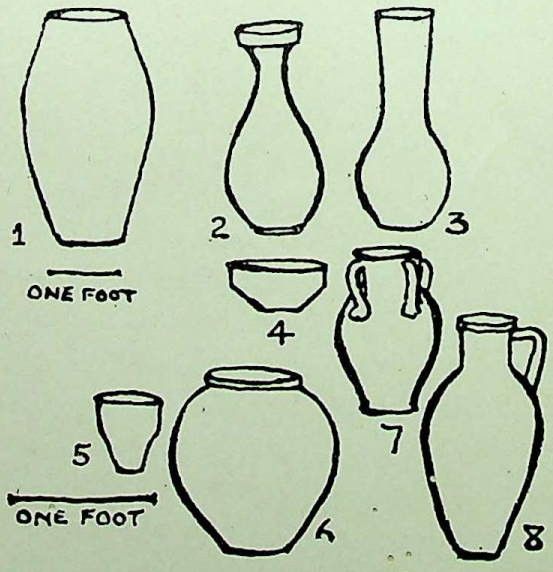



**Pottery at a kiln, Basrah.**




**Shapes of Mesopotamian Pottery.**

*To face p. 233.*]

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# Some Notes on Modern Babylonia [1]

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.

THE following paper is based on notes which I made during my three years of war service in Mesopotamia (1915–18) and a year (1904–5) at Mosul, and I venture to publish them in the hope that such piecemeal may be of use to those interested in comparing ancient Assyria with modern Mesopotamia.

## Country

First, with regard to the country itself. It is almost unnecessary to say that between Mosul and Baghdad the lands through which the Tigris flows are undulating and hilly (including the Jebel Ḥamrîn), but south of Baghdad down to the Persian Gulf they grow dismally barer and flatter. To the east, sometimes within 20 miles of the river, and roughly parallel to it, run the abrupt limestone ranges which mark the Persian frontier. As one goes up the river from Basrah these become visible first between Amarah and 'Ali Sharḳi; the first sight of them over the dull levels is most striking, and it is then that one appreciates the Assyrian method of using the same cuneiform sign for "mountain" and "east".

## Weather

The weather, the rainfall, and the two annual rises of both rivers have all been admirably tabulated in Willcocks, *Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, and I will only say in general terms that the hot weather begins about May and continues until mid-October, the thermometer rising to about 124° F. at Baghdad and about 115° at Mosul. Sporadic and slight rain begins in October, increasing in November, and the streets of the towns (Baghdad and southwards) where no

[1] For fuller details on this subject see my chapter on the "Golden Age of Hammurabi" (ch. xiv) in the forthcoming volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which should be out in the next few weeks.



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stone has been used (and the desert, too, if there is any traffic on it) become a 6-inch deep sea of mud ; in the more northerly towns, such as Mosul, where the streets are cobble-paved, the rains race down the alleys to the river. The tops of the Pusht-i-Kuh became capped with snow in mid-December, 1916, which continued well on into January, 1917. Snow, it may be added, occasionally falls at Mosul (it covered the country and lasted a week in the winter of 1904–5), and it may fall and lie even as far south as Babylon.

### Wind

The prevailing wind of South Mesopotamia is the *shemâl* from the north-west, which tempers the heat, the south wind not being common after May throughout the summer.

### Thunderstorms

Thunderstorms are often violent, and bring hail the size of pigeon's eggs. The phenomenon of hail was noted by the Assyrian astrologers (" heaven will rain with stones " ; see my *Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 261).

### Earthquakes

Earthquakes are not over-common. I noted a most distinct shock a little before dawn on 7th February, 1916, which lasted about 1½ seconds. The Arabic is *ḥaraket-el-arḍ*, the common people of Basrah explaining that they are caused by a buffalo of the Jinn beneath the earth shaking himself. The Assyrian astrological reports show that such shocks occurred not infrequently (e.g. loc. cit. No. 264, February–March, 655 B.C. ; No. 265, March–April ; No. 266, December–January ; No. 267, January–February).

### Buildings

Buildings may be divided into three classes : (1) The solid two-storied houses of the towns with flat roofs ; (2) the one-storied cabins of stone, mud, etc., of the villages ; (3) the reed-huts of the poorer Arabs.

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The larger houses are rectangular buildings planned round an open centre court. They are built of burnt brick, in Basrah called *ṭâbôḳ* and in Mosul *ajorr* or *âjer* (the old Assyrian word *agurru*). These are baked in large kilns, of which there may be about twenty at a town like Amarah, and a dozen at a small place like Gurmat 'Ali; the baking, I believe, lasts twenty-four hours, but I am not sure of this. Brick-slag is called *s(ṣ ?)ak(ḳ ?)rich* in Basrah. A brick which I measured at Basrah was about 8½ in. by 8½ in. by 1 in., and another at Amarah about 12 in. by 8 in. by 2 in.; neither coincide with the measurements of the Sumerian bricks which I have described in *Archæologia*, lxx, 143. Unburnt bricks, still called *libn* between Mosul and Basrah (the old Assyrian *libittu*), are made in a mould called *ḳâlab*, and then set out to dry in serpentine coils, the upper end of one brick resting on the base of the next.

In Mosul the richer houses are faced with slabs of the soft local marble.

The roofs are flat from Mosul to Basrah; it is not until the mountainous districts of the eastern frontier are reached that one finds the sloping roofs general, due to heavier rainfall.[1] The upper floors often overhang in Elizabethan style. Palm-trunks often provide the beams (*jisr*, Assyrian *gušuru*) in the southern districts.

Within, the rooms are plastered and whitewashed, and in the richer houses a tawdry decoration of pieces of looking-glass in mosaic is used, both for large niches in walls and for ceilings. The windows are glazed and screened with *mušrabîyah* work (*ḳofs*), or, in poorer houses, merely shuttered. In hot weather in the south a thick screen of *agûl* (camel-thorn) is suspended over the windows and frequently sluiced with water; this is replaced by licorice twigs in the north (e.g. at Jerabis).

Doors are solidly made of wood, often studded with nails (Fig. 26), bolted with a cumbrous wooden bolt which works in

[1] I noticed instances of sloping roofs at Sulman Pak (Ctesiphon). Conical beehive huts are to be found east of Aleppo.

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a slot (*za''bah*). The frame is called *cherchub mal bâb*. In country cabins the lower axis of the door sometimes works in a socket made of an old broken pot embedded in the earth, the upper being held in place by a hole in the lintel.

The roof-gutters (*merazîb*) project two feet from the walls, and there are little openings in the walls above roof level called *''azûnah*.

Ornamentation, as a rule, poor, still shows some reminiscence of Assyria. The relief-work on bricks over Basrah doorways, representing the Turkish crescent and star, shows, as a variant to the ordinary star, the star-ring of the Assyrian Venus (Figs. 23, 24, and compare the Assyrian symbol on the royal necklets). In Basrah the brass door-knockers (*ḥelḳah*, Figs. 22, 25) are peculiar, especially when they bear an undoubted likeness to the Assyrian and Persian winged disk of Auramazda (cf. Fig. 25 with the sculpture of the Behistun Inscription, or the disk over Shalmaneser on the Black Obelisk).

To keep the Evil Eye away from houses, the inhabitants of Basrah nail up either an old shoe or a doll over the door.

In the south the mud-huts are called *kubar*; I believe *ḥejrah* is also used, properly a chamber or enclosure for camels. The reed-huts (*ṣ'rîfah*), which are mentioned in the cuneiform legend of the Flood, gradually disappear the further north one goes, their existence, of course, depending on the marsh-reeds. The most northerly point at which I noticed a reed-hut village on the Tigris was above the Es-Sinn battlefield, a few miles below Kut-el-Amara; below this point they may be found anywhere.[1] The bamboo-mat which roofs them, called *barîyah*, pl. *bowâri* (Assyrian *burê*), is often used to shelter heaps of grain. The grass-mat (*ḥaṣîr*) is, of course, common.

The dark hair-tents, often the sign of nomads, are to be

[1] I am giving a fuller description of them in a forthcoming book on *Mythology*, and will therefore not repeat it here.

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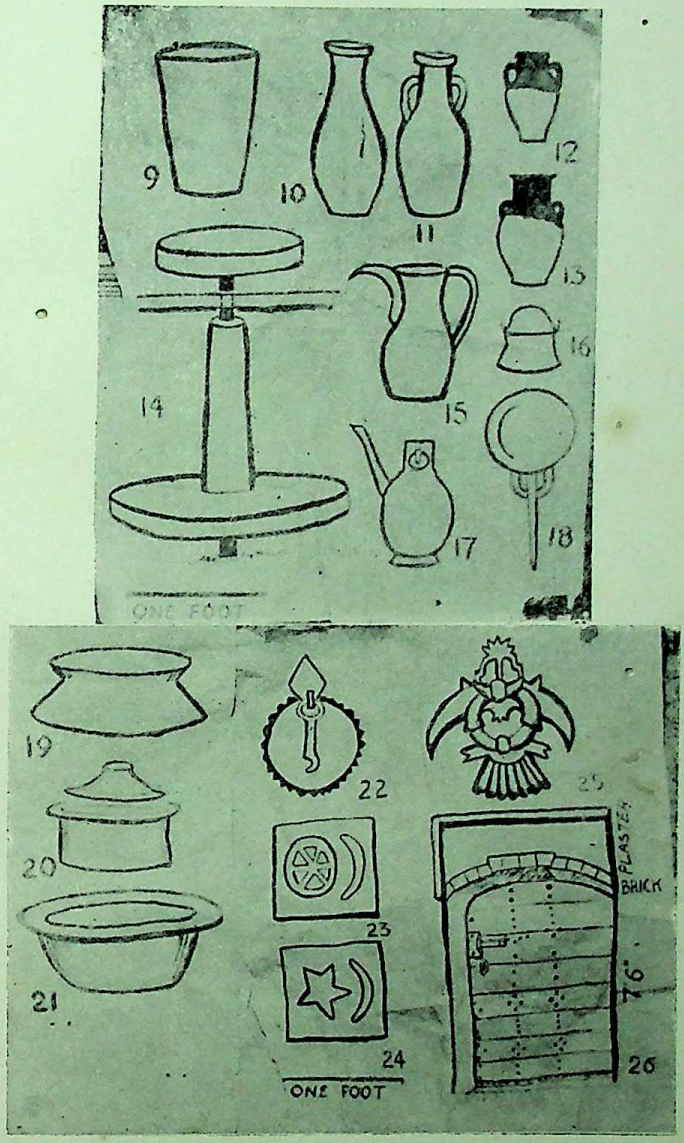


**Mesopotamian Pottery, Knockers, etc.**

[*To face p. 236.*

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found anywhere between Basrah and Angora in Asia Minor, near which latter place I visited one belonging to Kurds.[1] For defence purposes, on the lower reaches of the Tigris, occasionally one meets large rectangular forts built of mud, with towers at the corners.

Canals are, of course, more frequent in the south than in the north, where tributaries and streams take their place. Water is kept within bounds by dams (*siddah*). Hedges are made of thorn, bound by bamboo, where this material is available; shelter-screens of palm branches are to be found in date-groves.

## Fuel

Fuel is always a difficulty. At Mosul faggots were brought down from the hills on donkey-back; in Baghdad the women bring in great bundles of desert-scrub. In the date-districts (i.e. south of Anah on the Euphrates, and Tuz Khurmati, near the Tigris) the triangular base of the palm-branch (*karab*) is burnt, but the usual fuel among riverain tribes is the round, flat, mashed cake of cow-dung, which can be seen anywhere drying on the reed-hut roofs. The use of this fuel extends to Asia Minor, except where it is replaced in the more hilly districts by faggots of dwarf oak. Dry camel-dung is also burnt in the south; charcoal is to be bought in the bazaars.

## Methods of Drawing Water

Methods of drawing water are primitive. In Mosul the houses as a rule have their own wells, but the less said of these the better. In such towns a water-carrier comes round to the houses with a skin of water which he has scooped up from the river with a large special shovel; the water is then put into a large porous *ḥubb* on a stand (*kursi*), through which it percolates into another vessel (see Fig. 1, and compare the ancient *ḥubb* on a stand in the hieroglyph, Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xxii, 149). In hot weather water is cooled in porous

[1] See my *Pilgrim's Scrip*, p. 258.

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pots, which are set out in the evening on the roof; this process is shown artificially effected on an Assyrian sculpture of Aŝurnaṣirpal, where a servant is fanning four waterpots in the royal camp. (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 30.)

The simplest method of raising water from the river is the old "swipe", the bucket working on a counterpoised arm. It exists, certainly, in Basrah and Abu Robah, but is more common in Egypt. It is represented on the Assyrian sculptures (ibid. ii, 15).

The more powerful water-lifts are those where a horse, working on an inclined ramp of earth, draws up a leather bucket by a rope over a sheave or bar of wood, the water being automatically discharged when it reaches the top. Such are to be seen at Shaibah and Sulman Pak, and are to be found in North Africa.[1] Another kind is worked by a horse attached to the outer end of a radial pole, which, by a series of cog-wheels, revolves a waterwheel. Round the circumference of this wheel is a succession of water-pots, which automatically discharge their contents into a runnel when they reach their highest point. Large waterwheels of this kind (20 feet in diameter) are to be found by the banks of the Middle Euphrates, in this case turned by the force of the current.

### Agricultural Implements

Agricultural implements in Basrah are the pick-axe (*tubr*), hoe (*ṣ'ḫîn*), and, if I recollect rightly, *marr*, the Babylonian *marru* (in Mosul *majrafah*). The word *kozma* for the single-bladed pick at Mosul is unknown in Basrah. The long-handled spade (*mis-ḥâh*) is far more common in the south, where canals are dug, than in the north; the short spade is *šebel*.

### Baskets

Baskets at Basrah are well made. The kinds in use are: (1) *jillah*, a large basket; (2) *zambîl*, the Assyrian *zabbilu*, the small, limp basket used by diggers for earth, such as Sennacherib's captives use (Layard, *Monuments*, ii, 14);

[1] Tripoli: for a picture see frontispiece of my *Pilgrim's Scrip*.

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(3) *sufrah*, a large, flat, circular, limp basket, on which is piled the flat pancake-like bread; (4) *ḳuffah*, small, stiff, and conical, covered with bitumen, and used as a cup; (5) *ṭubbuḳ*, flattish and tray-like; (6) *nuṣaifîyah*, soft basket for dates, holding ½ *man*; (7) *ruba'îyah*, the same, holding ¼ *man*; (8) *sebat*, a covered basket from Maskat.

The fan (*m'ḥaffah*), which looks like a flag of plaited and ornamental grass-work fastened to a stick (lower half, Pl. IV), is the same as that shown on the Assyrian monuments (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 30, and in the beautiful sculpture of the *Fileuse*, De Morgan, *Délég. en Perse*, i, pl. 11). The lower half of Pl. IV also contains four purses embroidered with the staple products of Basrah, fish and date-palms.

I was told that wickerwork (chairs, baskets, etc.) was brought down in the spring to Basrah from Mar Shimun, near Mosul, and sold to the cry of *sepet âlân*, which is the name by which the work is called.

## Pottery

Pottery in Mesopotamia is simple and utilitarian, being chiefly porous, cream-coloured, and without ornament. There is, however, a class (called *bestuk*, Figs. 12, 13) which is partly covered with a bluish glaze (made at a kiln between Basrah and Muhammerah), and there are large green-glazed vessels at Baghdad almost big enough to hold one of the Forty Thieves.

The potter's wheel at a kiln near Basrah was a primitive arrangement (Fig. 14) turned, by the foot, the opposite way of the sun. The dark-grey clay, which lay in a heap near, was pounded on a mat by a boy, who mixed fluff from the tops of bulrushes with it; it had been brought from a place an hour and a half distant by boat.

The kinds of the different unglazed pots in use at Basrah are: Fig. 1, *ḥubb*, large water-pot, already mentioned; Fig. 2, a water-pot, said to be from Baghdad; Fig. 3, *ḥamîdîyah*; Fig. 4, cup, *jeddah*; Fig. 5, *ḥubbân* (Baghdad);

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Fig. 6, bowl, *mêdâni*; Fig. 7, water-pot, *šerâbi*; Fig. 8, water-pot, *'âwâni*; Fig. 9, for use in the *adabḫânâ*; Fig. 10, water-pot, *mejîdîyah*; Fig. 11, water-pot, *a('a?)madîyaḥ zu"airah*. The name of a small basin is *bâdiyah*; a round-bellied pot with neck and two handles from Mosul is called *raḫlu*; in Kut-el-Amara I saw a large waterpot of amphora-shape with handles.[1] On Pl. IV, 12*a*, is a green-glazed bowl (Basrah): 12*b* a wooden bowl from the Kurdish hills: 12*c*, a crude basin from an Arab woman (Basrah): 12*e*, a green-glazed vessel from Diarbekr.

## Copper Vessels

Copper vessels are well made throughout the country. The kinds are: Fig. 15, the coffee-pot, varying from 6 inches to 15 inches in height, *delleh*[2]; Fig. 16, *suṭl*, a little pannikin, of the same shape as that held by the gryphons of the sculptures; Fig. 17, a Kurdish barber's hot-water pot, with an interior lining, to carry live coals; Fig. 18, *ṭâwâh*, frying-pan; Fig. 19, *jidr*, saucepan; Fig. 20, *ḫošḫân*, with lid *k(k?)oboḫ*; Fig. 21, *injânah*, for kneading bread. A large copper water-pot (Pl. IV, 15*a*) called *m'suḫneh* or *m'šorbah* is used in the south by the women; the word *mušaḫḫinu* for some form of copper pot occurs in Assyrian. The *ibrîḳ* is a washing ewer of delicate shape from Persia (Pl. IV, 17*a*); a brass one, not dissimilar, is to be bought in Baghdad. The smith's long pincers are called *ambûr*; his solder (*laḥîm*) is made of zinc (*tutiya*) and copper (*ṣufr*).

## Woodwork

Woodwork made from the fronds of date-palms is ingenious, and, although not strong, has the merit of lightness. The slender branches, when stripped of leaves (then called *j'rîd*, and I believe *'ammarîyah*, Lane, *Dict.*, 2155) are so

[1] These pots do not appear to retain any strikingly Assyrian shape. The sculptures show occasionally the pots in use, but except for the simple cup (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 5, etc., where, however, it may be of precious metal) little seems to survive. Besides, it is not always easy to be sure whether the pots are foreign booty or not.

[2] I see that I have omitted the hinged lid. See Pl. IV, 15.

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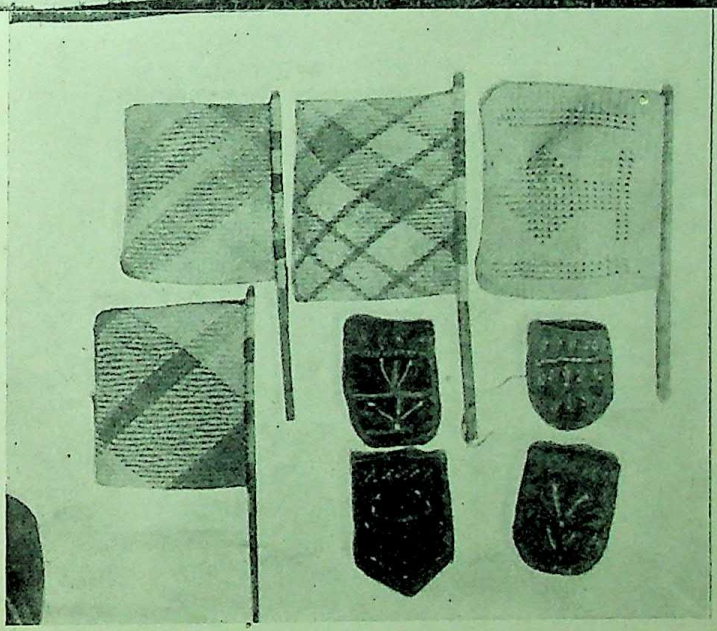

*Reference numbers for upper half of plate :*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 13A | 12 | 12A |
| 12B | 12C | 12D | 12E |
| 5 | 7 | 16 | 15 |
| 15A | 17 | | 17A |

*Lower half :* Four fans, four embroidered purses, Basrah.

[*To face p. 240.*

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tough that they can be drilled transversely to take uprights of the same material. Bedsteads and baskets are thus made.

### Boats

As I shall discuss the boats elsewhere,[1] it is unnecessary to repeat the details here. But it is important to notice how local certain forms of craft are: (1) the *šaḫtur* or flat-bottomed barge, made at Birejik for floating down the Euphrates to Felûjah; (2) the *kelek*, or skin-raft, on the upper waters of the Tigris, from Diarbekr to Baghdad; (3) the *guffah*, or large coracle, very much like the bowl in which the wise men of Gotham put to sea, from Baghdad as far as Shaikh Sa'ad, at which point approximately it is replaced by the graceful skiff-like *bellam* or *mašḥûf* as far as the Gulf. In the reed districts rafts are made of large bundles of reeds, and even skiffs (much as are shown on the sculptures, e.g. *Collect. de Clercq*, ii, 24). The large craft (which can ply up to Baghdad, and some distance up the Euphrates), are the barge-like *maḥailah* and large *bellam*; the *bûm* is a sea-going vessel.

### Tattooing

I have only a few notes to add on the people. Tattooing (*duḳḳah*) is practised by both Arab men and women. I noted a Mohammedan of Kerbela tattooed on the back of the right hand; it had been done by women in Kerbela when he was 10 years old, and he said it was not a tribal mark. The brother of the Shaikh of Dêr, near Gurnah, had been tattooed on the back of the right wrist "because it hurt him". A Mohammedan of Birejik had also been tattooed when small on the back of the right wrist. The *Ḥafâjah* women (the strapping wenches who carry heavy loads in Basrah) tattoo their faces, and I noticed one with what appeared to be a row of little crosses up both heels. These women wear nose-rings (*wardah*, right nostril, far more common than the left; centre cartilage, *'arân*; left nostril, *la'amah*) and earrings (*terchî'ah*).

[1] *Mythology*.

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In Basrah the Christian women wear a very striking mantle called *izar*; the *'abba*, a mantle which men wear, is frequently elaborate and expensive, often worked with gold thread (*kelebdûn*). The smock worn by small boys is called *dišdâšah*. In Mosul the men wear a long smock to their ankles called *zebûn*, and a zouave jacket (*zaḫmah*). The mud is avoided by clogs (*kâlôš*, i.e. goloshes, or *ḳobḳôb*).

## Toys and Games

For toys and games in Basrah there are hawk-shaped kites (*ṭayyârah*), slings (*meḳla'*, which I heard pronounced *meḳcha'*), tip-cat (played in the streets and called *ṣaḳlah w'lâḳ*, in Mosul *hâh(ḥ ?) w'ḳuṭṭah*), marbles (*cha 'ab*), which are not "shot" as we use them, but cast in a sweeping overhand manner. Two games certainly have survived from the ninth century B.C. (*vide* Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish*, Pl. III, 7), knucklebones, and whip-tops (*dawwâmah*, *dawwâmu*, (*h*)*ambûs*). While in Mosul I was given a wonderful doll-horse, about 5 inches high, made of cloth and caparisoned with beads. The equivalents of our "pax!" or "faynits!" and "play!" (words indicating unreadiness or readiness) are *amân* or *ḥarâm*, and *ḥalâl*, the latter two being, of course, "tabu" or "not tabu".

But, unhappily, the Tigris valley has long lost its ancient skill in producing artistic work. Baghdad and Basrah are now, alas! little more than middlemen for the older products of Persia.

*January*, 1922.

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# The Abhidhamma-Pitaka and Commentaries

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THIS year witnesses the completion of a task begun soon after the inception of its forty-two years of publishing texts by the Pali Text Society. I refer to the completion of its editions of that third section of the Buddhist canon entitled the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and of its editions of the Commentaries on that section. In 1883 the fourth of the seven Abhidhamma texts appeared: the Puggala-Paññatti. In the present year the Society brings out the conclusion of the seventh text: the Paṭṭhāna, and the belated Commentary on the second text: the Vibhanga. The following table gives a purview of the works and of the work:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (I) | 1885. | Dhammasangaṇi (ed. E. Müller). |
| | 1897. | Atthasālinī (Com. ed. E. Müller). |
| (II) | 1904. | Vibhanga (ed. C. Rhys Davids). |
| | 1923. | Sammoha-Vinodanī (Com. ed. A. P. Buddhadatta). |
| (III) | 1892. | Dhātukathā (ed. E. Gooneratne). |
| | 1892. | Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. E. Gooneratne). |
| (IV) | 1883. | Puggala-Paññatti (ed. R. Morris). |
| | 1914. | Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D. and G. Landsberg). |
| (V) | 1894–5. | Kathāvatthu (ed. A. C. Taylor). |
| | 1889. | Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. J. P. Minayeff). |
| (VI) | 1911–13. | Yamaka (ed. C. Rh. D.). |
| | 1912. | Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D.). |
| (VII) | 1906, 1921–3. | Paṭṭhāna (ed. C. Rh. D.). |
| | 1921–3. | Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D.). |

This table shows that, whereas, when the old Sinhalese

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Commentaries were recast into Pali—presumably by Buddhaghosa—fancy names were found for the commentaries on the first two books, the commentaries on the remaining five books were lumped together under the one prosaic title of *Commentary on the Five Books*. Why there should have been this apparent impatience I do not know. Only two of the five books are much shorter than the rest. Not one of the five was held to be unimportant. The last, in fact, in the eyes of the orthodox mediaeval Buddhist, was supreme in the infinity of its wisdom and, to use a modern sports term, extended the teacher very considerably when, according to the quaint myth, he inflicted it upon his long-suffering mother and her fellow-devas.[1] It is conceivable that fancy titles were running short. It is a pretty problem.

The Society cannot point to an equally rounded off work in the way of translations of the foregoing. But it has published translations of the fifth of the texts and of the first of the commentaries, and is about to publish a translation of the fourth text. A translation of the first text was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1900, and is in the happy position of re-emerging in a second edition. Thus we get :—

1900, 1923 (I). Translation *Buddhist Psychological Ethics* (trans. C. Rh. D.).

1915 (V). ,, *Points of Controversy* (trans. S. Z. Aung and C. Rh. D.).

1920–1 (I Com.). ,, *The Expositor* (trans. Maung Tin).

1924 (IV). ,, *Designation of Human Types* (trans. B. C. Law).

Finally, as a coda or, as some would prefer to say, an introduction to the lot, we might add the famous little manual Abhidhammatthasangaha of a later date :—

1884. Abhidhammatthasangaha (ed. T. W. Rhys Davids).

1910. Translation *Compendium of Philosophy* (by S. Z. Aung).

[1] *Expositor*, p. 17 f.

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The late founder of the P.T. Society did not a little unacknowledged editing on certain other texts, and where he could not do so, many have wished ruefully that he could have done so. But this was his only public venture in Abhidhamma. He placed the Dhammasaṅgaṇi in my hands, as it were a tangled skein, in 1893.

Such, then, are the works, and such has been, on and off, the P.T.S.'s work these forty years. "All is over except the shouting"—or, shall we say, the little choric dance we twelve may hold in spirit round the cenotaph of these fourteen first editions, continent linking hands with continent in us, nay world with world, for already a third of us are on the other side. And after the dance—for has not a burden fallen from our backs?—a few minutes of reflection.

I have said cenotaph, for least of all do I labour under any illusion that even the most finished European editions or translations—let alone our rough pioneer efforts—will quicken these dead bones to any power of teaching and enlightening our world, either East or West, as they once to a very limited extent may have done when a little world of monastic culture was by them taught *how to think consistently*. So little can this prospect be entertained, that we may well be disposed to ask ourselves whether this cenotaph of the works of a dead culture may not be *kenós* as well as *koinós*—empty as well as common. Has it all been a waste of time and energy, of life and the zest of life well spent? A learned decanal journalist has just committed himself to saying: "Almost the whole duty of man lies in the maxim: Waste not."

Over against this we might equally well dogmatize: The chief duty of man is to grow—to grow in himself, to make knowledge grow and goodness and beauty grow. Whether or not he grow or cause to grow wastefully is a secondary, if an important consideration. And when it is a quest of opening up buried treasures of past ideas, or opening up new vistas of unverified powers and resources, it is impossible for explorer and experimenter to judge beforehand: this is waste of time and

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energy. Much digging and many experiments will prove to have been so. And yet who will assert that pioneer work should therefore be shirked, nay, may it not be that, as Rhys Davids once said, "we grow by all such"?

Much treasure of old, and yet in a way of up-to-date thought it was held a generation ago might well be lying hid in Abhidhamma. The analogy of the term *τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά* seemed to fit it well. At the very outset of his task the commentator, discussing the term Abhidhamma, wrote in a rather misleading way of how it "exceeded and was distinct from the Dhamma",[1] much as a deva might be eminent among his peers (*ati-* or *abhi-deva*). And one of us, Dr. Taylor, pointed out this passage three years before it was edited.[2] Might we even hope to find in those seven books a plank here and there of positive exposition bridging over the lacunæ and the reserves and the silences in many of the Suttas? So, more or less, may some among us have hoped.

Anyway, we set forth, one now, another then, to explore our several seven hills, and we brought back our quarry. The cynical may say, this—is it not a mountain's way?—amounted to a bag of mice. We have revealed much meticulous catechizing, some inconclusive dialectic, and quite a little world of word permutations. Has our knowledge grown by it? Have labour and time been utterly wasted?

Speaking, if I may, for my spade-mates as well as for myself, we think not. We think we have in these works contributed a chapter to the history of the growth, within limits of time and location, of the human spirit. Considered in its due context, this chapter reveals how a certain kind of intensive culture may on the one hand stimulate, and on the other stultify that growth. And by all such considerations we ourselves grow.

Among these Abhidhamma compilers of the cloistered lives, and among the commentary compilers, a certain growth

[1] Or possibly dhamma's (doctrine). [2] *JRAS.* 1894, 560.

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may be discerned. It was of the kind that intensive culture in close-barred conditions naturally brings about. The great world of earth they knew nothing about. The teacher whom they had come to call "omniscient" had told their forefathers in the Order nothing about it. They were secluded in their work even from the little world of their fellowmen without the vihāra walls. They inherited as members of the Order an ample oral tradition of Vinaya and Sutta and Mātikā. And the Mātikā or tables of classification they expanded into a so-called Abhidhamma with certain patches of commentary in parts. The Vinaya was largely framed to meet special cases. The Suttas were largely records of how other special cases were met. Mostly, that is, they were precepts *ad hominem*. Thus the precept was served up in a way called *pariyāya* (a tiresome work to translate; etymologically a going round about). The Ābhidhammikas sought how to serve up the precept *ni-ppariyāyena*; in the abstract, stripped of its accessories and no longer an *œuvre d'occasion*.

Engaged on such work they would inevitably clarify their concepts, adjudge definite meaning to terms, co-ordinate and subordinate among terms and, where necessary, evolve new terms. In brief, it was, as I have said above and elsewhere,[1] a discipline in consistency of thought and language. And this, at that stage of Indian thought, was not a little needed.

We may illustrate this kind of intensive and introspective growth—for it was mainly psychological—by detecting how the dual division of mind into *citta* and *cetasika's* (i.e. the bare cognitive reaction to stimulus, and all the phases, factors, or co-efficients of the same, when analyzed) is beginning to intrude itself in the first book. Ultimately, that is, in the course of perhaps a few centuries, this division swept away, for all academical purposes, the clumsy old quincunx of the five skandhas. Again, we note the useful

[1] *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, Introd., pt. iv; *Vibhanga*, xx; *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 139, 177, etc.

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term *bhavanga* appearing in the seventh book, a word as much needed for "continuum" or "flux" of organic, including subconscious life, as these were by our modern psychology. Again, there is the very thoroughgoing expansion of the term *paccaya* (*pratyaya*) in a theory of relations. Twenty-four of these are distinguished, yet all are, at least by the Commentary, presented as species of the one genus, the relation of causality. This theory is quite one of the finest mice in our game-bag. It would be a noteworthy contribution by any philosophic school, ancient or modern. It does not appear to be anticipated in the Suttas even in a crude inchoate way, as are, in the Anupada Sutta,[1] the psychological introspective analyses expanded in the Dhamma Saṅgaṇi. But it is, in a way, a natural outcome of the central significance imposed by the Sāsana on the doctrine of the cause and extirpation of suffering. *Paccaya*—"cause," "reason for"—is in the Suttas undifferentiated from *hetu*. By intensive culture, *hetu* and twenty-three other relations are distinguished as aspects of natural causal agency.

These few instances must here suffice to show that the cloistered Ābhidhammikas were doing their best to let shine such light of thought about body and mind as the earlier tradition of their church had been able to kindle. There was probably not very much of the real original teaching of the founder in that tradition. The Eightfold Path is no longer central, is chopped about in all manner of ways, and the idea of carrying on his beneficent work seems undreamt of. Indeed, he has himself become a very shadowy figure, a person only alluded to in formulas, and in the fifth book Docetic and other heresies about him are discussed in a very cut-and-dried manner.

Herein, however, these early scholastics were not different from Christian teachers in the secular education of to-day. The academic teaching of the Theravāda was becoming practically no less secular. In the twelfth century manual,[2]

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii, 125. [2] *Abhidhammatthasangaha.*

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generally used ever since, the name, let alone the teaching of the founder, has faded out utterly, save for a grace-before-meat allusion. They might claim, in this, to be carrying out his injunctions to be (not *Sattha-saraṇā*, but) *attasaraṇā, dhammasaraṇā*—to be dependent not on him, but on themselves, on the doctrine.

And had those selves been living in closer, saner touch with their fellows, had that doctrine not become a closed tradition bound up in iron formulas, they might, in this self-cum-doctrine-dependence have let the lessons of earth-life play over them, they might have discerned that life to be in the throes of new moral growth, they might have let the light of this moral awakening shine on their church-built Dhamma; they might have seen in rebirth and the karma-force a wonderful field for the growth of those "selves" on which, for salvation, they were to depend; they might have grasped the truth—O! the triumph of it over tradition!—that, whereas body after body was used and laid down, whereas the force, the *śakti*, which they called mind, in this term and that, informed, innervated body after body, it was just those "selves", it was that *attā* on which they were biden to depend, it was that self which was really "theirs",[1] "they", as neither body nor mind could be, it was that "self" which at the very outset of his career the master bade men go and seek,[2]—*this* it was which, down the ages of rebirth, was to grow and grow till it blossomed into the very nature of the final goal.

But the artificial life decreed by ancient India, with its cleavage between lay and religious, shut them up in a paddock. And the formulas of a church which taught that all had been told, so that expansion of import and exposition was alone lawful, shut them up in a cellar. What their missionary brethren could learn, serving their fellows more directly, they could not. Hence in their psychology all and every kind

[1] "Yours": *tuṁhākaṃ*. *S.* iii, 33 f.; iv, 81 f.

[2] Vin. i, 1, 14.



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of reaction is pre-determined. The essential creativeness of life and mind is undreamed of. Confronted with this creativeness, complex and unpredictable, any theory of relations has always, even in our own day, proved a quite sterile subject. Buddhaghosa makes play with the twenty-four in his Visuddhi Magga expositions, but they led him to no new vista of truth. Truth, in his day, as the result of centuries of this cloistered culture, had very largely become a knowledge of "marks" (*lakkhaṇāni*), or salient features in just those concepts (and no others) which made up the little world of thought occupying the mind of the wise man in orders. So far he was at least positive, if circumscribed. Beyond this, truth consisted, according to that tradition with which he associated the name "men of old" (*porāṇā*), largely in negations. Where, ages before, the founder had been silent, where the founder had rejected alternatives without making any sweeping denials, there Buddhaghosa has been taught to say: there is not, there is nothing, there is no one. He does not seek to convince. He dogmatically denies.

And as we leave this house of cloistered lives, of a closed tradition, of a past dominating present and future, we have a sense of rooms swept and garnished, clean and tidy, of sealed windows, of drawn blinds, of no outlook towards the dawn.

*February*, 1923.

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## THE CHALDEAN KINGS BEFORE THE FLOOD

In the spring of 1922 Mr. H. Weld-Blundell purchased for the Ashmolean Museum a large collection of tablets and prisms at Bagdad. Among them I have found a small oblong tablet, now numbered W-B. 62 in our collection, which contains the long-sought Sumerian, or, as Berossus calls them, Chaldean kings who reigned before the Flood. The sources of Berossus as preserved by Apollodorus and Abydenus concerning the ten pre-diluvian kings have been discussed many times in various Assyriological works.[1] It was already obvious that the tradition of ten kings who reigned for an incredibly long period before the Flood came from Sumerian mythology. The Weld-Blundell tablet proves that the legend of ten pre-diluvian patriarchs preserved in Hebrew tradition and by the Greek historians of Babylonia was Sumerian. The so-called Sethite genealogy of the post-Exilic writer P. in Genesis x, although it greatly reduces the longevity of the ten pre-diluvian patriarchs and does not describe them as kings, clearly borrowed the idea from the common Sumerian source. With the original Sumerian record now before us, it is possible to test the veracity of Berossus, and he comes away from the examination with remarkably good reputation. He gave the pre-diluvian period at 120 sars of years, or 432,000 years. The new tablet has $127\frac{2}{3}$ sars, or 459,600 years, for the same period. Berossus ascribes his ten kings to the following cities :—

[1] See Hommel, " The ten Patriarchs of Berosus," PSBA., 1873, 243–6 ; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., 530–9 ; L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, 31–4 ; Poebel, *Historical Texts*, 85–6 and 110 ; S. Langdon, *Poème du Paradis*, 125–33.

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| | | | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alōros . . | Babylon . | 36,000 |
| 2. | Alaparos (son) . | Babylon ? . | 10,800 |
| 3. | Amēlōn . . | Pantibiblus . | 46,800 |
| 4. | Ammenōn . | Pantibiblus . | 43,200 |
| 5. | Megalaros . | Pantibiblus . | 64,800 |
| 6. | Daōnos . . | Pantibiblus . | 36,000 |
| 7. | Euedōrachos . | Pantibiblus . | 64,800 |
| 8. | Amempsinos . | Larak . | 36,000 |
| 9. | Opartes . . | Larak . | 28,800 |
| 10. | Xisuthros (son) . | ? . | 64,800 |

The original Sumerian source edited below assigns these ten kings to the following cities: 1 and 2 at Ḫabur, 3 and 4 at Ellasar, 5 and 6 at Badtibira (Pantibiblus), 7 at Larak, 8 at Sippar, 9 and 10 at Šuruppak. In the Sumerian epic of Creation and the Deluge, published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 1, only five pre-diluvian cities are mentioned. Ḫabur, dialectic *subaru*, is known to be either another name for Eridu or a quarter of that ancient city at the mouth of the Euphrates. See my *Babylonian Liturgies*, 115, n. 2. This Sumerian legend of Creation, although associating Anu, Enlil, and Ninḫarsag [1] with the Water-god, Enki of Eridu, in the creation of mankind, clearly regards the Water-god as the principal agent in the work of creation. He is here described as the deity who created the beasts of the field, the founder of laws, and builder of cities. In the pre-diluvian age he ordered five cities to be built for the cults of five deities. This part of the legend occurs in the second column of the tablet, "Eridu to the director the god Nudimmud [2] he gave. Secondly, to the Virgin (goddess) [3] Badtibira he gave. Thirdly, Larak to the god Pabilḫarsag he gave. Fourthly, Sippar to the god Utu he gave. Fifthly, Šuruppak to the god Aradda he gave." According to Sumerian tradition

[1] I.e. Heaven-god, Earth-god, and Earth-mother goddess.

[2] Title of Enki as creator of mankind.

[3] *nu-gig* = *ištaritu*, a title of the virgin goddess Innini. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 81–2.

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these were the only cities and the only cults which existed before the Flood. In the actual history of Sumer and Accad only Sippar attained much political importance and not one of these five cities mentioned in the Sumerian legend of creation became the seat of a dynasty. The Blundell tablet differs slightly from the Nippurian epic.

| *W-B.* 62. | *Nippur Epic of Creation.* |
|---|---|
| 1. Ḫâbur. | Eridu. |
| 2. Ellasar. | |
| 3. Badtibira. | Badtibira. |
| 4. Larak. | Larak. |
| 5. Sippar. | Sippar. |
| 6. Šuruppak. | Šuruppak. |

The historical tablet has Ellasar, which is omitted in the religious text. But Sippar was only a northern Semitic centre of the cult of the Sumerian sun-god, Utu or Babbar, at Ellasar. It is probable, therefore, that the Nippur tablet preserves the correct legend; Sumerian tradition attributed only five cities to the pre-diluvian age. It is interesting to learn which cults the Sumerians supposed to be the most primitive. At Habur or Eridu the worship of Enki, Ea, or Oannes the water-god, creator of mankind and founder of civilization, was universally recognized as the most ancient. Its location at the outlet of the Euphrates now identified with the ruins of Abu Shahrain is perfectly determined.

Badtibira, the Pantibiblus of the Greek historians, or "Wall of the metal workers" is described as the centre of the cult of Innini. In historical times Innini or Ishtar was worshipped chiefly at Erech in conjunction with the heaven-god Anu, and there is consequently some connexion between Erech and Badtibira. Ishtar and Tammuz were also closely associated in the oldest and most important cult of Sumerian religion, the cult of the mother goddess and her dying son, and Tammuz is repeatedly connected with Badtibira.[1] The

[1] The older reading of this name, *Durgurgur*, was erroneous. For Tammuz, lord of Badtibira, v. SBP. 318, 8; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 34, 7;

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principal temple in this city was E-inninâ or E-innina-kalamma, "Temple of Innini of the Land." Berossus assigns not only the fifth and sixth kings to Pantibiblus, but the third and fourth (originally of Ellasar) and seventh (originally of Larak) to this city. The emphasis placed upon Badtibira, in the sources from which the Greek historians obtained their information, indicates a large and important centre of ancient Sumerian tradition, a fact which also supports the conjecture of its identification with some very ancient part of the great city of Erech. Badtibira occurs only once in the historical records of Sumer and Accad. Sinidinnam, ninth king of the kingdom of Ellasar, praises himself for having built the great fortress Bad-tibira that he might "please the hearts of Shamash and Tammuz".[1] After the times of Hammurabi this city disappears from cuneiform literature.

Larak (Laranchae of Berossos) is represented as the seat of the cult of Pabilḫarsag, usually written Pabilsag, a type of the dying god Tammuz, son of the mother goddess Gula, but degraded into a local deity and consort of the mother goddess. See my note in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, p. 176. The ruins of Larak have not been identified. A contract of the late

Radau, BE. 30, Nos. 6, 8; No. 5, R. 11; BE. 30, No. 1. Rev. 10 has Badtibira(ki) with *É-innina-a*, probably the name of the temple at Badtibira. The god Lugal-Badtibira(ki) in K. 11928 (CT. 25, 38) is probably Tammuz, but the names *d. Tibira-kalam-ma* and *d. Tibira-dingir-ri-e-ne* "Artisan of the Land", "Artisan of the gods", CT. 24, 12, 24–5 = 25, 87 are titles of the Mother goddess, Ninḫarsag, supposed in Nippurian tradition to have created mankind from clay. See *Poème du Paradis*, 23 ff. According to Poebel, PBS. v, 157; i, 5, the temple in Badtibira was E-innina-kalam-ma.

[1] Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 208. The place is mentioned in letters of the period of Hammurabi; Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, 17, 7; 31, 7; 52, 6; 54, 5; Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, 39, 6. Ungnad, No. 52, actually refers to metal workers, and Lutz, No. 39, alludes to copper at Badtibira. The word means "Wall of the metal worker", and hence Hommel, *Geographie*, 358, identified it with the ruins of Tell Ṣifr, "mound of copper", near Ellasar, eastward beyond the Shaṭṭ el-Kar. Loftus found traces of a great copper industry at Tell Ṣifr. The contracts excavated at Tell Ṣifr and published by Strassmaier, *Die altbabylonische Verträge aus Warka*, do not mention the city Badtibira.

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period from Nippur describes its location on the bank of the "Old Tigris". This, of course, means the course of the Shaṭṭ el Ḥai, and apparently Larak is to be sought not far above Lagash.[1] The weeping mother goddess Gula-Bau-Arururu is repeatedly described as the queen of Larak in the liturgies and her cult here is generally associated with her cult at Isin. Larak was not a part of the great city Isin, as I erroneously concluded on the evidence of the liturgies in my earlier books. Isin has been identified with the ruins Bahriyet 17 miles south of Nippur.[2] The inclusion of Sippar or Ellasar in the list of pre-diluvian cities is intelligible, for the sun-god had his principal seat of worship there. The importance of Šuruppak in Sumerian mythology is difficult to explain. Their legends consistently affirm that the last of the ten kings lived here, and that the god Enki revealed to him the plot of the gods to destroy the world by a deluge; here he is said to have built the boat on which he and his wife escaped on the waters. The cult of the goddess *Sud* of Šuruppak and of *Aradda*, her spouse, does not appear to have occupied a prominent place in Sumerian religion.

In comparing the names of the kings preserved or partially preserved on the Weld-Blundell tablet with the list of Berossus, the solution of the Greek names is not so complete as was to be expected. Under influence of the ambitious priesthood of Babylon, where he lived, Berossus naturally substituted Babylon for Ḫabur or Eridu, but the names of the first two kings, Alorus and Alaparos, do not agree very well with *Alim* (?) and *Alagar*, if these are really the proper readings. In any case, Alaparos can no longer be identified with Adapa, the sage fisherman of Eridu and hero of the famous episode connected with his name. Amēlōn is represented by [ . . . ] *ki-du-un-nu*, who has the title *šakinkin*. If an original *Akidunnu* be assumed, the name Amēlōn may have descended from it by phonetic decay of $k > m$ and by

[1] See Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 43.
[2] See *JRAS.*, 1922, 431.

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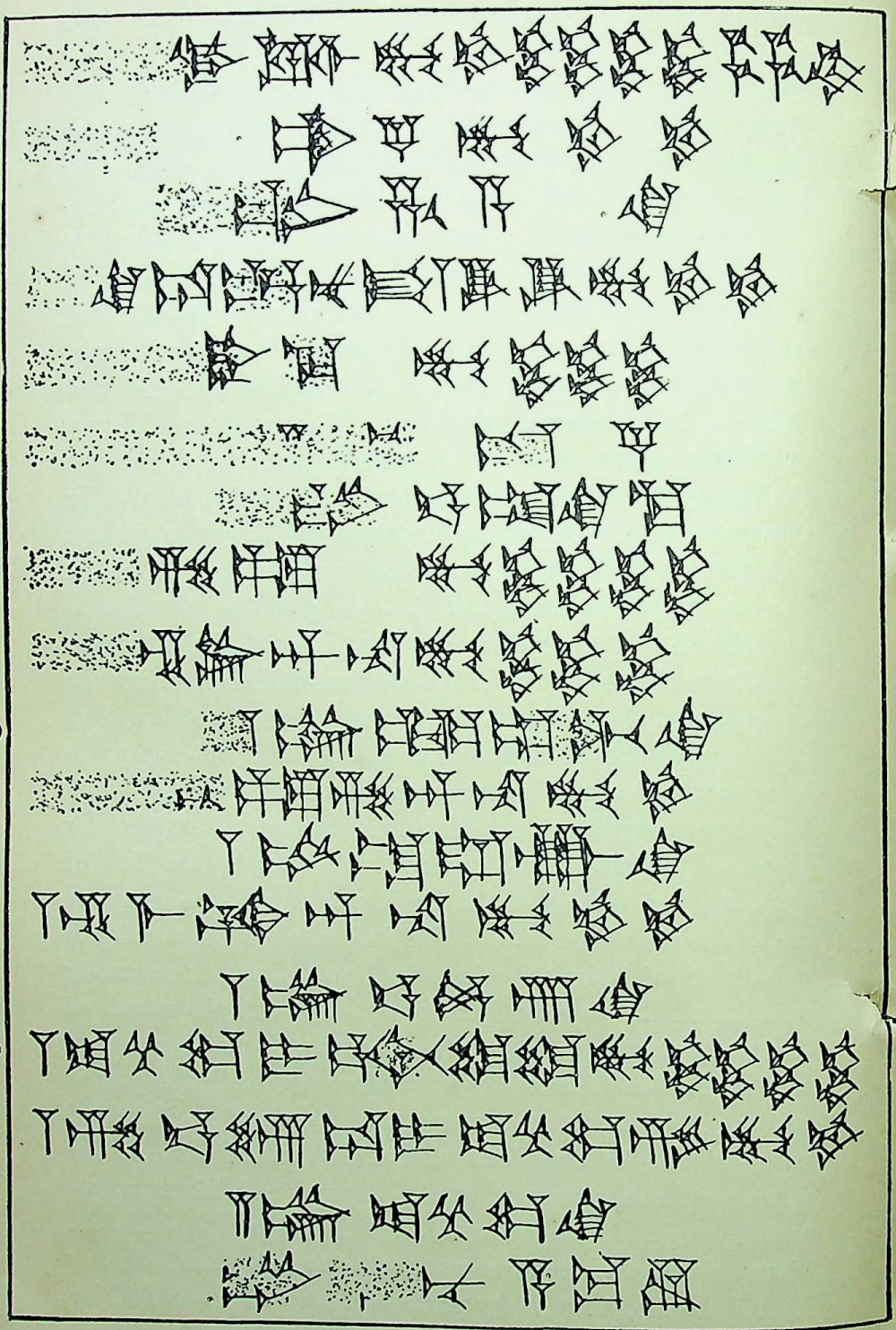

**Chaldean Kings before the Flood.**

(Ashmolean Museum, W-B. 62.)

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textual corruption of Δ to Λ. *Akidunnu* > *Amidunnu* and then by textual error Amīlun is an extremely probable explanation. The Greek name has been universally explained as Semitic from *amelu* "man". This conjecture, like that concerning Adapa, was false.

Ammenōn should correspond to the illegible name in line 5. The last sign may be *la* or *ma* or *ku*, and nothing can be made of the traces before it. Megalaros corresponds to a name ending in *zi*. Daōnos obviously represents *lù-an-na* of the name [ . . . ]-*en-lù-an-na*. Euedorachos, the seventh king, is Enmeduranna, the eighth king of the Sumerian list, and "Amempsinos" descended by unusual corruption from [ . . . ] *sibzianna*, which again proves all the ingenious conjectures made to explain the Greek name to be false. Berossus makes him the eighth king, but he accurately reports the length of his reign. Opartes is proven to have been the father of the ninth king Aradda or Arad-gin, and Polyhistor's *Ardates* is at last explained. Having substituted father for son in the case of the ninth king, Berossus, following a tradition accepted by the writer of the Epic of Gilgamish, supposed Opartes to have been the father of the tenth king, whom he calls Xisuthros. The publication of this Sumerian source proves that every conjecture, except one, put forward to explain any or all of the corrupt Greek forms in Berossus was erroneous.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *Alim*[1] *mu* 67,200 *-kam.* | Alim (ruled) 67,200 years. |
| 2. [ . . . . . ] *làl-gar*[2] *mu* 72,000. | [*A* ?] *la(l)gar* (ruled) 72,000 years. |
| 3. [2] *lugal Ha-bûr-(ki).* | Two kings at Ḫabur. |

[1] The group of signs here read *alim* is probably a local (Ellasar) variant of Thureau-Dangin, REC. 228. The name clearly represents the original of the Greek Ἄλωρος.

[2] For *làl-gar* apparently the name of a sanctuary of treasury in the inscriptions of Senecherib, see SAI. 2120; CT. 26, col. v, 32, and the hymn to Dungi, CT. 36, 26, 10, *làl-gar-ra-bi*. A restoration [*A*]-*làl-gar*, Alagar, may conceivably afford an explanation of the name Ἀλάπαρος, given by Berosus. The Greeks corrupted Γ (gamma) to Π pe(pi).

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| | |
|---|---|
| 4. [ . . . ] *ki-du-un-nu ša-kin-kin mu* 72,000. | [ . . . ]-*kidunnu šakinkin* (ruled) 72,000 years. |
| 5. [ . . . ] *uk*(?)-*ku*(?)*mu* 20,800. | [ . . . ] *ukku* (?) (ruled) 20,800 years. |
| 6. . . . . *ne-gar.* | They made . . . |
| 7. [2] *lugal Ellasar-*(*ki*)*-ma.* | Two kings of Ellasar. |
| 8. [ . . . ]-*zi sib mu* 28,800. | [ . . . ]-*zi*, the shepherd (ruled) 28,800 years. |
| 9. . . . *en-lù-an-na* [1] *mu mu* 21,600. | [ . . . ] en-lu-an-na (ruled) 21,600. |
| 10. 2 *lugal Bad-tibira* [2]-(*ki*) | Two kings in Badtibira. |
| 11. . . . *sib-zi-an-na* [3] *mu* 36,000. | [ . . . ] sibzianna(ruled) 36,000 years. |
| 12. 1 *lugal La-ra-ak-*(*ki*). | One king at Larak. |
| 13. *En-me-dur-an-na* [4] *mu* 72,000. | Enmeduranna (ruled) 72,000 years. |
| 14. 1 *lugal Zimbar-*(*ki*). | One king at Sippar. |
| 15. *Arad* [5]-[*gin*] *dumu Ubur-tu-tu* [6] *mu* 28,800. | Aradgin, son of Uburtutu (ruled) 28,800 years. |

[1] Berosus gave this name as *Daōnus*, a shepherd of Pantibiblus. *Daōnus* is obviously a textual corruption for *Laōnus*, a transcription of *lu-an-na*.

[2] The group *URUD-NAGAR* has been read *gurgur*, cf. BL. 19, n. 2; but CT. 29, 46, 5 preserves the true reading of this group, *ti-bi-ra*; *tibira* = *ḳurḳurru* metal worker, loan-word *tabiru* (v. Ungnad, ZA. 31, 276), is obviously the reading of this ideogram in the name of the city in question, and it also affords the lost original of the Greek Pantibiblos.

[3] This name was, somehow, corrupted into *Amempsinos* in the text preserved by Berossus and occurs wrongly as the eighth king, not the seventh. Berossus preserved, however, the correct tradition regarding the length of his reign and his city.

[4] Berossus preserves this name in the form *Euedōrachos*, and places him seventh in the list. The Greek tradition is possibly correct in giving Pantibiblos as the city of this king. The variant readings *Euedōreschos*, *Aedōreschos* of Abydenus, and *Edōranchos* of Eusebius, prove that the Sumerian original was En-me-dur-an-ki, in Babylonian tradition the founder of the art of divination. Zimmern had already explained this name correctly.

[5] Written *SU-KUR-LAM*; *gin* is omitted in line 15. Arad or Aratta is a title of the gods of Šuruppak; v. PBS., x, 177, n. 4, for $^{d}$*Aratta*=Ninlil or Sud of Šuruppak, and for *Arad* or *Arattâ* = Enlil, v. PSBA., 1911, 94 pl., l. 5. Often in N.Pra. at Šuruppak; *Enim-* $^{d}$*Arad-da-zid*, RTC. 15

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16. *Zi-ud-sud-du dumu Aradgin mu* 36,000. — Zi-udsuddu [2], son of Aradgin, (ruled) 36,000 years.
17. 2 *lugal Šuruppak(ki).*[1] — Two kings at Šuruppak.
18. [10] *lugal*[*pa*]-*nu Abubi.* — [Ten kings] before the Flood.

S. LANGDON.

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## SURESVARA AND MANDANA-MISRA

It is now commonly believed that these two are the same, and that Sureśvara was the name assumed by Maṇḍana-Miśra after he became a *sannyāsin* as a result of his adopting Śaṅkara's *advaita*.[3] There is evidence in old Sanskrit works to show that the two names in all probability designate different individuals. It is as follows :—

(1) One of the main distinctions between the two classical schools of *advaita*—known as the *Vivaraṇa* and the *Bhāmatī* schools—is in respect of the seat (*āśraya*) of *avidyā*. While, according to the former, the *avidyāśraya* is *Brahman* itself, it is the *jīva* according to the latter.[4] The view of the *Vivaraṇa*

Rev. end ; *Lugal-* [d]*.Arad-kenag*, 15, R. ii, 4, etc. The noun *arad, arat* really means *kabtu*, honoured, *tanittu*, honour, CT. xi, 49, 34-5.

[6] Berossus has the name of the ninth king Opartes, substituting father for son. The length of this reign is correctly reported in Berossus. The scribe here employs *ubur* (SAI. 3891) for the ordinary *ubar=kidinnu*, protegé. The name Ubar-tu-tu, father of Utnapištim, occurs in the Epic of Gilgamish, xi, 23 ; ix, 6, but our text makes Uburtutu the grandfather of Utnapištim. Berossus assigned Opartes to Larak.

[1] Or Aratta. Obviously the tradition, which on the basis of Apollodorus' version of Berossus assigns the ninth king to Larak, is erroneous. Alexander Polyhistor's summary of the history of Berossus is verified by the new text. Polyhistor gives the name of the ninth king Ἀρδάτης, father of Xisuthrus ; Ardates represents *Aradda* or *Araddagin* of the Ashmolean tablet. See Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 26.

[2] This name is translated by *Uta-napištim*-[*arik*] in the Babylonian legend of the Deluge, but Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 12, preserves the original Sumerian in the form Sisythes. Berossus gives Xisuthros as the name of the tenth king and the hero of the Deluge, a form based upon a Semitic title of Ziudsuddu. See *Poème du Paradis*, 133, n. 1.

[3] For the current view, see e.g. Keith : *Karma-Mīmāmasā*, p. 11.

[4] See *Pañca-pādikā-viṿaraṇa*, pp. 45-6, and *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (Kumbhakonam edition), p. 65.

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in this respect is the same as that of Sureśvara, who maintains with great force of argument that *Brahman* is the *viṣaya* as well as the *āśraya* of *avidyā*.[1] Similarly, the view of the *Bhāmatī* is identical with that of Maṇḍana, as is clear from the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* (ii, 174), where the author, who was a pupil of Sureśvara,[2] criticizes Maṇḍana's view that the *jīva* is the seat of *avidyā*. It is instructive to note the terms of reference here, which suggest a wide difference between Maṇḍana's views and those of Śaṅkara :—

*parihṛtya Maṇḍanavacaḥ, taddhyanyathā prasthitam.*

The *Bhāmatī*, by the way, has thus revived a doctrine which was not acceptable to the early exponents of Śaṅkara.

(2) A second point of difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara is in regard to the conception of *advaita*. When the identity of *Brahman* and the *jīva* is realized, *avidyā* is dispelled. This is *mukti*. Here a rather super-subtle question is raised as to whether or no the *avidyā-nivṛtti*, which is of the nature of *abhāva*, endures in that stage. This question, it is obvious, is due to the influence of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, which recognizes *abhāva* or "negation" as an *atirikta-padārtha*, i.e. a category distinct from the six positive categories—*dravya*, *guṇa*, etc.—and formulates four varieties of it. The *avidyā-nivṛtti* is an *abhāva* of the *dhvaṃsa*-type. According to the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, when anything positive is destroyed, it leaves behind it a *dhvaṃsābhāva*, which lasts till eternity. In Śaṅkara's view, as also in Sureśvara's, which does not accept *abhāva* as a distinct category, the *avidyā-nivṛtti* is the ultimate ground itself, viz. *Brahman*.[3] Moreover, *avidyā*, not being absolutely real, cannot strictly be said to leave an *abhāva* behind it. Maṇḍana, however, maintained the persistence of *avidyā-nivṛtti* in the *mukti* stage, so that eventually there are in his view two principles—*Brahman*, as in Śaṅkara's *advaita*, and *avidyā*-

[1] See, for instance, *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, iii, 1.
[2] *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka*, i, 8.
[3] See e.g. *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, ii, 117, *Bṛhad. Up. Vārtika*, p. 467, st. 203.

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*nivṛtti* in addition to it. This would constitute a doctrine of *dvaita*, and not of *advaita*; but Maṇḍana seems to have held that the admission of an *abhāva* does not really clash with the *advaita* doctrine, inasmuch as the *advaita* that is intended is *bhāvādvaita*, i.e. monism excluding only other *positive* entities and not also the negative.[1]

(3) According to Śaṅkara, the final knowledge which leads to *Brahma*-realization is got *directly* through the *mahāvākyas*, like *Tat tvam asi*, whatever moral or mental discipline is necessary being regarded as preceding that knowledge.[2] This assumes that verbal statements can give rise to *immediate* knowledge, and can refer to the *unrelated* Absolute. Neither of these points is conceded by other Indian thinkers. They consider that all verbal knowledge is *necessarily* mediate and refers to things which are in relation with one another. Maṇḍana follows the generality of Indian thinkers and maintains that *upaniṣadic* teaching, being expressed in the form of words, must partake of the character of all verbal testimony and signify something as related and as mediate. But admitting, as he does, like Śaṅkara, that *Brahman* is neither related nor mediate in truth,[3] he concludes, on the strength of statements like *Ātmetyeva upāsīta* (*Bṛ. Up.*, I, iv, 7), that for *Brahma*-realization *upaniṣadic* knowledge has to be followed up by a course of meditation. This meditation, according to him, will transform what is mediated knowledge of a related entity into an *immediate* vision of the *unrelated* Absolute. It is then that life's goal will be reached. One of the chief *upaniṣadic* texts relied upon by this school is *Bṛ. Up.*, IV, iv, 21, *vijñāya prajñāṃ kurvīta*—which, apparently at least, makes a distinction between two types of knowledge—one as it is first conveyed by the Upaniṣads and the other which results from meditation upon it. This view is criticized

[1] See *Laghu-candrikā* on *Advaita-siddhi*, by *Brahmānanda-Sarasvatī*, i, 13 (Kumbhakonam edition), p. 112.

[2] *Pañca-pādikā*, p. 99.

[3] See *Bṛ. Up. Vārtika*, IV, iv, st. 801, 803, and 807.

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in various works of the school of Śaṅkara,[1] though generally the means of identifying it as Maṇḍana's are lacking. In *Bṛ. Up. Vārtika*, however, where Sureśvara alludes to this view (IV, iv, st. 796) for criticizing it, his commentator describes it as "that of Maṇḍana and others". Thus we here have a third point of doctrinal divergence between the two thinkers.

It will probably be thought that the evidence so far adduced refers to Maṇḍana, while it is Maṇḍana-Miśra whom tradition identifies with Sureśvara. There is, of course, nothing impossible in the hypothesis that Maṇḍana and Maṇḍana-Miśra were distinct, even though we shall then have to assume that both alike were Vedāntins. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions several authors who bore the name of Maṇḍana. But it seems improbable, especially when we take the following points into consideration :—

(1) Reference has been made above to the mention of Maṇḍana in the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka*. Madhu-sūdana-sarasvatī, in his commentary on the work, identifies him with Maṇḍana-Miśra.[2]

(2) According to the tradition preserved at Śṛṅgeri in the Mysore Province, where Sureśvara is supposed to have been installed as the first pontiff by Śaṅkara himself, Maṇḍana-Miśra is different from Sureśvara. This tradition is embodied in a poem—*Guru-vaṃśa-kāvya*, composed at the end of the eighteenth century—which describes Śaṅkara as meeting Maṇḍana-Miśra first and then Sureśvara.[3]

(3) According to the same poem Sureśvara's civil name was "Viśvarūpa". If that were so, he could not well have been known as Maṇḍana-Miśra also previous to his becoming a *sannyāsin*.

[1] Cf. for instance, *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, i, 67.

[2] See Benares edition, part ii, p. 143.

[3] Canto ii, 43–60. This work is now being printed at the Vāṇī Vilās Press. Srīraṅgam. I have to express my grateful thanks to Brahma Srī Rāma Śāstriyar of Śṛṅgeri for allowing me to read the work so far as it is printed, and make use of the information contained therein.

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Attention may also be drawn in this connexion to the difference in style of the two writers, as judged from works known for certain to be theirs (such as *Vidhi-viveka* and *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*); but arguments based upon style are not very conclusive.

M. HIRIYANNA.

MYSORE,
SOUTH INDIA.

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## SYRIAQUE ET NABATEEN

Dans sa notice sur le texte syriaque des *Prose Refutations of S. Ephrem*, publiée dans le dernier fascicule du *JRAS.* (1922, pp. 529, 530), M. A. Mingana, relève, entre autres, deux mots d'aspect insolite où il veut voir des fautes de lecture ou de copiste.

Le premier : נפשתא (au pluriel) semble avoir, d'après le contexte, le sens de "sepulchres". L'auteur, embarrassé par ce mot—dont le sens ordinaire est en effet, comme il le dit : "souls"—propose de corriger graphiquement : נושתא (=ناووس). La correction semble inutile, si l'on veut bien se rappeler que le mot נפש (proprement "âme") est employé couramment, par exemple, dans les inscriptions araméennes des Nabatéens au sens de "tombeau, sépulcre"; nous avons même, au No. 146 du C.I.S. ii, le mot au même état grammatical (pluriel à l'état emphatique) que dans le texte syriaque, soit : נפשתא, "les sépulcres."

Le second mot en litige est כפרא. Quoi qu'en pense M. Mingana, on peut l'inscrire en toute confiance dans le lexique syriaque avec le sens de "sepulchral vault", sens que les éditeurs lui avaient attribué avec raison. Nous pouvons écarter sans scrupule la correction arbitraire עפרא "earth, soil". Ici encore c'est le Nabatéen qui vient nous apporter la lumière. Les épitaphes de Medāin Sāleh nous donnent maint exemple de l'emploi de כפרא au sens de caveau

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funéraire. J'ai montré jadis (*Etudes d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. i, p. 146) que l'arabe كفر connaissait encore ce sens spécial, et que ce mot, par confusion populaire avec le grec κόπρος "fumier", avait donné naissance à la singulière légende rapportée par Strabon (p. 667) d'après laquelle les Nabatéens, n'estimant pas plus les cadavres que du fumier, *enterraient leurs rois eux-mêmes à côté des leurs trous à fumier*.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

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## THE SUBORDINATE IMPERATIVE IN PERSIAN

In a note contributed to the *Classical Review* (1899, vol. xiii, p. 272) I pointed out that a line of Ḥáfiẓ (ed. Rosenzweig, iii, 204, 5) :—

من نگویم که کنون با که نشین و چه بنوش

"I say not with whom now thou should'st sit and what thou should'st drink"

supplies a Persian parallel to the Greek idiom, of which οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον is the most familiar example. This construction is extremely rare in Persian. The grammars ignore it, and after twenty-three years I can add only one more instance, also from Ḥáfiẓ (ed. Rosenzweig, iii, 124, 2) :—

من نگویم چه کن ار اهل دلی خود تو بگوی

"I say not what thou should'st do. If thou hast understanding, say (that) thyself!"

It appears probable that the use of the imperative in subordinate (interrogative) clauses may occur in Persian literature before Ḥáfiẓ, and I shall be grateful for any such references. There is no instance in the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

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## ARE NAIRS SUDRAS?

In a notice of Rothfeld's *Women of India*, the reviewer states, on p. 129, that "the charming ladies of the Nair community, though Sudras by caste, are given a place in this noble class (Rajputs)". Are they Sudras? I have long doubted the correctness of this ascription, and have thought that they have as much right to be ranked as Rajputs as any other communities of that class that have grown up in India through the centuries. This raises much larger questions. Should Europeans use the term Sudra to describe such a people at all? Should the term be held to have the same signification in Southern as in Northern India? I remember that just fifty years ago—that is, before the inquiries into caste origins became serious—a highly educated native of Madras, not a Nair, when I asked him about his caste, saying quite proudly: "I am a Sudra." His manner and his statement have always remained in my memory.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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## LA LÉGENDE DE BUDDHAGHOSA

M. Finot, in an article entitled "La Légende de Buddhaghosa", in *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Paris, 1921, doubts the tradition that Buddhaghosa was born in India and went in the fifth century to Ceylon, where he retranslated the Ceylonese commentaries into Pali because the original Pali commentaries had been lost. The first part of the article is taken up with an examination of the sources of our knowledge of Buddhaghosa. The Burmese sources of information are dismissed as of no authority, since they "are merely an echo of Ceylonese historiography, altered by an insatiable national vanity". This is rather a bold pronouncement, for, although the beginning of Burmese history are lost in legend, an impartial scholar will not fail to find a substratum of truth in the history. Besides, considering that no one has yet made a



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scientific study of Burmese chronicles and shown their exact relationship to the Ceylon chronicles, a pronouncement as that of M. Finot is, to say the least, premature, and would be in error if there was any truth in the statement of Forchhammer [1] that the Burmese chroniclers had confused our Buddhaghosa with a later Buddhaghosa who *did* go to Ceylon from Burma. However that may be, their claim that Buddhaghosa was a native of southern Burma is discredited, not by the evidence of the Burmese chronicles, but by the absence of evidence in Buddhaghosa's writings that he is acquainted with places or persons in Indo-China, as there is evidence in them of his acquaintance with Ceylon. A casual reference, like the one to Suvaṇṇabhūmi,[2] does not go against this argument, since Buddhaghosa is here quoting the stock list of Buddhist missionaries to the different countries and gives no indication of his acquaintance with those countries. From the discussion of this point the commentaries on the *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada* are excluded as being, in all probability, not the works of Buddhaghosa.[3]

M. Finot next examines the Ceylonese sources such as the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, *Saddhammasangaha*, and *Buddhaghosuppatti*, which are late works and contain much legendary matter. He has utilized this legendary stuff to show that the tradition that Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon from India is only a legend, that the name Buddhaghosa is not authentic, that it was never known outside of Ceylon, and that it is a name assumed by a group of Ceylon writers. He has not found it difficult to show this by setting one legendary passage against another. Unfortunately, his conclusions are drawn from a study of these late works of Buddhaghosa, and not from a study of his writings themselves. On these writings he admits that he

[1] Quoted by Rhys Davids in his article on Buddhaghosa in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

[2] Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, iii, 314.

[3] Burlingame in *Buddhist Legends*, p. 58 (Harvard Oriental Series), comes to the conclusion that Buddhaghosa is not the author of these two works.

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has merely cast a glance, and that only to support his contention. It is true that the Chinese Pilgrims, Fa-hian and Hiuan-tsang, make no reference to Buddhaghosa. The value of this negative evidence is not reliable. A writer in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*[1] argues that Buddhaghosa did not visit Ceylon till *after* Fa-hian, and assigns A.D. 483 as the date of that visit. Now we know from Takakusu[2] that the *Samantapāsādikā* was translated into Chinese at Canton in A.D. 489. Although the two dates leave too little an interval of time for an important work like the *Samantapāsādikā* to have been composed in Ceylon (as is believed) and translated into Chinese at Canton, they show that the whole question about the Chinese Pilgrims on Buddhaghosa is unsettled, and any evidence drawn from them is at present doubtful. M. Finot rejects the tradition that the *Samantapāsādikā* was composed by Buddhaghosa on the ground that the author's name is not mentioned in the Chinese translation. But Takakusu tells us that it was not a habit of Chinese translators even to mention the dialects from which the translations were made, and that possibly some Buddhist book may refer to Buddhaghosa under another name.[3] Since we can know little or nothing about this Chinese *Samantapāsādikā* before the edition promised by Takakusu comes out, we can place no reliance on the negative evidence of the silence of the Chinese translator regarding Buddhaghosa.

The question will not be finally decided until all Buddhaghosa's works have been printed, translated, and critically studied. But some attempt at finding out who Buddhaghosa is in his writings may even now be made.

The tradition that he was born a Brahman is strengthened by the indication in his writings that he was acquainted with the Vedas. He makes reference to the Vedas,[4] and gives a

[1] Vol. i, part 2.
[2] *I-tsing, Records of Buddhist Religion*, 217.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 416 f.
[4] *Visuddhimagga*, 384.

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vivid description of one practising Atharva power, i.e. power spoken of in the *Atharvaveda*,[1] in a way to show that he is acquainted with Vedic literature. There is evidence also to show his acquaintance with the Sānkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. He lays stress on the difference between the Buddhist conception of *avijjā* (ignorance) and the Pakativādin's conception of *pakati* (original nature) as the *causeless root-cause of the world*.[2] "What, is ignorance also, like the *pakati* of Pakativādins, the causeless root-cause of the world? No; it is not causeless, for the cause of ignorance has been stated thus: ignorance originates through the origination of the intoxicants. But is there any explanation by which there may be a root-cause? What is this?" By way of answer the Buddha's saying is quoted: "The ultimate starting-point, brethren, of ignorance, before which it did not exist, but after which it came into being, is not revealed."[3] And Buddhaghosa proves that the Buddhist conception of *paṭiccasamuppāda* (genesis through cause) is not the same as the imaginary conception of *pakati* and *purisa* of the heretics.[4] Another reference to the Sānkhya may be sought in his conception of the relation between *nāma* and *rūpa*, a conception which reminds one of the Sānkhya definition of the relation between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, since the same simile[5] of the blind and the lame is used to explain that relation. Further, his definition of *samūha* as "the simultaneous occurrence of many states"[6] may be another link with the Sānkhya.

Buddhaghosa's geographical knowledge is confined to India and Ceylon. He refers to the Ganges and the Godāvarī,[7] to the lands of the Assaka and Aḷaka,[8] and to the Damilas

[1] *Expositor* (Pali Text Society, Translation Series), 122.
[2] *Visuddhimagga*, 525.
[3] *Anguttara Nikāya*, v, 113.
[4] *Visuddhimagga*, 578.
[5] Ibid. 596; *Expositor*, 370.
[6] *Expositor*, 81.
[7] Ibid. 186.
[8] *Paramatthajotikā*, ii, 2, 581.

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and the Andhas,[1] besides many places in Ceylon. Although these references are too meagre to prove anything conclusively they may be held to lend support to the tradition under discussion.[2]

Lastly, M. Finot's suggestion that Buddhaghosa is a name assumed by a group of Ceylonese authors, who wrote the commentaries attributed to that name would not only accuse such authors of untruth, deceit, and hypocrisy, but also attribute to them that egoism, that *attā*, which it is their first duty to eradicate. And we know that these commentaries bear ample witness to their moral character and saintly life. Thus the tradition that Buddhaghosa was a native of India is one not to be lightly rejected. And we have seen that he was acquainted with the Vedas and the Sānkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy.

PE MAUNG TIN.

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It is known to many in this Society that there was in preparation by the American Presbyterian Mission at Urumia a Concordance of the Peshitta Old Testament. After 1903 the expenses of the undertaking were met by the Hartford Theological Seminary, and the writer of the present Note was entrusted with the drawing up of the plan of the Concordance and with the duty of general advice and supervision. The actual making of the slips was done by native workers at Urumia, and supervised by Dr. W. A. Shedd there. Dr. Shedd, in fact, was the real maker of the Concordance, and gave to the task—only a small part of his multitudinous labours at Urumia—a most accurate scholarship and detailed patience. The basis was the Perkins, or Urumia, edition of the Old Testament according to the Nestorian Canon without the Apocrypha. With the Urumia text, Ceriani's

[1] *Manoratthapūraṇī*, 58, Ceylon edition.

[2] Mr. B. C. Law in "A Note on Buddhaghosa's Commentaries," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xv, 1909, pp. 107 f., has thrown out suggestions which point to the same conclusion.

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photo-lithograph of the Codex Ambrosianus was collated and all the variants recorded. The same was done with Barnes' critical edition of the Psalms and with his "Text of Chronicles". Everything was put in except enclitics and inseparable prepositions and particles; for proper names there were references only.

All this, unhappily, has to be put in the historic past. When the war broke out the work was ready for the printer and had been tested and corrected throughout. Dr. Shedd was occupied in reviewing the corrections when he was compelled to stop. In 1918, after the flight of the American Mission, with some thousands of refugees, to British protection in the South, the fruits of his long labour were destroyed in the loot of the Urumia Mission Station. Dr. Shedd himself died on the flight, and was buried by the roadside. It is a terrible story, and is told by his wife in her biography of her husband, which has just appeared ("The Measure of a Man", by Mary Lewis Shedd: George H. Doran Co., New York). In that horrible record of human suffering the fate of a book seems but a small matter; but this was one of the great undertakings of scholarship, and its loss is to be reckoned among the historical calamities of learning.

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

## Short Notices of Recent Books on Chinese Subjects

THE CHINESE DRAMA. By R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A. With six illustrations from original paintings by C. F. WINZER. 15×11, 36 pp. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1921.

An authoritative study of this subject has been long overdue. Since 1838, when Bazin published translations of four plays of the Yüan period with a short introduction, it has received scant attention from Western writers. And the little that has been said has often been misleading. Mr. Johnston comments on the popular fallacy to which even the author of *Village Life in China* has helped to give currency. That Chinese plays are long enough to last many hours or even days is as widely believed in this part of the world as that most Chinese habitually eat dogs and murder a large proportion of their female infants. The truth is that most of their plays are shorter than ours, but that they follow one another without pause or change of scenery (for the adequate reason that there is no scenery). The last remark applies to the old tradition. The modern tendency to copy everything Western has led to the opening in several large cities of theatres equipped with drop-curtain and other borrowed paraphernalia.

The author gives an illuminating historical outline, going back to witch-dancers and spell-chanters of 3,000 years ago and tracing the development of the drama down to the present day. He tells us that a trustworthy work on the subject written in Chinese by a Japanese is now being translated into English.

THE CHINESE THEATRE. By CHU-CHIA-CHIEN. Translated from the French by J. A. GRAHAM. With illustrations from paintings, sketches, and crayon drawings by ALEXANDRE JACOVLEFF. 13×10, 36 pp., 49 illustrations. London: John Lane, 1922.

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The respective merits of text and illustrations in the book just noticed are reversed in this publication ; for M. Jacovleff's admirable drawings and the reproductions of ten native woodcuts give the work its value. The letterpress does not bear comparison with Mr. Johnston's able sketch.

STORIA DELLA FILOSOFIA CINESE ANTICA. By GIUSEPPE TUCCI. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6$, xii+222 pp., 2 plates. Bologna : N. Zanichelli, N.D.

It is a strange fact that among the countless books published on Chinese subjects no adequate attempt up to now has been made to give a general survey of ancient Chinese philosophy. This book is therefore all the more welcome, and it is satisfactory to learn that it is the forerunner of a more detailed and comprehensive study from the same pen. Avowedly writing for those who are not specialists in Chinese matters, Sig. Tucci wisely refrains from entering into details of chronology and biography. He confines his attention to a tentative summary of the thought characterizing various schools up to the end of the Han dynasty in their several relationships and he appends translations of distinctive utterances attributed to the great philosophers of those early times.

LA RELIGION DES CHINOIS. By MARCEL GRANET. $7\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$, xiii+202 pp. Paris : Gauthier-Villars & Cie, 1922.

It is obviously impossible in a handbook of this size to explore the vast field suggested by the title. Happily the author has not attempted the task. He scarcely mentions Manichæism, Nestorianism, or Islam, and he deals with Taoism and Buddhism in a chapter of forty pages. Space thus remains for a theme which M. Granet has studied with such distinguished success in earlier works—the life of ancient China. He adds to this an estimate of religious feeling in modern China, and it strikes one as admirably just.

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MELANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GEOGRAPHIE ORIENTALES. By HENRI CORDIER. Tome iii, $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 368 pp. Paris: J. Maisonneuve & Fils, 1922.

The five articles collected in this volume have been published previously, but they appeared in four different journals between the years 1883 and 1918, and therefore were not readily accessible. They provide important contributions to the history of commercial and political enterprise in Asia by European nations during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries.

AN INDEX OF CHINESE ARTISTS. By ARTHUR WALEY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii+112 pp. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1922.

Only those who have attempted to grapple with the intricacies of native catalogues of painting and to search for biographical records of artists can appreciate fully the immense labour involved in the preparation of this invaluable index. All collectors and students of Far Eastern art owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Waley, and his book must be often in their hands.

CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS. By the Rev. JAMES HUTSON. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, 210 pp. Shanghai: Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, 1921.

These studies are the result of many years of painstaking inquiry by a missionary living in a town 40 miles to the north-west of the capital of Szechuan, and they show that the author has achieved his aim to avoid an adverse spirit of criticism and to see things as the Chinese see them. Besides exhibiting this tolerant spirit of the true investigator, they have the merit of being compiled without the aid of Western writings. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Hutson will publish an enlarged edition, well indexed, of this valuable contribution to Chinese ethnology. It should be added that the book is a collection of articles which have appeared in the *New China Review*.

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TRAVELS OF A CONSULAR OFFICER IN EASTERN TIBET. By ERIC TEICHMAN, C.I.E., B.A. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv+248 pp., 64 plates, and 8 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

About a year ago there appeared Mr. Teichman's admirable account of his travels in north-west China. This work may be regarded as still more important, since it narrates the beginnings of war between Chinese and Tibetans on the border in 1918 and his services as mediator in the negotiations which led to peace. Its value as a historical document from the pen of an eyewitness is still further enhanced by an able summary of the relations between China, Tibet, and India from early times up to 1918, and by the author's excellent maps and photographs.

BOOKS ON CHINA IN THE HANKOW CLUB LIBRARY. 1922.

It is interesting to look through the catalogue of a library which has been got together mainly in recent years with the object of selecting only books useful to its members. Much labour has evidently been expended on this catalogue, and a beginning has been made to index articles relating to China which have appeared in some periodicals. It is to be hoped that work so valuable will be extended to other publications, such as the *Journal Asiatique*, *T'oung Pao*, *BEFEO.*, and our own *Journal*, and that we may look forward to another edition which will be a *vade-mecum* for students, even if they have not the advantage of using the Library.

THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS. Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China. Recovered and described by AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. Introductory Essay by LAURENCE BINYON. 16×12, xii+65 pp., 48 plates. London: Quaritch, 1921.

Students of the treasure trove of Buddhist art at Tun-huang must look to this magnificent publication as a necessary

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complement to *Ruins of Desert Cathay* and *Serindia*. The pictures, here so admirably reproduced, range in height from 7 feet, and therefore size precludes some of them from being adequately presented in book form. Accordingly the book of text is accompanied with a portfolio of thirty-three plates, each measuring 25 by 20½ inches, twelve of which are in colour; and there are also fifteen smaller plates, most of them coloured.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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1.—THE NIGHAṆṬU AND THE NIRUKTA. The oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited and translated by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.Phil. English translation and notes. 10×6¾, 259 pp. Oxford, 1921.

In a previous number of this *Journal* we had the pleasure of noticing Mr. Lakshman Sarup's introduction to the Nirukta. We now have his translation, which, we may say at once, is a good one. But by publishing his translation before his edition of the text he places the reviewer at a disadvantage, for until we know exactly what text he has followed we cannot criticize his rendering of it in given passages. For example, on p. 14, l. 19, "who spread it" would be an inexact version of *ka ēnām aprathayiṣyad* if the latter is the reading that Mr. Lakshman Sarup actually has in his text, but possibly he may have another; and the same applies to other cases where he would seem at first sight to have translated rather freely. However this may be, it is quite evident that he understands his author well and is fully versed in cognate grammatical literature. We could wish that he had adopted some method, such as differentiation of types, to enable the reader to distinguish readily between Yāska's quotations and his commentary and to follow with ease the course of the argument without constant reference to the Sanskrit original. A few misprints may also be noted, such as *parijñāthāḥ* on

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p. 5, n. 2, and *Sōyaṇe* on p. 111, n. 3. But despite these minor points the book is a very useful and scholarly work.

2.—Śikshā-Samuccaya, a compendium of Buddhist doctrine compiled by Śāntideva. Translated from the Sanskrit by Cecil Bendall, M.A., and W. H. Rouse, M.A., Litt.D. (Indian Texts Series.) 9×7, i+i+328 pp. London, 1922.

The publication of the Sanskrit text of the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* by the late Professor Bendall was a signal service to Mahāyāna-Buddhist studies, and the learned world's debt of gratitude to him would have been doubled if fate had spared him to complete the translation of it which he had begun when death cut short his brilliant career. Happily this work was passed on for completion to Dr. Rouse, who, with the aid of Professor de la Vallée Poussin on many difficult passages, has brought the task to a successful conclusion, for which he merits our cordial congratulations.

But while this book as a whole is a fine monument of erudite industry, it is by no means without minor defects, of which the most noticeable are the many irritating misprints. Not to mention the numerous cases in which diacritics are omitted, there is abundant evidence that the sheets have been passed through the press without proper care, and some signs that the manuscript was not revised adequately before printing. Some of the footnotes contain emendations of the printed text, but alas! these emendations are so carelessly printed that they themselves need emendation. Thus n. 1 on p. 9 should be corrected to **सत्त्वानत्राणानाश्**, n. 3 (out of place ?) to **सम्यक्संबोधौ** and n. 5 to **भिन्नं**. On p. 17, n. 2, read **कतमैश्च**; p. 18, n. 1, read **बहुतर**; p. 147, n. 4, read **सौमनस्येन**; p. 218, n. 1, read **ज्ञेयः**; p. 253, n. 2, read **प्रणाश्**. On p. 8, n. 1, **विशेषः** is misprinted **विशेषः**; p. 109, n. 1, suggests that the text has *anupubbo*, whereas it has *anupūrvaṁ*; *Vajracchededika* on p. 61, n. 2, is a *monstrum horrendum informe*. The meagre

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errata-list hardly touches the fringe of the weaknesses of this book. In several places the translation invites criticism: thus "the weal of all at all times" (p. 306) is not a true rendering of सर्वावस्थासु सत्वार्थः, and is almost immediately followed by the misprint "wickedness of", instead of "wickedness or". But it is hardly kind to dwell on these matters in reviewing a book which embodies so much hard work and knowledge.

3.—THE BHELA SAMHITA. Sanskrit text. $10\times6\frac{1}{2}$, ii+viii+272 pp. (University of Calcutta Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. vi.) Calcutta, 1921.

According to Indian tradition, the medical lore of the sage Ātrēya was transmitted by six disciples to posterity, which has somewhat ungratefully allowed the writings of at least four of these philanthropists to fall into desuetude and disappear. There survive of this school only the Saṃhitās of two alleged disciples of Ātrēya, that of Agnivēśa, known to us in the recension of Caraka, and that of Bhēla, now for the first time published from a single and very dilapidated MS. in Telugu script which is in the Palace Library at Tanjore. The publication is due to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who has had a Nāgarī copy of this MS. made and issued it with numerous emendations by Mr. Ananta Krishna Shastri. Though the work follows the same division as the Saṃhitās of Caraka and Suśruta, and claims to represent the teachings of Ātrēya, it seems doubtful whether—at any rate in its present form—it can be assigned to the same level of antiquity as Caraka. Nevertheless it well deserves to have been saved from oblivion.

4.—THE UTTARĀDHYAYANASŪTRA, BEING THE FIRST MŪLASŪTRA OF THE ŚVETĀMBARA JAINS. Edited with an introduction, critical notes, and a commentary by JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. $6\frac{3}{4}\times9\frac{3}{4}$, 409 pp. (Archives d'Études Orientales, vol. xviii.) Uppsala, 1922.

The Uttarādhyayana is not a *terra incognita* to orientalists. Not to mention Hermann Jacobi's masterly translation in

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*SBE.*, xlv, we have Jacobi's own edition of the Prakrit text in J. G. Doshi's series (Allahabad, 1911) and the uncritical native prints of Calcutta, 1879, and Bombay, 1916–17. Nevertheless there is ample room for a new edition of this quaint and linguistically interesting repertory of Jain doctrine; and this of Dr. Charpentier, which owes its inception to the generous suggestion of Jacobi himself, marks a distinct advance. His aim has been to restore the text used by Devendra from the latter's commentary and the available MSS., and in this he has attained a marked degree of success. His text is not sensational, but it is sound and scholarly, and several of his readings are a distinct improvement upon those of Jacobi.[1] The annotations are full of instructive matter,[2] and the introduction contains an excellent outline of the history of the Śvētāmbara Canon and a critical analysis of the rather mixed contents of the Uttarādhyayana, which is undoubtedly a "collection of materials differing in age and derived from different sources".

5.—Simon Hewavitarane Bequest. Vol. VIII: Bhadantácariya Buddhaghósa Théra's Visuddhi-Magga. Edited by P. Buddhadatta Théra; revised by M. Siri Ñanissara Théra. Vol. IX: Bhadantácariya Dhammapála Mahátheŕa's Commentary to the Nettippakarana. Edited by W. Piyatissa Théra. Vol. X: Bhadantácariya Upaséna Théra's Saddhammapajjótiká, or the commentary to the Maha-

[1] As such we may note that of i, 7, where he reads with Pischel (GP. 231, 254) *niyāga*, as against J.'s *nioga*. *Niyāga*, Skt. *nyāya*, should mean "arrival": cf. the usage of the verb, and the analogy of *prāpti*. On the other hand, we cannot wholly endorse his reading *jannaṭṭhā ya jē diyā* (Skt. *yajñasthāś ca yē dvijāḥ*), which he admits to be unmetrical, but still thinks to be "certainly more correct" than J.'s *jiṁdiyā* (Skt. *jitēndriyāḥ*). It may be due to a mere accident that *jē diyā* gives sense; and an editor should be very chary of admitting unmetrical readings.

[2] With regard to the remarks on *nisīhiyā* (page 283) it may not be amiss to call attention to the common use of *nisidige* or *nisidhige* in Kanarese inscriptions. It is the same word in origin, and it means there "grave", "monument".

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Niddesa. Edited by B. Ácárya Siri Révata Théra; revised by M. Siri Ñanissara Théra. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 10$. Colombo, 1920–1.

These publications of the Hewavitarane Fund will be welcome to serious students of Buddhism. True, there are already several editions of the Visuddhi-magga, and the present one does not seem to be from a critical point of view very greatly in advance of its predecessors. But the Burma editions are bulky and clumsy, and complete copies of the Ceylon editions, apparently, are not very readily obtained; so the present edition, neatly printed on good paper, supplies a real need. The commentary on the Netti is not quite unknown, as Mr. C. A. Hewavitarane states in his preface, for it has been published together with the Netti itself at Rangoon in 1909; but as this edition was not known to the Rev. Piyatissa, he deserves much credit for having produced the present text. The Saddhammapajjōtikā is certainly an *editio princeps*, and a valuable accession to Pali libraries.

6.—The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-nikāya) or Grouped Suttas. Part II: The Nidāna Book (Nidānavagga). Translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A.; assisted by F. H. Woodward, M.A. $6 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+205 pp. (Pali Text Society: Translation Series, No. 10.) 1922.

The system on which the various *vaggas* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya are constructed, and from which the latter derives its name, is well exemplified in the Nidāna-vagga, which is clumsily made up of ten groups of Suttas, each group being composed of homilies more or less germane to one another, and treating successively of cause,[1] understanding (*abhisamaya*), element (*dhātu*), and the impossibility of determining the beginning of the cycle of births, with dicta on Kassapa, on gain and favours, on Rāhula, on the questions of Lakkhaṇa,

[1] This rendering of *nidāṇa* by "cause" on page xv is perhaps too free. It is elsewhere translated as "base" (page 64), and even this rendering is rather doubtful.

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on parables, and on the Brethren. Doctrinally the most important section is the first, the series of discourses on various aspects of the formula of the Paṭicca-samuppāda. As Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests in her pregnant "editorial notes", these may not all be the utterances of the Master himself: "it is no easy task to find the live teacher in records that have been handed down as these have been. To a great extent they consist of a stiff framework of words, of formulas, in which no semblance of the living words remains." Nevertheless, the variations in the formulæ of the causal sequence which appear in this book indirectly throw a little light upon the Master's original general statement of his law of Paṭicca-samuppāda, and more especially that contained in xii, § 27, where "a causal sequence of joy and happiness is, for this once only, harnessed to the scheme". Mrs. Rhys Davids is well justified in her further remark upon this unique passage: "how might it not have altered the whole face of Buddhism to the West if that sequence had been made the illustration of the causal law!"

There are some chapters in the book that have an interest of another kind. There are anecdotes that throw some light on the traditional personalities of some of the great Disciples; there are the apocalyptic visions of the wages of sin (pp. 170–4); and there are some forcible parables. The translation, of course, is excellent, as we should expect from Mrs. Rhys Davids; and her prefatory remarks, though brief, are keenly penetrating.

7.—Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the Year 1921. By Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S. i, i, 37 pp., 11 plates. Bangalore, 1922. Fol.

Pressure of work entailed by the revision of the Mysore *Gazetteer* and other urgent matters have prevented Mr. Narasimhachar from carrying out any tours during the year under review, and hence the present report lacks some-

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thing of the fullness and general interest of its predecessors. Nevertheless, the author is too modest when he laments its "meagreness", for in it he gives us eight good plates illustrating the lovely architecture of the Kēśava temple of Belur and the glorious Hoysaḷēśvara of Halebid, and publishes in facsimile with transcription and abstract a newly discovered record, the Kudlur plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṃha, son of Būtuga II, dated in Śaka 884. This document, which contains no less than 198 lines, mostly in florid Sanskrit verse and prose of considerable merit, is of great importance for the history of the Gaṅga kingdom. It is open to no serious objections on the score of genuineness, the language being good, the character of the writing suitable to the date borne by it, and the matter in no respect improbable; and it furnishes some noteworthy details on the history of the dynasty which seem to be quite trustworthy. It is in striking contrast to another grant from the same village, published in this report, which purports to have been issued by the early Gaṅga Harivarman, and which, as Mr. Narasimhachar admits, bears its condemnation on its face. A few other records, chiefly from the Vijayanagar period, are noticed in the report, as well as some manuscripts of rare Sanskrit and Kannada works.

L. D. BARNETT.

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DIE AMƏŠA SPƏNTAS: IHR WESEN UND IHRE URSPRÜNGLICHE BEDEUTUNG. By Dr. BERNHARD GEIGER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 248 pp. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1916.

The delay in calling attention to this important publication on the Amesha Spentas, or Archangels of Zoroastrianism, will easily be understood. The monograph is one of special value, not only for the Avestan scholar, but also for the Vedic student and for the specialist in comparative religion.

The learned author states with due modesty that he does not aim at giving an exhaustive study of these spiritualized personifications of the divine attributes in the Avesta,



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although properly emphasizing the significance of such idealizations by Zoroaster. Pages of scholarly research and well-weighed judgment lead up to laying stress anew (pp. 164–248) on the relationship between the Ādityas and the Amesha Spentas in Aryan times; appropriate emphasis is placed on the Iranian character of Zoroaster's conception of these abstract personifications that serve at Ormazd's bidding.

A striking point in the introductory section (pp. 6–31) is the suggestion of a new etymology for Avestan *spənta* in its various forms, *spanyah-*, *spəništa-*, etc., which he equates with Rigvedic *pánīyas-*, *pániṣṭha-*, etc., from a Vedic root *pan*, with the sense of "to praise, glorify". In summing up, he concludes (p. 31) that the Amesha Spentas are either "die unsterblichen Herrlichen" or preferably "die herrlichen Unsterblichen". The acceptance or rejection of the proposed etymology is a matter for further consideration by specialists.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Geiger will follow this study by others along the same line.

A. V. Williams Jackson.

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الجامع اللطيف فى فضل مكة واهلها وبناء البيت الشريف

By Jamāl al-dīn Mohammed Jār Allāh al-Quraishī al-Makhzūmī. Cairo: Office of 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1922.

Of this account of Meccah, which was composed in the year A.H. 950, some extracts were published by Wüstenfeld in the second volume of his *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, but they occupy only seventeen pages, as the editor's plan was merely to supplement the earlier chronicles which form his collection. The complete text of the work will be welcome, and the Egyptian editor has taken the trouble to supply it with an index of names, such as we rarely find in Oriental editions. It would seem that the excerpts made by the German writer by no means exhaust the matter of interest which the work contains.

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كتاب الكتاب لابى محمد عبد الله بن جعفر الشهير بابن درستويه. Le Guide des Écrivains par Ibn Durustuyah. Édité avec Notes et Tables par Le P. Louis Cheikho, S.J. Beyrouth : Imprimerie Catholique, 1921.

Père Cheikho has used for his edition of this treatise a copy made by a Syrian from the Bodleian MS. of the year A.H. 633. The author is a distinguished grammarian of the third and fourth centuries of Islam, and this little treatise (112 pp. in length) chiefly deals with orthographical rules for the benefit of clerks (for this, rather than *Écrivains*, is what is meant by *Kuttāb*). The matter seems similar to that which is embodied in Qalqashandī's Encyclopædia. The accuracy of Père Cheikho's editions is well known, and the beginning of a fresh series will be generally welcomed.

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تورك ادبيات تاريخى. A History of Turkish Literature. By Keuprili Zādeh Mehmet Fuād, Professor of Turkish Literary History in the University of Istambul. Two parts. Istambul, 1920, 1921.

A historical account of Turkish literature is certainly to be welcomed, and it is likely that most of those who are interested will find no difficulty about the Turkish in which Mehmet Fuād writes. His first part deals with the attempts at literature made in the Turkish dialects before the introduction of Islam, and his second contains a glimpse at Islamic literature and civilization, and treats specially of the effects of Sufism. Each of these parts consists of about 100 pages, and a third is promised, which is to bring the history down to the Mongol domination.

D. S. Margoliouth.

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HANDBOOK OF THE LISU (YAWYIN) LANGUAGE. By J. O. FRASER. $9\frac{1}{3} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xi+108 pp. Rangoon: Superintendent Government Printing, Burma, 1922.

The author's name is not on the title-page of this work. He is responsible for the 108 pages of grammar, but apparently not for eleven introductory pages in which the ethnology of the Li-su tribe is discussed.

Few groups of Indo-Chinese languages have been so happy in their interpreters as the Lo-lo, of which Li-su is an important member. The various languages of the group are spoken in Yun-nan and in the adjoining parts of British Burma, and for the past fifteen years several of them have been the objects of special study for our French *confrères*. The list of modern works may be taken as beginning with Professor H. Cordier's *Les Lolos, État actuel de la Question*,[1] in which the then existing scattered materials were brought together, and admirably summed up. Two years after the publication of that essay, there appeared Liétard's *Notions de Grammaire Lo-lo* on pp. 285 ff. and his *Notes sur les Dialectes Lo-lo* on pp. 549 ff. of vol. ix (1909) of the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. To the same scholar we owe the Lo-lo Dictionaries and Grammar in vols. xii and xiii (1911–12) of T'oung Pao, and *Au Yun-nan, les Lo-lo-p'o*, in the *Bibliothèque Anthropos*, vol. i, No. 5. The $\widetilde{N}^{i}$ dialect has also been fully illustrated by Vial in his *Dictionnaire français-lolo* (Hongkong, 1909), while for Mo-so (the Mosso or Musu of the Gazetteer of Upper Burma) we have Professor H. Cordier's *Les Mo-sos* in T'oung Pao, vol. ix (separate reprint, Leide, 1908), and J. Bacot's *Les Mo-so, Ethnographie des Mo-so, leurs Religions, leur Langue et leur Écriture* (Leide, 1913). Finally, for the Li-su, we have now Mr. Fraser's book in English.

The present habitat of the Li-su tribe is, in Yun-nan, along practically the whole length of the Burma frontier from Wei Hsi down to Szemao, and, in Burma, along the same line

[1] *T'oung Pao*, série II, vol. viii, No. 5 (separate reprint, Leide, 1907).

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from the north-east extremity of Putao District down to the Southern Shan States. It is assumed that, like their cousins, the Kachins and the Burmans, they came to their present seats from the country round the head-waters of the N'mai Hka, Salween, and Mekong Rivers, in or near eastern Tibet. This was long ago maintained by Bastian and Kuhn, and is confirmed by the traditions of the people themselves. The very name "Li-su" means "the people who have come down"; they themselves state that they have come from "the Head of the River", and at the present day their tendency is still to migrate towards the south.

Their language, like that of others of the same family, is monosyllabic. Every monosyllable must end in a vowel, and, with two exceptions, no unnasalized vowel can help to form a monosyllable unless it is preceded by an initial consonant. A Li-su cannot pronounce such letters as *á*, *ē*, *i*, *aw*, or *ü* (I give Mr. Fraser's spellings) standing alone. On the other hand, nasalized vowels are freely used by themselves, but cannot be used after any consonant except *h*. A word of the Li-su syllabary must therefore consist of :—

1. One of the two vowels *a* and *rgh*,[1] or
2. Any nasalized vowel standing alone, or
3. A consonant followed by a non-nasalized vowel, or
4. *h* followed by a nasalized vowel.

The number of possible monosyllables is therefore very small, and there are only about 250 separate sounds in the Li-su syllabary. It hence follows that tones occupy a place of considerable importance in the language. Mr. Fraser describes them as follows :—

1. High and even.
2. Abrupt rising.
3. Medium even.
4. Very slightly lower than the third.
5. Low even.
6. Low abrupt.

[1] I shall refer to this vowel later on.

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He does not tell us whether the second tone is high, middle, or low. I assume that it is middle, and that by "abrupt rising" he means a mid rising tone with a glottal check. Similarly, for the sixth tone, he does not say whether it is rising, falling, or level. I assume that it is the last, and, in that case, his sixth tone is merely the fifth tone with a glottal check added. With these assumptions, we may record the tones as follows, representing them according to the principles described by me on pp. 454 ff. of the *JRAS.* for 1920, and adopted for general use at the joint session of the associated Asiatic Societies held that year in Paris. For the fourth tone I suggest the conventional sign =. The imaginary syllable *ka* is used as a base for the tone-marks.

1. High level. ˉ*ka*.
2. Mid rising. Always accompanied by a glottal check. ˗*ka*°.
3. Mid level. ˗*ka*.
4. Slightly lower than No. 3. =*ka*.
5. Low level. ˍ*ka*.

When No. 5 is accompanied by a glottal check, we have ˍ*ka*°, i.e. Mr. Fraser's sixth tone, if I am right in assuming that it is level, and not rising or falling. There is also, as explained, some doubt about No. 2.

Mr. Fraser tells us that, in order to secure the greatest possible simplicity, the missionaries on both sides of the frontier have agreed to employ a special script for Li-su. It is to be regretted that, in making this laudable effort, they did not also consider the needs of persons other than their particular converts. The script adopted by them is totally unlike any other system of spelling employed either for Chinese or for Indian languages, and includes a number of arbitrary symbols which have no relation whatever to the sounds they are intended to represent. For instance, the sound *ts* is represented by a capital F, and its aspirate form, *ts'*, by the same letter reversed, Ⅎ. Fortunately, in his Grammar, Mr. Fraser employs a script based on the system officially

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prescribed for transliterating Burmese, which is at least intelligible and widely used. But even he is not impeccable in this respect. I do not understand why he indicates a sound approximating that of the *e* in "get" by the letter *ē* with a macron, which is universally employed elsewhere to represent an altogether different sound. There is another sound—a vowel—which the missionaries represent by ꓶ. For this Mr. Fraser employs *rgh*, i.e. three consonants. What the sound so represented is it is difficult to say. He tells us that it is "a plain guttural vowel difficult to describe", and adds that it is "approximated in involuntary retching". As a vowel it can be nasalized, and, with *a* or *e*, may be a member of a diphthong. It is evident from this description that it is a letter the pronunciation of which it would be inadvisable to practise in an English drawing-room, but that is a fault of the language, not of transcription. What I do regret is that a vowel sound has been represented by consonantal letters. I presume that Mr. Fraser is right in stating that it is a vowel, and, indeed, from the words in which it occurs it is difficult to believe that it can be anything else, but I may note that in the cognate Lis'å dialect of Burma the corresponding sound seems to be a consonant, and has been described to me by a very competent observer as a sound intermediate between *g* and *h*. This seems as if it was something like an Arabic *γain*.

The grammar of Li-su is very fully dealt with by Mr. Fraser, and is supplied with numerous excellent examples. The tone-marks—he uses a system of numbers—are carefully given throughout, and I hope that this example will in future be followed by all writers of Tibeto-Burman grammars and vocabularies, using, if possible, the system of representing tones formally adopted by the associated Asiatic Societies. The book is remarkably free from misprints, but the student may be warned that the sound which Mr. Fraser, in his alphabetical table, represents by *ü* is elsewhere in the book represented by *ū*. The correct sign is undoubtedly *ü*, for it is described as "rather like *u* in French *du*".

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The language being isolating and monosyllabic, each word never changes its shape. Mr. Fraser, however, mentions two instances of what is apparently incipient inflexion. In one, a very slightly sounded atonic *a* is added to a verbal root before the temporal suffix of the affirmative present-future tense. Thus *=ngwa_nu -ye$^{a}$-law*,[1] we (*=ngwa_nu*) do, or shall do, the root being *-ye* and the temporal suffix *-law*. In the other instance, the syllable *aw* is combined with the root in the affirmative perfect tense. Thus, the root *=jye* means "go", and *=jyaw* (i.e. *=jye+aw*) means "(he) has gone". One other solitary example of incipient inflexion occurs in the case of the verb *=la* (with the *a* of "father"), meaning "come". The imperative of this is *=lá* (with the *a* of "cat"). This, however, is an isolated case. No other verb changes in the imperative.

The book ends with an excellent English-Lisu vocabulary. Mr. Fraser may be congratulated on having successfully prepared so full and carefully arranged a work, and the Government of Burma may be congratulated on having secured his services for the purpose.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
13*th September*, 1922.

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THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS. A Study in Social Anthropology (Anthony Wilkin Studentship Research, 1906). By A. R. BROWN, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 9×6, x+504 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

I have set out the title of this book in full to show that, on the face of it, it purports to be the authoritative latest word on this oft-discussed subject. I cannot but help wishing it were, for the political situation with regard to the Andaman Islands is such that further serious research will be difficult.

The book is very well illustrated, and the author has taken

[1] Here, as elsewhere, I give Mr. Fraser's spelling, but my tone-marks.

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great pains with it, but he constantly puts himself in opposition to his predecessors on matters of observation on the spot, often with much less title to dogmatize from length of utilized opportunity for study, and this propensity makes the earlier portion of this work, which deals with observations of fact, nothing more than just evidence for searchers to take into consideration with that of the older writers. The published observations, therefore, on the Andamanese are not nearer settlement than they were before its issue.

In the matter of writing the language Mr. Brown, who acknowledges to possessing but a limited knowlege of phonetics, has introduced many changes owing to his following the "Anthropos" alphabet of Pater Schmidt, and discarding that of the late A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., which had been established for half a century. The change is not a happy one for English readers, as it introduces an Eastern European appreciation of both vowel and consonantal sounds. Therefore, so far as users of English are concerned, it is actually misleading. E.g. *č* and *ǰ* do not convey to an Englishman, not specially trained in phonology, anything at all, and *ŋ* is simply to him an unknown letter of some strange alphabet. Also why use *ñ* for the well-worn *ñ* of the modern Western European Latin languages? One scholar has written to me: "Why represent such a word as 'châlanga' by 'calaŋa', making no difference between the a's? Shades of Ellis!" Why, indeed? Such things are not an improvement on Ellis and the established script. They mar the book, because they puzzle the student, just as much as would writing French or English in "Anthropos" style. There is so much confusion in transcription nowadays that the time has come to protest vigorously against any further upsetting of established methods such as occurs in this book. Scholars are really more mystified than enlightened by the unlimited vagaries of "scientific" writers now the fashion.

The book is in two parts—observations and theory thereon; and though I have pointed out certain defects in the first part

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and show that the searcher must use caution in accepting all the statements therein, I do not wish to infer that the book is other than a good one on the whole, or that it does not contain valuable evidence of fact, just as its predecessors have done. The second part wants a careful consideration at length, such as is hardly suitable for a short notice in this *Journal*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY OF AVERROES. Tractata translated from the Arabic by MOHAMMAD JAMIL-UR-REHMAN, M.A. The Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy: XI. $7\frac{1}{2}\times5$, 308 pp. Baroda, 1921.

The two (commonly counted as three) tracts by Averroes which now appear for the first time in English, namely, (1) *Faṣl al-maqál wa-taqrír má bayn al-sharí'a wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣál*, together with a short appendix concerning the eternal knowledge of God, and (2) *al-Kashf 'an manáhij al-adilla fí 'aqá'id al-milla*, were edited in 1859 by M. J. Müller, who also published a German translation in 1875. In them Averroes deals openly and at some length with a subject which Mohammedan writers have left almost untouched—the relation of philosophy to religion—and in view of the importance and general interest of what he has to say, a good English version would have been very welcome. The present translator, however, has failed to recognize the difficulty of his task. "I am confident," he declares, "that the book will explain itself to the reader without any introduction on my part." This may be a happy and comfortable belief, but it does not help the reader to understand the position taken by Averroes or to follow a controversial argument involving some of the most vexed questions in Mohammedan theology. It would be unjust to reproach a young Indian scholar for not being acquainted with the full discussion of these same treatises (which were unknown to Renan) by Asín Palacios and Leon Gauthier, though he

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might have learned from them that the work of Averroes "explains itself" in different ways even to specialists. What should have been obvious to him is that a literal translation, unaccompanied by an introduction and explanatory notes, is of little use. Take this sentence, for example: "The *Bombasts* hold that the method of obtaining knowledge of the existence of the Creator is by hearing and not by reason." We are not told who the *Bombasts* are, or why they are called by such a peculiar name. No doubt the puzzle is solved if we chance to remember that "bombast" once meant "cotton for stuffing garments", and that a party of anti-rationalistic theologians known as the *Ḥashwiyya* are said to derive their name from the Arabic word *ḥashw* (stuffing); wherefore, if they cannot properly be described as *Bombasts*, they may, at least, deserve the appellation of *Bombastics*. Still, it seems probable that not a few readers would be glad to receive enlightenment on this as well as on other points. Much of the translation is unintelligible without reference to the Arabic, partly because it is too literal. Averroes thinks clearly and logically, but his style needs considerable alteration in order that the meaning may be conveyed to European minds. In the present version it is often conveyed not only obscurely but also inaccurately. Thus on p. 22 the words نَبَّهْنا عليه وحَذَّرْنا منه are rendered by "we should be warned by it, be cautioned", whereas the correct translation is "we shall call attention to it (the error) and warn (others) against it". In the next sentence the author is made to say that "a search into the books of the Ancients is enjoined by the Law, *when their meaning and purpose be the same* as that to which the Law exhorts us". Here the translator, ignoring the distinction between *idh* and *idhá*, has produced a statement which contradicts the fundamental doctrine of Averroes, that the study of the ancient philosophers is an obligation enjoined by the Law absolutely, "*since their object and purpose is the same* as that to which the Law exhorts

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us." To give further instances is unnecessary. The translation into English of these highly interesting tracts will have to be done over again. Although excellent work has been accomplished by Indians in connexion with Islamic literature, success in this particular task is unlikely to be achieved by anyone who does not possess besides a thorough knowledge of English, the ability to read German and French, not to mention Spanish.

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UNE MINE D'OR AU HIDJÂZ. Par M. CASANOVA. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 57 pp. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1921.

This monograph was suggested by two unique specimens of a gold coin, dated A.H. 105, in the collection of the Princess Ismá'íl, which bear on one side the following inscription :—

معدن . . . . .

امير المومنين

بالحجاز

The mine in question has a curious history, having been bestowed in fee by the Prophet on Bilál ibn Ḥárith al-Muzaní, whose heirs disposed of it to the Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azíz, from whom it passed into the possession of Yazid II and supplied either him or his successor Hishám with the gold from which these coins were struck. Professor Casanova, citing Málik ibn Anas, Baládhurí, Mas'údí, Yáqút, and other writers, shows that it must be identified with a mine named Buḥrán, described as *ma'din Baní Sulaym*, in the district or neighbourhood (*náḥiya*) of Furu'. According to Yáqút, Furu' is situated on the route from Medina to Mecca—the easterly route is intended—eight *baríd*, i.e. $8 \times 12$ Arabian miles, south-east of the former city, a distance which Professor Casanova estimates as equivalent to 192 kilomètres. The mine itself, however, lay on the road from Baghdád to Mecca, which is crossed to the north of Ma'din Baní Sulaym

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by the road from Baṣra to Medina. In order to determine its exact location, the author has studied minutely the topography of the triangle formed by the intersection of the three roads. His researches are illustrated by several tables and a map and will be found of great value, though he admits that the problem is insoluble at present.

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THE ECLIPSE OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHATE, ORIGINAL CHRONICLES OF THE FOURTH ISLAMIC CENTURY. Edited, translated, and elucidated by H. F. AMEDROZ and D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. Seven volumes; Arabic text, vols. i–iii; English text, vols. iv–vii. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 1313 pp., and xix+1409 pp. Oxford, 1920–1.

This is a work of capital importance to students of Mohammedan history. It was planned by that acute and industrious scholar, H. F. Amedroz, who, besides contributing many articles to the *Journal*, published editions of Hilál's *Book of the Viziers* and Ibn al-Qalánisí's *History of Damascus*. For some years before his death he took a special interest in the *Tajárib al-Umam* of Miskawaihi—"Ibn Miskawaihi," as Professor Margoliouth shows, is a misnomer—and was engaged in editing those portions of the book "which deal with events posterior to the Chronicle of Tabari, to be followed by the Continuation of Abú Shujá', and a new edition of the fragment of Hilál's Chronicle which he had already published as an appendix to the *Book of the Viziers*". In 1917 Amedroz died, leaving a sum of money to complete the printing of these texts (which for the most part had already passed through the press at Cairo) and provide a translation. His project has been faithfully carried out by his friend and collaborator, Professor Margoliouth. To the text, which has gained much from his revision, he has added an excellent version in English, while the introduction and indices, forming the seventh volume, are all that could be desired. Of the three Arabic volumes the first and second contain the same text that is photographed in vols. v and vi of the Gibb

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facsimile of Miskawaihi; but as the facsimile is difficult to read, the present edition will be welcomed by Orientalists, whatever they may think of the circumstances which are set forth in the prefatory note to vol. vi of the Gibb reproduction. Miskawaihi's narrative covers the period A.H. 295–369, and includes the rise and establishment of the Buwaihid power; from the year 340 "he had materials furnished him orally by leading actors in the events". Professor Margoliouth describes his chronicle as one of the most instructive in the Arabic language, praises his skill in drawing character, insists on the value of his political experience, and ranks him as a historian above Tabari—a verdict which will probably be endorsed by anyone who compares the account given by Tabari of his own times with the corresponding portion of Miskawaihi's book. Although Abú Shujá', the vizier of Muqtadi, who brings the chronicle down to A.H. 389, is disappointing, for the last five years (A.H. 389–93) we have another contemporary record by Hilál. The translation, which fills three large volumes, can be read with pleasure, and its accuracy is beyond suspicion. Professor Margoliouth refers to his advancing years, but they have not slackened his energy, and he works so rapidly that they may well despair of overtaking him. Now that printing seems likely to become less costly, we look forward to receiving from his hand the deferred introductory volume, collecting under heads "the information contained in these and contemporary texts about the political and social institutions of the Caliphate in the fourth century A.H." It only remains to say that the typography is admirable throughout and that the English part of the work was printed in Oxford at the Kemp Hall Press.

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THE FAITH OF ISLAM. By the Rev. EDWARD SELL, D.D., M.R.A.S. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ix+466 pp. London: S.P.C.K., 1920.

That Dr. Sell's study of Mohammedanism should have reached a fourth edition is not surprising, for it conveys in

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clear and vigorous language the impressions made by Islam upon one who possesses a wide, though hardly exact, knowledge of its theology and has lived amongst its people. On these grounds the author claims "to understand it aright". Knowledge without sympathy does not usually lead to full understanding, but even those who disagree with his conclusions will admit that he has endeavoured to do justice to Islam from his own point of view.

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CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC AND PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY AT BANKIPORE. Vol. v, Tradition, pt. i. By MAULAVÍ 'ABDU' L-ḤAMÍD. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vii+214 pp. Patna, 1920.

The Bankipore Catalogue, planned about twenty years ago by Sir Denison Ross and prepared under his supervision, is growing steadily. Of the seven volumes that have already appeared we owe no fewer than five to the sound learning and indefatigable industry of Maulaví 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir, who has described over 2,000 MSS. in the departments of Persian poetry, Mohammedan and general history, and Indian history; one, admirably executed, on Arabic medicine to Maulaví 'Aẓímu'ddín Aḥmad; and one on Ḥadíth to Maulaví 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamíd. This last, which is to be followed by another on the same subject, is now before us. It comprises 292 Nos. (172 MSS.) classified as (1) Sunní and Shí'ite canonical books, with their commentaries; (2) *Masánid*; (3) *Arba'íniyyát*. Some of the items are presumed to be unique, e.g. *al-Qaul al-Musaddad*, written in defence of the Musnad of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalání (No. 251), and an incomplete copy of the Musnad of Zaid ibn 'Alí, from whom the Zaidite sect take their name (No. 273). There are one or two slips in transliteration, but the compiler's work has been done carefully and maintains the high standard of the series.

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DER PHILOSOPHISCHE UND RELIGIÖSE SUBJEKTIVISMUS GHAZĀLĪS. By Dr. J. OBERMANN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, xii + 345 pp. Wien und Leipzig: Braumüller, 1921.

Ghazálí has recently attracted a good deal of attention in Germany. The *Iḥyá* is being translated by H. Bauer, and Books 12, 14, and 37 have already appeared, while in *Ghazālīs Selbstbiographie* (Leipzig, 1919) H. Frick illustrates and discusses the striking parallelism which exists between the *Munqidh* and St. Augustine's *Confessions*. In the work under notice the Ghazálí-problem is brought into connexion not only with Islamic factors but with the general history and philosophy of religion, and a systematic attempt is made to trace the main lines of his development and to find the determining principle wherein all his diverse thoughts and activities are harmonized. I have no space to state the results here, but the book is well worth reading. According to Dr. Obermann, Ghazálí stands for personal religion, but also—since few can tread the way of the mystics—for a popular science of religion that will make men conscious of the divine element within them and enable everyone to develop this true self to the utmost. The writer lays great stress on the originality of Ghazálí's philosophical method and gives an excellent account of it. On the other hand, he seems to regard Ghazálí's plunge into Ṣúfism as a deplorable aberration, considers that his mystical experiences were "unfruitful", and represents him as criticizing the Ṣúfís for not being "Meister der Rede" (*aṣḥáb aqwál*), when, in fact, he is praising them because, unlike the *Mutakallimún*, they prefer immediate religious experience to dialectic. Such remarks will not satisfy those who believe that the mysticism of Ghazálí is just as real and vital as the wider philosophy of which it forms the core. To identify Ṣúfism with pantheism, as Dr. Obermann often does, is misleading.

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ZWEI GEDICHTE VON AL-'A'SHÂ. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, und erläutert von R. GEYER. II. Waddi' Hurairata. $9\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{1}{4}$, 306 pp. Vienna: Holder, 1921.

In this volume Professor Geyer, whose edition of al-A'shà's *Díwán* is now being printed at Vienna and will, it is hoped, be published in the Gibb Memorial Series, gives the text, with translation and commentary, of the same poet's *Mu'allaqa*, thus completing the work of which the first part was devoted to a similarly intensive study of the ode beginning *Má bukà'u*. The text is based on the recension of Tha'lab preserved in the Escorial MS., and is accompanied by two commentaries in Arabic and German. The latter, which contains an extraordinary number of citations from poets, in its thoroughness and fullness of detail reminds one of the most elaborate European commentaries on the classics. All students of Arabian poetry can learn much from Professor Geyer, though at some points they may find themselves unable to follow him. E.g. al-A'shà's verse (p. 40),

إِذَا لَبِسَتْ شِمْذَارَةً ثُمَّ أَبْرَقَتْ * بِمِعْصَمِهَا وَالشَّمْسُ لَمَّا تَرَجَّلِ

is translated: "Wann sie lange schon verkehrt hat mit einem listenreichen (Liebhaber), so dass dieser ihrer schon überdrüssig zu werden beginnt, dann entschleiert sie sich mit dem Handgelenke (den Schleier oder die Haare zurückstreichend), und die Sonne erscheint nicht mehr so leuchtend."

It seems certain, however, that the words والشمس لمّا ترجّلِ can only mean "before the sun was high", and probably شِمْذارة refers here to some kind of light garment. Without knowing the context I cannot say whether the following translation would be suitable:—

"When she puts on a *shimdhára* and then displays, her (white) wrist, before the sun is high" (cf. بَيْضاءُ ضَحْوَتُها in al-A'shà's verse cited on p. 41, note 1).



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The lexx. do not give *shimdhára* in this sense, but the word is used of a youth who is light in limb (خفيف). Against the derivation suggested by Professor Geyer from Persian *sham*, deceit, and *dár*, possessing, it may be objected that initial د in Persian does not appear as ذ in Arabic.

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Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Le Livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitâb el-Kharâdj). Traduit et annoté par E. Fagnan. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+352 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

It is singular that we should have had to wait so long for the first European translation—concerning the Turkish one by Rúdúsízádeh nothing apparently is known—of such an ancient source for the history of Mohammedan law and for the political, economic, and financial administration of the Empire under the early Caliphs. M. Fagnan has used the only printed text, the Búláq edition of A.H. 1302, which he has collated with two Paris MSS. I have not tested the translation, but it reads well and seems to be carefully done. The notes supply useful information about the persons mentioned in the book, etc. There is a good index, and the abstract of contents is also good, though perhaps rather too concise.

R. A. Nicholson.

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A Comparative Dictionary of the Pwo-Karen Dialect. By the Rev. W. C. B. Purser and Saya Tun Aung. $16\frac{1}{2} \times 4$, 217 pp. Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

It was really perverse of the American missionaries of the last century to invent an alphabet for the Karen language, based, not on the Roman, but on the Burmese. They could hardly have found one less suitable to serve as a model, and they have, moreover, deviated so far from it that hardly a word of Karen as written by them is legible to a Burman. The

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tone-marks, which are not Burmese, look like letters and give no indication of their value, as do the simple lines recommended by Sir George Grierson.[1]

Surely it is not too late to adopt the Roman alphabet? Probably most Karens who have learnt their own artificial alphabet have learnt the Roman also, and even if they have not they would find it incomparably easier to read. No doubt some special symbols would be necessary, but these are to hand in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.[2]

The book is a pocket dictionary and grammar, convenient and admirably printed. As far as one can tell without a knowledge of the language, it is superior to most publications of its class. The description of sounds, though open to criticism in several respects, is an advance on the puerilities to be found in too many manuals of spoken languages.

R. GRANT BROWN.

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THE LHOTA NAGAS. By J. P. MILLS, I.C.S. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxxix+255 pp. London: Macmillan, 1922.

We congratulate the Government of Assam on the production of another of the series of monographs on the tribes of that province. We note with pleasure that the new volume is quite up to the high standard attained by its predecessors, and that the original plan drawn up by Sir Bampfylde Fuller has been adhered to, which ensures that each volume, while being the work of a specially qualified writer and bearing the impress of his individuality, shall fit harmoniously into the scheme of the Ethnographical survey of the province.

Mr. Hutton, the author of two volumes of this series and the Hon. Director of Ethnography in Assam, contributes many useful footnotes and an introduction of xxix pages in

[1] On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages, *JRAS.* 1920, p. 453.

[2] The Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages, *JRAS.* 1912, p. 647.

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which he discusses the probable origins and migrations of the different tribes, as shown by their cultures, beliefs, and legends. These valuable pages suggest many fascinating problems, with which we hope Mr. Hutton will deal fully later on.

Mr. Mills has compressed a wonderful amount of information into the 230 odd pages of his monograph. It is very clear that he and his Lhotas are on the best of terms. To no one but a trusted friend would a people, stigmatized by a less genial observer as surly, sullen, and sulky, have disclosed its mysteries in such detail as we find them here set forth.

Students of ethnology, builders of theories of the migration of peoples, and folklorists will not turn to Mr. Mills' book in vain. Here they will find the beliefs, legends, cultures, customs, and mode of thought of the Lhotas dealt with in the greatest detail. There is an absence of theorizing, the book being crammed with facts, yet there are indications that Mr. Mills has his own views as to the meaning of these facts, and let us hope that he will give them to us before long.

Though the scientific value of Mr. Mills' book is very great, we venture to think that the Lhotas themselves and the future Sub-Divisional Officers of Mokokchung are the greatest beneficiaries. Such a book as this cannot fail to bring ruler and ruled together and lessen the chances of friction and misunderstanding between them. We hope that the members of the Governor's council will consider this point when they are asked to find money for more volumes such as the present.

The illustrations and maps are plentiful and good, and the turn-out of the book is worthy of the firm which publishes it.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

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THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AND HER ONLY SON MENYELEK. A complete translation of the *Kebra Nagast* and introduction by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A. 9×6, xc+241 pp., 31 plates. London: Medici Society, 1922.

After glancing at a book such as this is, there is probably no one who would cast doubt upon the inventive powers of

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the Semitic mind. According to the author's preface, the work was compiled about the sixth century of the Christian era, probably by a Coptic priest, and travelled from Egypt to Ethiopia, where it was naturally adopted by the people, who saw in it a glorification of their nation, connecting them and their kings, as it did, with the Hebrew patriarchs and the Solomonic rulers of Ethiopia. But the work treated of does more than this—it is " the history of the departure of God and His Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the establishment of the religion of the Hebrews and the Solomonic line of kings in that country ". In the belief of the Ethiopians, therefore, they themselves are God's chosen people, to the exclusion, in all probability, of most of the other nations of the world.

According to Sir E. A. W. Budge's Preface, the Ethiopic version of the *Kebra Negast* was made by one Isaac from the Arabic version between the years A.D. 1314 and 1344, and the translator firmly believed that the lawful kings of Ethiopia were descended from Solomon, king of Israel ; that the Ark of the Covenant had been brought from Jerusalem to Aksum in Ethiopia by Menyelek, Solomon's first-born son, according to the Ethiopians ; and that the God of Israel had transferred His abode from Jerusalem to Aksum, the ecclesiastical and political capital of Ethiopia. Ethiopia had stretched out her hands to God (Ps. xlviii, 31), and He went to her, with the ark, to preside over Menyelek's kingdom, which was established in accordance with the commands that He had given to Moses and the prophets and priests of Israel.

It is difficult to compress into a short space the contents of a book such as this (229 pp., preceded by a preface and an introduction of 90 pp., and interspersed with 31 plates). It is needless to say that Dr. Budge's comments on it are instructive and illuminating. He points out how Isaac, the translator of this legend concerning Menyelek, argued that the kings of Ethiopia were divine, thus reviving an old idea current with regard to their kings among the nations of the

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East. This belief appears very prominently in the Egyptian royal inscriptions, and was held also by the nations to the south. The Babylonians and the Assyrians likewise believed in the divine origin of their kings, so that the teaching of the Ethiopians in this matter was by no means alien to the nations of the Semitic and the Hamitic East.

To the Occidental mind *The Queen of Sheba* is a wonderful narrative, and in it we meet with many strange things. We are informed how Adam was redeemed by a log of wood brought from Paradise, and afterwards used to form Christ's cross; and how Adam was reviled by the angels on account of his fall. Also how Abraham visited Egypt, and Sarah, having been taken away, was restored to him with 'Agâr (Hagar) as a gift. Interesting, too, is the story of Karmîn, the Judean, and Belâ'ôn, the king of Babylon, whose identity arouses curiosity.

With regard to the story itself, that is long and somewhat complicated. Menyelek, however, was the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. He is generally called, in the narrative, Bayna-Lehkem, and became king of Ethiopia as David II. Though we should regard his theft of the Ark of the Covenant as undoubted dishonesty, this does not seem to have disturbed the mind of the author of the narrative, and probably the immorality of the act did not occur to any Ethiopian, either of his own or any later age.

But the narrative is full of good things, and the literary and learned world has to thank Sir E. A. W. Budge for an exceedingly entertaining introduction to the religious literature and the Christianity of that romantic land.

T. G. Pinches.

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Pioneers of Progress. Empire Builders: Sir Robert G. Sandeman. By A. L. P. Tucker. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 64 pp., 1 plate, 1 map. London: S.P.C.K., 1921.

The story of Sandeman's work in Beluchistan is told in 60 pages. There is of course no room for anything like a

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scientific discussion of questions of frontier policy, and the booklet is a summary of facts, perhaps a little too closely packed, and a sketch of the man who used the facts to such purpose. As such it is adequate.

W. H. MORELAND.

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CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1660–3. By ETHEL B. SAINSBURY. Introduction and notes by W. FOSTER. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xlvi+401 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

This volume fully maintains the standard which students have learned to look for in the series, and calls for no criticism. Perhaps the outstanding feature of its contents is the increasing emphasis on political, as opposed to commercial, topics. The Company was being drawn into closer relations with the Court and with Parliament; it was vitally interested in the negotiations on foot with Holland and Portugal; and a large proportion of the documents calendared come from the Public Record Office. The series is thus widening in interest as it progresses, and it appeals increasingly to students of English, as well as Indian, history.

W. H. MORELAND.

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THE AHOM–ASSAMESE–ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Compiled by RAI SAHIB GOLAP CHANDRA BARUA. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, xv+327 pp. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1920.

Ahom is a language which is spoken no longer; it is used only for the purposes of incantation and ceremony by the old Ahom *deodhais*, or priests, in the Upper Brahmaputra valley of Assam. The Ahoms are proud of their former language notwithstanding, for it was the language of the race which conquered Assam in the thirteenth century and in which the Ahom *buranjis*, or histories, are written. The number of Ahoms in Assam, according to the census tables of 1911 (the figures of the census of 1921 are not yet available), was 197,444, this tribe, in

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Assam, being confined to the Brahmaputra valley, where 66 per cent of their number was enumerated in the Sibsagar and 30 per cent in the Lakhimpur districts. Ahom, which is the oldest of the Northern Shān alphabets, shows unmistakable connexion with the Lao, although in an abbreviated form (cf. Milne and Cochrane's *Shans at Home*, p. 212), and Ahom belongs to the same group of the Tai languages as Khāmti and Shān (cf. Grierson's *Notes on Ahōm*, p. 1). The Ahoms of Assam are the descendants of those Shāns, who, under the leadership of Chūkāphā, crossed the Pātkai range from Burmah and entered the upper portion of the valley of the Brahmapūtra (the country which is called now Assam after them) about A.D. 1228. Their place of origin may be located now, with some certainty, in the Chiengmai Province of Siam, on the banks of the river Mehkawng; here I would invite a reference to my paper on the origin of the Ahoms which appeared in the April number of the *Journal* for the year 1913.

The Ahom–Assamese–English dictionary, the work of Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, of the Assam Educational Service, represents a wide step forward in the study of the Ahom language; it has been published at the expense of the Government of Assam, which as far back as the year 1894, when the late Sir Charles Lyall was Chief Commissioner and Mr. E. A. Gait (now Sir Edward Gait) was his secretary, gave every encouragement to the work of linguistic and ethnological research in that province. It was under their guidance, and it was due to their initiative, that the work of research in the rich linguistic field of this portion of the North-Eastern Frontier of India took tangible shape. The present dictionary is one of the results of this wise policy. Sir Edward Gait encouraged Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, then a humble clerk in the Assam Secretariat, to learn the Ahom language, and it is by dint of the latter's perseverance and linguistic ability that not only this dictionary, but also translations of the *buranjis* or histories of the Ahoms, were completed. In

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1899 Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua furnished specimens of the Ahom language and of the Ahom written script to Sir George Grierson, then at work on the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which deals with the Mōn-Khmēr and Siamese-Chinese families (including Khasi and Tai). Some of the Assamese themselves, amongst whom Rai Sahib Phanidhar Chaliha of Sibsāgar, and Rai Sahib Padmanāth Gobain Barua of North Lakhimpur, were the most prominent, took a keen interest in this research work, and it was largely due to their interest and to that of other scholars in the province that the Government of Sir Archdale Earle, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, undertook the publication of the present work. The author of this review, whilst laying no claim to anything approaching a knowledge of the Ahom language, must confess, however, to more than a bowing acquaintance with the Assamese language, gathered by him during a service of thirty-three years in Assam, most of which was spent in the Brahmaputra valley. The dictionary which forms the subject of this review has been well printed by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta, the same agency which produced the Hemakosha, the standard dictionary of the Assamese language, in 1900. The Ahom dictionary, which contains some 5,000 words, gives each word in the Ahom character, the part of speech, the transliteration of the Ahom word in the Assamese character, the same in the Roman character, the derivation and explanation, the Assamese equivalent, and the English meaning. The dictionary, therefore, is trilingual, and should be of the greatest assistance not only to students but to philological experts also. Whilst not presuming to criticize the learned author's linguistic work, I may be allowed perhaps to refer to the absence in the dictionary of the word *būranji*, বুৰঞ্জী, bū-ran-ji, literally ignorant-teach-store, a store of instruction for the ignorant (cf. *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii, p. 67). Whether the absence of this word is due to intention or design I do not know, but perhaps অধিক মাছত বগলী কণা

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(adhīk machat bagli kanā), "when fish are too plentiful the paddybird is blind," is the explanation. Sir George Grierson, in his *Notes on Ahōm*, says that in the present Assamese language there are barely fifty words in common use which can be traced to an Ahom origin. The writer, however, ventures the opinion that even this apparently moderate estimate may be excessive, for Ahom words in the Assamese language are, as far as the writer knows, so few in number as to be said to have ceased to exist. The only words which occur to the writer at the present time are কান, which in Ahom means a pole for carrying a burden; in Assamese we have কানমাৰি (kān-māri), meaning the same. On the other hand, the কান (kān) in কানমাৰি (kān-māri) may be derived from the Bengāli কান্ধ, Sanskrit স্কন্ধ (skandha) = shoulder. In the Assamese ৰঙ ঘৰ (rang-ghar), a palace with a raised floor, we have possibly the Ahom word ৰঙ, meaning the same. On the other hand, the ৰঙ in rang-ghar may be the Assamese ৰঙ্গ (rang), meaning pleasure or delight. This latter assumption would seem to be in keeping with the use to which the rang-ghar was put, which was as a "grand stand" for the Ahom royal family to witness elephant and buffalo fights from. The word নাম (nām), meaning, in Ahom, water, is to be found in names of places in Assam, e.g. in নামটী (Nāmtī), a small river which gives its name to a place near Sibsagar. This place-name is composed of two words for water, one Ahom and the other Bodo, নাম (nām) and টী = tī or dī. Similarly, in নামদৈয়াঙ্গ (Nāmdayang) we have another instance of the double use, in a place-name, of words for water, i.e. the Ahom নাম (nām) and the Bodo দৈ (dai = dī or tī). In the April number of the *Journal*, in the year 1904, appeared an article on an Ahom cosmogony, with a translation and a vocabulary of the Ahom language, from the pen of Sir George Grierson, the materials of which were supplied by the author of the present dictionary. From an interesting review, which appeared in a subsequent issue

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of the *Journal*, by Mr. W. W. Cochrane, it would appear that the translation of the Ahom legend was not strictly accurate. Now Mr. Cochrane is an authority on the living Shan languages, and the author of the dictionary learnt the Ahom language from the mouths of the Deodhais or Ahom priests, who might have forgotten some of what was even then a dead language. It is Mr. Cochrane's criticism which has led Sir George Grierson to suggest that Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua might continue his studies in the Ahom language through the medium of Shān. This is an interesting suggestion which, I venture to think, is well worth the attention of the Assam Government.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the present work is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the languages of the North-Eastern Frontier of India, and that the Assam Government, which has shown so much enterprise and liberality in the encouragement of linguistic and ethnological research work in Assam, as well as the author, Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, are to be cordially congratulated on the appearance of this most valuable dictionary.

P. R. GURDON.

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Яфетический сборник. RECUEIL JAPHETIQUE I. 8vo, pp. xviii+146. Peterburg. Published by the Institute of Japhetidological Investigations of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 600 copies printed at the Russian State Academic Press by order of the Academy. 1922.

The following preliminary observations may be of interest: (*a*) "Peterburg" is substituted for "Petrograd" on the title page; (*b*) the names of all the compositors are given at the end; (*c*) there is a "Sommaire" in French as follows: "Préface i–iv, L'institut de recherches japhétidologiques v–xviii. *N. Marr.* Le terme basque *udagara* 'loutre' 1–30. *I. Meščaninov.* Les numéraux at leur concordance dans les inscriptions Khaldes 31–42. *N. Marr.* Notice sur la question des japhétidismes dans les langues germaniques 43–56.

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*N. Marr.* Notice sur la question des japhétidismes dans l'albanais 57–66. *N. Marr.* Le terme 'scythe' 67–132. *N. Marr.* 'Cheval' || 'oiseau,' le totem de la tribu urarto-étrusque 133–136. *N. Marr.* Le terme βασιλεύς 137–142. *N. Marr.* De la paléontologie des langues sémitiques selon la théorie japhétidologique 143–145." All the articles are in Russian excepting the one on the term "*udagara*", which is in French, for the benefit of Basque scholars. It is to be hoped that in succeeding publications of this series it may be found possible to give at least an abstract (if not a complete translation) in French or English of all the papers, for the subjects dealt with are of general interest.

As has been already stated in this *Journal*, Professor Marr is engaged on the vast enterprise of tracing from Portugal and Ireland to the Pamirs the underlying stratum of language which he calls "Japhetic", in Caucasian, Appennine, British, Mesopotamian, and other lands, and the results already achieved are sufficiently remarkable to justify the belief that they may completely revolutionize philological study. We do not know what other new scientific ideas may have been conceived in the darkness of Bolshevist Russia; this one at least is born. The programme of work for the new Institute (see pp. xvi–xvii) is of the most comprehensive sort, including (in addition to those languages already mentioned) Sumerian, Elamite, languages of Asia Minor, Pictish, Etruscan, Illyrian, Japhetic influences in Semitic, Armenian, Iranian, Turkic, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, German, Ugro-Finnic, Mongol, etc. Even if Russia were in a normal state, it would be impossible to carry out this scheme without generous assistance from Western students.

Lack of space prevents the publication here of an abstract of the various papers contained in the "Recueil", but in order to stimulate interest a further list of curious Georgian words is here appended. They are not given as being necessarily connected historically with the Western words resembling them:—

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მეგობარი = L. amicus; ფუნჩი = Eng. bunch (of flowers); ცა = L. caelum; ჭური = Eng. jar; ჳორო- = G. Hure, Eng. whore; ველი = Eng. field; ველური = Eng. wild; საქმე = G. Sache; შტო- = G. Ast; ყმა = G. Knabe, Eng. knave; თესლი (= semen), cf. L. testiculus; ქალა = Eng. skull, cf. L. calvus, G. kahl; ქერი = Gr. κερῖ, G. Gerst; ქურხლი = hoar (frost); გვირგვინი = L. corona; ო-ნე, ჰუნე = R. конь, G. Hengst, Gr. ὄννος; ხელი = Gr. χεῖρ; ყჳა, სიტყჳა, cf. L. inquit, queam, etc.; მუტელი (= vulva), cf. L. uterus, mater, matrix, G. Mutter; პატარა = L. parvus, Fr. petit; კლიტე = L. clavis; მინდორი = Eng. meadow; ო-ბო-ლი = Fr. orphelin; ო-გრა = Fr. gruau, Eng. gruel; ისარი = Eng. arrow; შნო- = G. schön; ყჳარება, cf. L. car-us, car-itas, Sp. querer; ყო-ველი = Eng. whole, all, every; ზღჳა (= sea), cf. L. aqua; შჳილი = L. filius, filia; პირველი = L. primus, prior, R. первый; ფრთა, ფთა (= wing), cf. Gr. πτέρον, Eng. feather; ფო-თო-ლი = L. folium; ფლჳა = L. sepelire; საფლავი = L. sepulcrum; თჳალი = Gr. ὀφθαλμός; მალალი = Gr. μεγᾶλεῖος, L. magnificus; ლო-ჳა = Eng. lick; ლო-გინი = L. lectus, Gr. λέκτρον; ზარმაცი = Gr. μάταιος.

O. WARDROP.

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1655–1660. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 9 × 6, 446 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN WESTERN INDIA, 1579–1657. By H. G. RAWLINSON. 9 × 6, 158 pp., 10 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

EARLY TRAVELS IN INDIA, 1583–1619. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xiv + 351 pp., 9 plates, 1 map. Oxford University Press: H. Milford, 1921.

The tenth volume of the admirable Calendar of Records in the India Office brings the series down to a period where the mass of material available has made a change in method necessary. A detailed analysis of each document is no longer given, but those passages which merit quotation in full are printed and connected by a narrative which digests other documents of less importance. The period covered was a critical one for the Company, whose fortunes had sunk so low that it was proposed to withdraw from India altogether when Cromwell granted a new Charter. This period is also that of the rise of the Bengal factories and of the proposed settlements in Persia and Muscat.

Mr. Rawlinson's book is a sketch of the early days of the British in Surat down to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a useful and most readable book, which may be overshadowed by Mr. Foster's *Early Travels in India*, which covers very similar ground.

The latter is one of the most delightful books that have been contributed to the history of India. It was a happy thought to reprint the description of India by seven of the earliest English visitors to it. These are Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, William Finch, Nicholas Withington, Thomas Coryat, and Edward Terry, and their narratives cover the forty years from 1580. Mr. Foster's notes are admirable and do not overload the text. We wonder, by the way, if a three hundred years old misprint is not to be corrected on p. 19, and would suggest *Name, Name* for *Rame, Rame*.

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Never have we returned a book to the editor of this *Journal* with more reluctance.

J. ALLAN.

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THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By Colonel MEADOWS TAYLOR. New Edition, edited by Henry Bruce. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xl+500 pp., 3 plates, 1 map. Oxford, 1920.

A reprint of Meadows Taylor's Autobiography was long overdue, and this neat and compact edition is most welcome. It remains a work of the highest interest, and, though written shortly before the author's death, has all the literary merit of his best novels. Its value as history is high, for it is based on the author's letters and diaries. It is the record of a remarkable life, and in reading it one wonders what might not have been Taylor's career had he belonged to the covenanted service. Mr. Bruce has done his work well, and his notes are just what is wanted. One regrets, however, that it is not possible to produce the book at a lower price.

J. ALLAN.

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SASSANIAN COINS. By W. H. VALENTINE. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 118. Illustrations in the text. London: Spink & Son, 1921.

This is a more ambitious effort than Mr. Valentine's earlier books, and, on the whole, not so successful. For Sassanian coins one particularly wants a very well illustrated book, and had the author only followed the model of his works on Muhammadan coins it might have been most useful. The comparatively few illustrations scattered through the text are not nearly sufficient, nor are they always as accurate as is necessary. On the other hand, the text might have been shorter. It has little claim to originality, and sufficient discrimination has not been shown in choosing authorities. Had Mr. Valentine given us a book like Dorn's Catalogue of the Bartholomæi Collection, with brief descriptions, it would have been invaluable. The present work is hardly destined to supplant Mordtmann's great work, which has recently been reprinted at a very reasonable price.

J. ALLAN.

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THE CHAMARS. By GEO. W. BRIGGS. 8vo, 13 plates, 270 pp. Oxford and Calcutta: Religious Life of India Series, 1920.

Mr. Briggs here gives a very full and satisfactory account of the Chamars. After a historical account of the caste and its subdivisions and their distribution, the writer deals with their social and economic life. The Chamar is not a leather worker only, but an unskilled, more particularly agricultural, labourer. The latter half of the book embodies the results of a great deal of original research, and Mr. Briggs has accumulated a vast amount of information about the domestic customs and beliefs of the Chamars. The book is a credit to the series in which it is published, and is at the same time a valuable contribution to the study of folk-lore.

J. ALLAN.

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STERNE'S ELIZA. By ARNOLD WRIGHT and W. L. SCLATER. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, viii + 199 pp., 4 plates. London: Heinemann, 1922.

This is an interesting book, though possibly some readers may think that the editors, in their enthusiasm, rather overrate the value of Mrs. Draper's effusions, sprightly though they are. The fact might have been mentioned that Sir George Birdwood, in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1891, and again in *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, reproduced in facsimile the long and important letter quoted on p. 106. That letter, by the way, is assumed to have been addressed to Commodore James; but internal evidence and the fact that the writer signs herself "your ever grateful and [ ] child", both suggest that it was in fact sent to her grandfather, Charles Whitehill. The "Stephen" referred to therein was doubtless the old gentleman's son of that name, who entered the Bombay Civil Service about a year after the letter was written.

W. FOSTER.

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MATERIALS FOR A SANTALI GRAMMAR. I. Mostly phonetic. By P. O. BODDING. Dumka, 1922.

Santali is the best known of the so-called Kolarian or Muṇḍa languages. To a great extent it has apparently preserved the original features of the Kolarian type of speech, and it is to-day the dialect which is most likely to yield important results with reference to the mutual influence exercised on each other by Muṇḍa and Aryan forms of speech.

We are in a position to state that the parent tongue from which Santali and connected dialects are derived was once spoken over a wide area where we, at the present day, find Aryan forms of speech. These latter ones have accordingly, to a considerable extent, been adopted by Muṇḍa tribes, and it is reasonable to expect that we shall some day succeed in tracing the influence of this substratum in the principles underlying the present-day Aryan speech in many districts.

In order to do so, however, it will be necessary to get much better and much more detailed information about the chief features of Muṇḍa phonology and grammar than we have possessed hitherto. This want will be supplied when Mr. Bodding's work is finished. The first part, which is now out, gives a full and detailed analysis of Santali phonology, with exact determination of the character of the various sounds. The author is an excellent phonetical scholar with an unbiassed mind, and the rich materials which he has brought together considerably add to our knowledge. The usefulness of his book would perhaps have been still greater if long and protracted vowels had been marked as such. The rules which he gives about vowel-length are, however, so clear that no serious doubt is likely to arise.

I shall not try to show in detail to what extent Mr. Bodding has succeeded in rectifying old views and giving better information than his predecessors. I shall only mention that the result of his studies is that Santali phonology must now be said to be better known than is the case with any



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other Indian vernacular. I should like, however, to add some remarks of a more general character.

The linguistic history of India is such a vast field that it has not been possible to carry on the study with the same exact analysis of phonology and grammar with which it was started by the ancient Indians. Sir George Grierson's monumental work is a first-rate survey, but it is largely based on specimina noted down by people without a special phonetic training, and it has not been possible to examine all the various sounds heard in the different dialects according to modern methods or to give so full materials that finer subtleties of grammar, and especially of syntax, can be ascertained in detail. His survey is a *monumentum aere perennius*, and it constitutes a landmark in the history of this branch of research. But it was never meant to be the final treatment of Indian languages; on the contrary, it itself shows the way to new problems which must now be taken up.

It will be necessary to study each language and each dialect in detail, not simply from written materials and not only through the ear, but also by means of modern instruments which register each sound over and over again, and it would be well to do so before literacy has made too much progress in India. For we know how great the influence is which a written standard exercises on the spoken language. Mr. Bodding's book reminds us of this fact.

The Santals possess a set of vowels which Mr. Bodding describes as resultant, because they are due to the influence exercised by a neighbouring *i* or *a*. Thus the *a* of *kami*, work, is different from the *a* of *dal*, to strike.

The sound causing the change may disappear, but the modification of the vowel remains. Thus *kol*, the Indian cuckoo, which is borrowed from Hindī *koil*, is spoken with a "resultant" *o*. The fact is of importance because it shows how far-reaching the effect of phonetic laws is.

Mr. Bodding, however, states that "one gets the impression

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that Santals who have got some school education . . . except for the *a* and *o*, do not use the resultant vowels". He is evidently right, and his words ought to serve as a warning to us.

A detailed examination of Indian languages is bound to be of considerable interest, not only for Indian philology, but also for the study of language in general. Nowhere in the whole world is there a similar opportunity of studying the development of one language through the centuries, and the mutual influence exercised by neighbouring and different languages on each other. Since times immemorial different linguistic families have existed side by side, languages and dialects have influenced each other and replaced each other, and even at the present day we can see this process going on. It will be possible to derive general rules and laws from such features as are developing before our eyes in the India of to-day. But it will be necessary to analyse the facts in every detail, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Bodding will soon find many successors in the work which he has started in such an excellent way.

STEN KONOW.

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HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DE LA CHINE ET DE SES RELATIONS AVEC LES PAYS ÉTRANGERS DEPUIS LES TEMPS LES PLUS ANCIENS JUSQU' À LA CHUTE DE LA DYNASTIE MANDCHOUE. Par HENRI CORDIER. Four vols.; $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 574, 434, 428, and 427 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1920–1.

It is notorious that no satisfactory history of China, making any pretension to fullness of treatment, has yet been produced. The Chinese themselves in their dynastic histories have hardly attempted more than a bare chronicle of events, supplemented, it is true, by very valuable biographies and other monographs. But of history considered as a study of causal developments they have so far had very little conception. Hence the publication of these four volumes cannot but excite much

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interest, and whatever the verdict may be, no one can gainsay the author's courage in undertaking so gigantic a task. As might be expected from the compiler of the *Bibliotheca Sinica*, accuracy and painstaking attention to detail are conspicuous features of his work. M. Cordier, one feels, is the reliable type of historian who never omits to verify his references. His industry is prodigious, his capacity for hard work, however monotonous, is almost inhuman. But there are other qualities, just as essential to the historian, in which he is strangely deficient. Not the least of these is a sense of proportion. In this respect he shows no improvement on Demetrius Boulger, and is decidedly inferior to Macgowan.

The first of his four volumes ends with the fall of the T'ang dynasty, and comprises some 3,500 years, from which perhaps 1,500 may be deducted as belonging to the period of myth and legend. That leaves two thousand years to be dealt with in the first volume, and one thousand in the remaining three. Why this singular disproportion? It was surely unnecessary to devote a whole volume to the oft-repeated tale of the nineteenth century, while the Chou dynasty, which lasted nearly 900 years, and during which the very foundations of Chinese civilization, as we know it, were laid, is dismissed in a paltry thirty pages—about one-eighth of the space devoted to the Mongols in vol. ii! M. Cordier cannot plead any lack of material, seeing that he has practically ignored that great storehouse of ancient history, the *Tso chuan*, translations of which are available both in English and in French. Instead of giving a connected narrative of the "Spring and Autumn" period, he contents himself with a few meagre notes on the principal states, while actually wasting three whole pages on Hsi Wang Mu, a purely mythical personage. A chapter is also devoted to Confucius and Lão Tzŭ, but that is small compensation. It is inexplicable that in a work of these dimensions no mention whatever should be made of such eminent rulers as Dukes Wên of Chin and Hsiao of Ch'in or Ho Lü of Wu, of statesmen

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such as Kuan Chung, Fan Li, Wei Yang, Chang I, Su Ch'in, Wei Jan, and Fan Chü, or of generals of the calibre of Wu Tzŭ-hsü, Sun Pin, and Wu Ch'i. At the other end of the scale we get, for instance, a complete list of the Tokugawa Shōguns (qu'ont-ils à faire dans cette galère ?) and the names of the Europeans killed in the siege of the Peking Legations. Could there be a more amazing lack of historical perspective ?

Another grave defect is the undiscriminating use of authorities. The original Chinese sources are unduly neglected, and quite a considerable proportion of the work is simply transcribed from De Mailla's *Histoire générale de la Chine*. This was published in 1778, and purports to be a translation of the *T'ung chien kang mu*, but is by no means a guide in which implicit reliance can be placed. Scholars will also deplore the entire absence of Chinese characters, without which the romanization of proper names is apt to lead to woeful confusion. Thus, " Tchang Kio " in the index represents two entirely different persons. Contrariwise, in vol. i, p. 286, Hiouen Te (Hsüan-tê) and Lieou Pei (Liu Pei) are treated as separate individuals, whereas, of course, they are one and the same. Two other small corrections may be made here : 947 is not the earliest known date, as stated in i, 406, for a specimen of block-printing. A beautifully printed roll, dated 868, has for some years been on exhibition at the British Museum. In i, 473, the invention of paper is assigned to the T'ang dynasty, through the misreading of a date as 753 instead of 153. It is only fair to add that such inaccuracies are quite exceptional.

LIONEL GILES.

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THE SEA GYPSIES OF MALAYA, BEING AN ACCOUNT OF NOMADIC MAWKEN PEOPLE OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO. By WALTER GRAINGE WHITE, F.R.G.S. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, 318 pp., 20 plates, 1 map. London : Seeley, Service & Co., 1922.

The first thing that must strike a reviewer of this book is that the main title is misleading and erroneous, the Mergui

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Archipelago lying well to the north of the Malay States, which together with the Straits Settlements comprise what is usually called Malaya. The book is a very readable work on a little-known tribe. It reveals an attractive personality and it gives much discursive information on the habits and customs of the Mawken, which will be invaluable to all future students. The author's linguistic knowledge is not profound or he would not marvel at the absence of inflections and conjugations in the language of this primitive people. It is strange that a writer who can appreciate the niceness of the Mawken's placing of adverbs (p. 240) should be guilty of such misuse of grammar as—" We opened and drank the milk from the nut. While engaged in these pleasantries, two buffaloes rushed through the settlement," etc. " It seems to be the common custom of Eastern peoples for the bride to go to the bride-groom's house " (p. 203) is far too sweeping a generalization.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

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PERSIAN SKETCHES. By the Right Rev. J. H. LINTON, D.D., Bishop in Persia. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, x+130 pp., 9 plates. London: Church Missionary Society, 1923.

This little book in a series of short chapters gives a vivid picture of Persia and its people. Bishop Linton has travelled widely in the country, and has grasped the mentality of the race that has had such a mighty empire in the past. He has mixed with all classes, and his outlook is uniformly fair and kindly, while the chapters about the women and children are written by a woman of insight and sympathy. Intending travellers to Iran and those interested in the country will learn much from these informing " sketches " with their excellent illustrations.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–April, 1923)

We have at the same time to greet the birth of two journals devoted to Asiatic subjects, and to mourn the death of another. There appeared at the beginning of this year the first volume of *Asia Major*, edited at Leipsic by Dr. Bruno Schindler. It is a bulky publication of more than 700 pages, containing contributions from twenty-seven scholars, and its primary purpose is to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary on the 16th April, 1920, of Dr. Hirth's birth. It will be recalled that the esteem inspired by the veteran sinologue had been evinced previously by a *Festschrift* forming the eighth volume of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. *Asia Major*, we are told, will appear quarterly in future. The first number of the bi-monthly *China Journal of Science and Arts* appeared at Shanghai in January of this year under the joint editorship of Mr. A. de C. Sowerby and Dr. J. C. Ferguson. The latter contributes an article on *Chinese Landscapists*, which is the same as one published in the introductory volume of *Asia Major*, except for a few verbal alterations. An interesting note on *Chinese Gardens* is given by Mrs. Ayscough ; otherwise the contents are mainly concerned with the flora and fauna of the country.

We mourn the death of not only the *New China Review*, but that of its enthusiastic and gifted originator and editor, Samuel Couling, who died at Shanghai on 15th June, last year, aged 62. For nearly four years, struggling bravely against physical infirmity and other difficulties, he maintained the *Review* at a high level of excellence. His services to sinology in this connexion and as complier of the *Encyclopædia Sinica* will be borne always in grateful remembrance. His widow successfully carried on the *Review* to the end of 1922, and was prevented only by a combination of adverse circumstances from arranging for its continuance. May it arise again some

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day and maintain worthily the great traditions associated with its names and that of its last editor.

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Mr. Beveridge has presented to the Society copies of the *Journal* from 1904–22, a large number of the publications of the Bengal Society, and some books on Indian archæology; Professor H. A. Giles a copy of his work, *Gems of Chinese Literature*; and Miss Sylvester Samuel an *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, two volumes, by S. H. Bilgrani and C. Willmott.

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*The Burton Memorial Fund* has now been taken over by the Royal Asiatic Society. The object of the Fund is to provide a triennial silver medal as a memorial to the character, career, and services in Oriental literature and in travel of the late Sir Richard Burton. This medal will be awarded to a lecturer who deals with some subject connected with the varied activities and interests of Sir Richard Burton.

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The following thirty members have been elected during the quarter:—

Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A.
Mr. L. H. Raj Anand.
Mr. M. Mehdi Hossain Beg.
Mr. S. K. Ray Chaudhuri.
Mr. D. C. Dutt, M.A.
Mr. S. V. Fitzgerald, I.C.S.
Mr. U. N. Gaur.
Miss M. S. Gladstone.
Mr. C. Zafar Husein.
Mr. C. Md Ismail.
Mr. M. Jinavijaya.
Mr. N. W. Kathlay, B.A.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M.V. Kibe, M.A.
Mr. E. Kirby.
Mr. P. V. A. Kuppusamy.
Mr. Levine.
Pandit S. Nath Misra, B.A.
Mrs. Humayun Mirza.
Mr. M. Ghulam Muhammad.
Babu A. C. Sanyal, M.A., B.L.
Lord Scone.
Mr. C. G. Seligman, M.D., F.R.S.
Babu K. Shankar.
Raja N. Singha, Deo Bahadur.
Dr. G. Elliot Smith, M.A., LL.B., M.D., etc.
Dr. St. F. Michalski Turienski.
Professor Varma.
Mr. H. L. Vrati, B.A.
Lieut.-Col. Sir A. T. Wilson.
Mrs. Winckworth.

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The following fourteen have resigned during the quarter :—

Mr. I. Abrahams.
Mr. B. V. K. Aiyar.
Mr. G. Brownen.
Mr. Buchia.
Mr. Ong Thye Ghee.
Mr. F. W. Green.
Lieut. H. E. Jagoe.
Colonel H. P. Leigh.
Mr. R. Levy.
Mr. S. E. Loxton.
Mr. G. R. S. Mead.
Professor Muller-Hess.
Mr. L. F. Shroff.
Don R. Wijewardene.

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The following seven have died :—

Rev. J. Drew Bate.
Professor Rhys Davids.
Professor Delitzsch.
Mr. Arthur Diósy.
Professor Clermont-Ganneau.
Dr. Buchanan Gray.
Major E. B. Soane.

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# OBITUARY NOTICES

## Thomas William Rhys Davids

BORN 12TH MAY, 1843. DIED 27TH DECEMBER, 1922.

A record of fulfilment, "great tracts of thought to order brought", is the "In Memoriam" of Rhys Davids. There is a remarkable completeness about his long life's work, equalled only by the clear vision with which, from the outset, he saw his goal and mapped out his course to attain it.

Before entering the Ceylon Civil Service, in 1866, he had studied Sanskrit (at Breslau, under Stenzler), then a rare accomplishment, which in Ceylon led him at once to take up Pali. His teacher was Yātrāmullē Unnānsē, to whose learning and character he pays so eloquent a tribute in his Hibbert Lectures of 1881. Returning to England, Rhys Davids was called to the Bar in 1877, but did not seriously pursue the law as a career.

For thirty years from 1882 Rhys Davids was Professor of Pali at University College, London, and Secretary and Librarian of our Society from 1887 to 1904. In 1894 (the year of his marriage) he visited the United States to deliver his American Lectures (published in 1896) on "Buddhism: its History and Literature" (being the first of the "courses in the History of Religions, somewhat after the style of the Hibbert Lectures in England"). He took an active part, in 1902, in founding the British Academy and, later, the London School of Oriental Studies. In 1904 he was elected Professor of Comparative Religion in Manchester, a post which he held till the outbreak of the war. In 1910 he was elected the first President of the India Society and retained office till his death. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, and held the honorary degrees of D.Sc. (from the Danish Royal College of Sciences and also from Sheffield University), of Ph.D. (Breslau), of LL.D. (Edinburgh), and of D.Litt.

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(Manchester). From these biographical details I pass to his records as a scholar.

It was in 1877 that Rhys Davids, who had already contributed papers to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, not only brought out his excellent "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon", but also wrote his little manual of "Buddhism", which brought him immediate recognition by the general public and an assured reputation among Orientalists. "It was (he wrote, in 1894) a very venturesome undertaking (in 1877) to attempt to give an account of a system on which its European interpreters differed irreconcilably, at a time when they could not be brought to bar before the original authorities. The conclusions arrived at in 1877 have been throughout confirmed by the more recent publications of ancient texts, and have even been adopted and circulated by authors who have not deemed it necessary to refer to the manual in which these conclusions were for the first time stated. . . . But no one is more surprised than its author to find that a work written originally under so many difficulties requires now so few alterations. He ventures to indulge the hope that it may have contributed somewhat to the interest which is now increasingly taken in one of the most instructive chapters in the history of human thought." Eight and twenty years since 1894 have only served to justify his brilliant pioneer work (now in its twenty-second thousand) and to fortify the sure foundations on which the whole of his future Buddhist labours were to be based. In 1880 Rhys Davids published the first (and only) volume—still a standard work—of a translation of the Jātaka, and in 1881 not only the first volume of his translation (with Dr. Oldenberg) of "Vinaya Texts" but also his "Buddhist Suttas from the Pali" and his "Hibbert Lectures, 1881"—a *tiratanam* indeed of literary excellence and rare insight.[1]

[1] Rhys Davids himself was wont to maintain that his succinct volume on *Early Buddhism* (1908) was intrinsically the best book he ever wrote.

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A new chapter now begins. It was in his Hibbert Lectures of 1881 that, fulfilling the idea already adumbrated in 1877 (in the appendix to the first chapter of his "Buddhism"), Rhys Davids announced the formation of the Pali Text Society—"in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe. The historical importance of these texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious—than the publication of the Vedas has already been". (The original Committee of Management, it may here be noted, consisted of Professor Fausböll, Dr. Oldenberg, Dr. Richard Morris, and M. Émile Senart, with Sir William Hunter as Hon. Treasurer and Rhys Davids as Chairman; of these, M. Senart is to-day the honoured survivor.) With a courage as boundless as his resources were slender, Rhys Davids gave himself to the task, undertaking single-handed the interminable labours of organization and of correspondence that was world-wide from the outset. In 1882 he was able to issue the Cariyā Piṭaka, the Buddhavaṁsa, and Part I of the Aṅguttara Nikāya (all edited by Dr. Morris), with Professor Jacobi's (Jain) Ayāraṅga Sutta; and he could point to a substantial list of "works in progress". From 1882 onwards, the issue of Pali Texts continued without a break; and "forty years on", at his death, he could claim a total issue of some 25,000 printed 8vo pages, covering the whole of the four great Nikāyas and almost the whole of the entire Canon—supplemented by commentaries and minor Pali works. As his own contribution to the Pali Texts, he edited—with the commentary duly proceeding—the Digha Nikāya (in co-operation with Professor Estlin

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Carpenter, who brought out the last volume alone). *Kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ*; it was a great adventure, finely conceived and finely executed, through forty years; nor can we hail as other than happy the scholar who lived to see so noble an ideal realized in all essentials. He was privileged for nearly three decades to receive in this work the devoted co-operation of his wife, in whose accomplished hands it is left to set the coping-stone on this enduring monument of English Scholarship.

In my judgment, his translation of the Dīgha Nikāya (1890, 1902, and 1921) is his finest achievement, as it is—with perhaps the "Questions of King Milinda" (1890 and 1894)—the most characteristic of his style and maturity of outlook. No one can read his masterly "Introductions" to the more important Suttas in the first two volumes without learning much of Buddhism and contemporary Indian history; few will have read them without a conviction of their sanity, depth, and finality in essentials.

In Indian history as such, Rhys Davids had at all periods of his life a most lively interest. It was by no means by way of a *parergon* that he addressed himself to his "Buddhist India" (1903) and to his succinct chapter on "The Early History of the Buddhists" in the first volume of the new "Cambridge History of India" (1922). In this field, chief significance—outside the history of the Buddhist Canon—attaches to his insistence on the early oligarchies round the Ganges and the subsequent development of the successive Kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha. Here he has added much to the pioneer work of Prinsep and George Turnour.

Lastly, in another field—closely associated with the publication of the Pali Texts and always included with them in his outlook—he was also destined to be fortunate, though not so fully, and then only after "cruel rebuffs and disappointments"; I refer to his Pali Dictionary. . . . Long before the end of last century he had looked forward to a modern Dictionary of the language, and, as each new text appeared,

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entered up verbatim quotations and references in his interleaved copy of Childers. When, at the beginning of the present century, he had secured financial support sufficient to warrant him in formulating a definite scheme for the execution of the work, his original idea was to form a Pali "League of Nations" by enlisting as fellow-workers the Pali scholars of the world; and on this basis mapped out the work at a prodigious cost in energy and correspondence. In the end, frustrated—by the war and by the death of fellow-workers—in his hope of uniting scholars in a joint undertaking, he, at a time when he was well over 70, undertook this laborious work himself, with the philologist, Dr. W. Stede, as co-editor. Yet he lived to see nearly half the work actually in print and part of the remainder re-revised by his hand. To Pali students this dictionary, "provisional" though Rhys Davids styles it in his "Foreword", is invaluable as setting out the ordered results of half a century's growth in our Pali and Buddhistic knowledge since Robert Cæsar Childers began to print his pioneer work. The names of the two friends, both of them from the Ceylon Civil Service and both, in succession, Professors of Pali in University College, London, will always have an abiding fame in the lexicographic *parampara* of Pali.

It was as "a friend of historical research" that in 1881 Rhys Davids made his anonymous contribution to the funds of the infant Pali Text Society; nor can I suggest a better description of him. To him all knowledge in the ultimate analysis came under what he called "history"; and, outside politics (in which he was always an earnest Liberal), the ideal of his intellectual life was centred in research, interpreted by him with the fullest catholicity of sympathy for workers and each and every field of research—in physical science as well as in humane letters. I do not think that he cared greatly for mere learning, as such. But for sound learning, wisely digested and scientifically applied—as for example in the bearing of Vedic philology on the Pali language of the

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older Nikāyas—his reverence was profound. What he abhorred was an unscientific jumble—such as what had too long passed as Buddhism—of distinct and successive "strata"; what he sought always to achieve was the presentment of historical fact in its due sequence and in ordered relation to what stratigraphically preceded and succeeded it. Incidentally, he never shrank from combating, in the interests of what he deemed truth, established and powerful interests; against Sanskrit supremacy in a sphere not its own he argued as energetically as Gotama himself argued against the sacrificial Brahmins; he never lost an opportunity of attacking animism and "the soul-theory". But I do not think that, keen disputant as he was, he ever wrote a line for writing's sake or without the sincerest conviction; nor was he ever more gratified—as the true friend to historical research which he was—than when he could put his own materials, knowledge, and quick intelligence at the disposal of a fellow-worker. Though he never made the claim, he was entitled to claim (and what nobler claim can a scholar advance?)—"Yaṁ satthārā karaṇīyaṁ sāvakānaṁ hitesinā anukampakena anukampaṁ upādāya, kataṁ vo taṁ mayā.

C.

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## M. Clermont-Ganneau

In M. Clermont-Ganneau the Society has lost one of the most brilliant of its honorary members. He was born in 1848 and from his boyhood devoted himself to Oriental studies. Encouraged by Renan, he entered the Diplomatic Service, and spent much of his life in Syria, Palestine, and Constantinople, thus acquiring a first-hand acquaintance with Oriental thought, languages, and antiquities, which was invaluable to him in his scientific work. He also became, and always remained, rather a man of the world, but he was at the same time an untiring worker. His first great achievement was in connexion with the discovery of the Moabite Stone, when

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he was little more than 20 years old. Twenty years later he was made membre de l'Institut and professor at the Collège de France, where he proved himself to be the foremost authority in the world on Semitic epigraphy. He possessed in the highest degree the specially French gifts of brilliant insight and exact reasoning, and these gave a distinction to all the varied work of his long career.

He was much broken by the death of his mother in 1916, at the age of 101, but he still maintained much of his old *verve*. Only last summer at the centenary of the Société Asiatique he seemed as vigorous as ever—full of interest in all that was being done and planning work for the future. His end must have come unexpectedly. In answer to a letter urging him to come to the centenary celebration of this Society, he wrote that he was not very well and spoke of *des ennuis et des soucis*. Within a week he died at the age of 75, and he died young.

A. COWLEY.

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## Dr. G. Buchanan Gray

By the death of Dr. G. Buchanan Gray, England loses one of its most distinguished Hebraists and Biblical scholars, and Oxford a valued member of its teaching staff. Dr. Gray's death took place on 2nd November, 1922, at a meeting of the Theological Board, not many minutes before he was to have delivered his address as President for the year to the Oxford Society of Historical Theology; the circumstances were, therefore, tragic, as he was in his 57th year and appeared to be in good health.

He studied the Semitic languages at Oxford and Marburg, where he attended the courses of J. Wellhausen, and entered the Independent ministry in 1893; two years before he had been appointed tutor at Mansfield College, Oxford, where he was promoted to be Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in 1900, and he further held certain University appointments connected with these studies. His *Studies in*



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*Hebrew Proper Names* (1896) received very favourable notice, and brought him into the front rank of Hebraists. He contributed the commentary on Numbers to the "Temple Bible", and a more extensive treatise on the same book to the "International Critical Commentary"; to this latter series he also furnished a commentary on the first portion of Isaiah, and the completion of the very elaborate work on Job which the late Professor Driver had left unfinished at his death. These works embody the latest results of research and are characterized by painstaking thoroughness. Dr. Gray was greatly interested in Palestinian archæology, and contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which he helped to administer. He also devoted some attention to that elusive subject, the Forms of Hebrew Poetry, on which he published a monograph.

In the Preface to his *Job*, Dr. Gray acknowledged his obligations to Dr. Driver, whose influence in giving new directions to the study of his subject and founding a school with many distinguished representatives must have been as great as that exercised by any teacher of a literary subject. One who comes from the perusal of Dr. Pusey's *Minor Prophets* to the study of the commentaries composed by or under the influence of his successor finds himself in a new environment. The new school is justly commended for the attention which it devotes to archæology and in general for the sobriety of its conclusions.

D. S. M.

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## The Rev. John Drew Bate

The Rev. John Drew Bate was born in Plymouth in the year 1836, and by his death at a ripe old age the Society has lost one of its oldest and most valued members. He was sent to India by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1886, and, after a short stay in Eastern Bengal, was posted to Allahabad, where, earning the respect and affection of all classes of the com-

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munity, he laboured for nearly thirty years before his retirement in 1897. He became a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1873, and of this Society in 1881. This is not the place for describing his evangelistic work as a missionary, but a tribute must be paid in the pages of our *Journal* to his great knowledge of the people amongst whom he lived and of their language. With the latter he acquired an intimate familiarity, ripened by a sympathetic scholarship, and by his share in the translations of the Scriptures and by his other linguistic work he successfully carried on the tradition of learning which had been founded by his great predecessors in the same Missionary Society, Carey, Ward, and Marshman.

He is best known to Orientalists as the author of the Hindi Dictionary published in 1875, which is still the standard work on the language and has lately passed through a second edition. Some idea of the extent of his researches in connexion with this valuable work may be gathered from the fact that through his reading alone he was able to add no fewer than twenty-five thousand new words and forms of words that had not hitherto been explained. In regard to the width of his attainments, which were by no means confined to the language of the dictionary of which made him famous, I take the liberty of quoting the remarks of a most competent authority—a scholar who sat at his feet in Allahabad and who knew him well. In the *Missionary Herald* for March, 1923, the Rev. G. J. Dann writes :—

"His knowledge of the classical as well as the vernacular literature of India was great, especially of Muhammedanism, in which his learning was encyclopædic. Only one of the many volumes he wrote on this subject—*Studies in Islam*—was ever published. Publishers wanted only his scholarly researches, but Mr. Bate did not care to sacrifice his own purpose in writing, which was to help the missionary and the religious inquirer."

His later years were clouded by ill-health, which prevented him from taking an active part in our proceedings, and he

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passed peacefully away on the 26th January of this year. The only son who lived to man's estate became one of the sacrifices of the war, and every member of the Society—especially those whose lot was cast in northern India—will extend their liveliest sympathy to his widow and her daughters in their latest bereavement.

G. A. G.

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# PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

## Books

'Ali-Tabari. The book of religion and empire. A semi-official defence and exposition of Islām. Written by order at the court and with the assistance of the Caliph Muta-wakkil (A.D. 847–61); translated from a MS. in the John Rylands Library by A. Mingana. Manchester, London, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Ameer Ali, Syed, The Spirit of Islâm. A history of the evolution and ideals of Islâm with a Life of the Prophet. New and revised edition. London, 1922. *From Author.*

Archæological Department. Gwalior State, Fort album. Gwalior, 1922. *From Publishers.*

—— —— Mysore, Annual Report, 1922. Bangalore, 1922. *From Government of Mysore.*

—— Series, Travancore. Vol. iii, pt. i. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Trivandrum, 1922. *From Government of Travancore.*

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—— —— —— Progress Report, Western Circle to 31st March, 1921. Bombay, 1922. *From Government of India.*

Bhattacharya, Sri B., Sārnāth kā Itihās. *From Publishers.*

Bhattasali, N. K., Coins and chronology of the early independent Sultans of Bengal. Cambridge, Dacca, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Blundell, H. Weld-, The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840, with translation and notes. Cambridge, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Breasted, J. H., The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. A beginning and a program. Reprint. Chicago, 1922. *From Author.*

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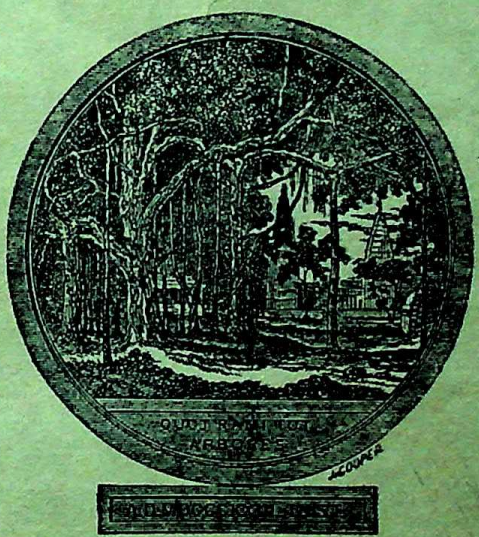

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JOURNAL OF THE
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1923

PART III.—JULY

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# Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat

BY W. IVANOW

(*Continued from p. 34.*)

## C. *Verb*

1. *Stems.* Besides a few uncommon spellings (as تاوستن ، او کندن ، یاویدن, etc., see above, A, 4) nothing particular can be observed with regard to the formation of both verbal stems, present and past.[1] The latter in a few cases appears to be formed from the former in a so-called 'regular' way, and to be used instead of the original preterite, as in (18) سازیدم ، بردازیدم ، نازیدم, (92 v.) افتیدم,[2] etc. The verbal compounds also do not show many peculiarities,

[1] There is a form which seems to be different from the literary, viz. انکشت, probably for انگیخت, (38 v.) درجهء ویرا محسوب نکرد و بنه انکشت.

[2] Although this form seems to be quite Pehlevi-like (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 303), it is very common in Khorasan (*ditto*).



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and only a few more or less archaic prepositions, as فراز ، فرا, etc., deserve to be mentioned.

2. *Nominal formations.* I. *Infinitive.* (*a*) The regular infinitive, with suffixes *-tan* and *-dan*, is more common here than in the literary language or the colloquial, where nowadays it is used very rarely.[1] Apparently the verbal sense of this form was well felt in the time of Anṣārī because the modal particle *bi* is frequently added to it, but, on the other hand, the infinitive appears only in nominal constructions, and, while often found in the *status constructus*, *iḍāfa*, rarely governs the definite accusative. The examples are very numerous:

(1) The infinitive as a subject: (18) یاد کردن کسبست و فراموش نکردن زندکانی, etc. (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 308).

(2) The infinitive in the same sense with *bi*: (21 v.) (آن) ازدنیا دست (38), خدمت بنه کردن سود نکند بنه اندیشیدن جنایت است (67), بداشتن است, etc.

(3) With *iḍāfa*: (6 v.) آن بکذاشتن نصهای کتاب است سبب دست (32), سبب جشم بشدن تو جه بود (21 v.) ازکار بداشتن او آن بود که, etc.

(*b*) The so-called 'apocopated' infinitive is still more common here. Not only is it used with various

[1] In the peasant language in many districts of Khorasan this form seems to be practically never used, and the direct verbal construction is invariably preferred. Instead of بعد از رفتن او the people will say: *ú ki raf* (with this 'post-positional' *ki*), etc. It seems that even good colloquial avoids it.

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auxiliary verbs,[1] but apparently even at that time seems to have been more popular than the regular form. Examples are available in great number, but a few will suffice: (16) کارك خود روز و شب می اندازم واز بیم از یافت (43), یاد کردرا (17 v.), تو اندر بود می کذارم همه نیکویها نیکو (70 v.), حق نیستیء خود نشان دهد شود ببود او وبنه بود همه زشتها زشت شود (95 v.), بودِ آن حیاتست (145 v.), کذاردِ طاعت, etc.[2]

(*c*) Another verbal noun, although not as common, seems to be simply the present stem. The examples are rather rare and I arrange them into a special class, only judging from the analogous usages in the present colloquial[3]: (18) بتوان تو ترا می جوید (55), سه جیزست

[1] As we will see later, however, there are instances (common in the old language) in which the full form of infinitive is used in such cases.

[2] There is no doubt that in the colloquial this 'apocopated' infinitive is the only one used. Many special suffixes are mentioned as being in use in the dialects (as in the Central group, cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 399-400, and D. Lorimer, 466), but it is necessary to be extremely cautious in treating them as such. The idea of an infinitive is too abstract for the practical and unsophisticated peasants, and therefore they easily add the personal pronominal suffixes, etc., to make it more concrete. The suffix *-mun*, perhaps, is مان — of the 1st pers. plur., and *kertmun* means '*our* doing', etc., but in the case of *-un* or *-iun* it is necessary to note that they (apparently originally the suffixes of the plural) occasionally form a sort of abstract name: *arusún*, i.e. عروسی 'wedding', *churâghún* (چراغان) 'evening' (i.e. period from the beginning of darkness and till the peasants go to bed, 6-7 p.m. to 8-9 p.m., when lamps are used—*âkhiri churâghú umad* 'he came late in the evening').

[3] The examples of this use of the present stem are very numerous in the colloquial: *furush*, *bedeh* (*hich bedéyi nedârúm*), *gir* (*de pul begir uma*), etc.

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همهء ائمه این کوی (96) , کوی دی بود[1] (66), بتوان ایشان نه با اهل آن کوی برایشان حمل (85 v.), میکویند کرده بی, etc.

(*d*) Probably the same form, but with the addition of the suffix -*a*, appears in several cases: (38) اندوزه,[2] (80, 115 v., etc.) بذیره, (136) شماره, (140 v.) اندازه (141 v.) بنداره, etc. (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 174).[3]

(*e*) Such instances as (9 v.) جویندهء نا یافتنی زندانیست ('seeking after things which cannot be found is a punishment') and (94 v.) عیش کوارندهء زندکانیست ('pleasure is the enjoyment of life') suggest, on an analysis of the context, that such participial forms are used here instead of the infinitive.

(*f*) The usual formation of the abstract noun with the suffix -*agī* may be also regarded as a sort of substitute for the infinitive: (16) از این افتادکی کی بر خیزم.

II. *Participles.* (*a*) The present participle ending in -*ā* appears here very rarely, almost exclusively in such

[1] Nafaḥāt, 116, گوئی که دی بود.

[2] For its meaning see the list of rare words, E, No. 4.

[3] May it be possible that these forms are similar to the verbal nouns in some Caspian dialects, also with a suffix -*a*? (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 369, in the dialect of Tālish).

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forms as روا and سزا (which are used impersonally),[1] and occasionally بینا and گویا.

(*b*) The form with *-ān* is here more common and preserves its verbal or gerundival sense: (16) جون مرغ افتان وخیزان, (141) آنرا خواهان وطالبند, (19) بروازکنان, (119) همه خلق آنرا جویانند, etc.[2]

(*c*) The present participle in *-anda* is quite common here and fully preserves its verbal nature: (34) بازدارندهء از هزار تن برسنده است که تصوّف جیست, (52) تو بود etc. As we have seen above, this form is used occasionally with the suffix of the comparative degree *-tar*.[3]

(*d*) The past participle seems to have nothing particular about it. It appears often in the sense of a past tense without the auxiliary verb, and although in some cases it is easy to reconstruct the original perfect or pluperfect, in others it is extremely difficult.

(*e*) The future participle (similar to those in Latin in *-urus* and *-ndus*), formed from the full infinitive by the suffix *-i*, is quite common here: (16) از بودنی کی گریزم

[1] There are many similar participles, as *guyå*, *dånå*, *binå*, etc., in the colloquial, but they seem to be treated, as often in the literary language, as ordinary adjectives.

[2] This form of the present participle can be regarded as non-existent in the more simple kind of colloquial.

[3] The present participle generally is as rarely used in the simple colloquial as the infinitive. This form (in *-anda*) is also borrowed from the literary language and treated as an adjective. Cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 399, and D. Lorimer, op. cit., 465.

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(18) مولی فرا بودنی کفت که باش (74 v.) کیفیت او

دانستنی نیست, etc.[1]

3. *Tenses and Modes.* I. *Indicative.* (*a*) The present tense has nothing particular about it except a few instances of phonetic confusion in the suffixes of the 1st person of the singular and plural, as mentioned above (A, 1, *a*).

(*b*) The preterite, which usually is quite normal here, occasionally, however, shows some undoubtedly old peculiarities. Whenever the suffixes *-i* or *-īd*[2] are added for expression of the conditional, subjunctive, or simply historical cohesion of the actions indicated by the verbs in question, they are joined directly to the preterite stem, thus resembling closely the similar usage in Pehlevi.[3] The personal suffixes are entirely omitted on such occasions, and although in a book as Ṭabaqāt the narrative involves mostly the forms of the 3rd person, there are many examples for other forms as well: (74) ارنه کسائی وی کوید هر که جیزی (100), اید من در عراق نبید[4]

[1] Cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 153. It is very interesting that while the original base of this form is not popular at all in the colloquial, this future participle is very common. It has various shades of meaning, but a sense of the future seems to be essentially inherent in it.

[2] About it see later on, section 6.

[3] Cf. Salemann, op. cit., p. 314. Examples of a similar use of the preterite with the suffix *-i* are numerous in the old language, and P. Horn, op. cit., 151–2, quotes several of them, as (*Shāhnāma*, Vullers, 1672) اکر من نرفتی بماز ندران, etc.

[4] Naf., 142, اکرنه ابوبکر کسائی بودی من درعراق نبودمی.

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مشکل شدی برمن مصطفی را بخواب دیدی و ازوی ار من (117 v.) کاشکی ما آنجا بودی (94 v.) برسیدی[1] ابو بکر قرّا ندیدی من صوفی نبودی, etc. (For examples of this use of the preterite with the suffix *-īd* see later on, section 6.)

(*c*) The perfect and pluperfect are formed and used quite normally except when they receive the modal particles *bi* or even *mī* (see later on, 5). The forms of the substantive verb will be discussed in a special section (8).

(*d*) There are a few instances of the 'second future' (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 155): (18) هر کز کسی جنان نستوده باشد. A very strange form of the same (or a peculiar optative ?) appears on f. 107: اورا بقران و سنت بشناختی (? باش or باشی =) اورا بدو بشناخته بی. In the present-day colloquial this 'second future' is very common.

(*e*) The usual 'definite' future (with خواستن) occasionally receives *bi* as well (see later on, section 5, *c*, 5).

II. *The imperative mode* is occasionally used in the form of the 2nd person of the singular of the present tense (common in the colloquial): (40) کن, and later in the same sentence کنی, (44) بس وجود حق می دعا کنی (for کن), (102) نشوی, etc. The imperative is often used

[1] Naf., 227, gives پرسیدمی . . . دیدمی.

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here with *mī*, and if the prohibitive and negative particles *ma-* and *ni* are used, *bi-* is frequently added to them. A strange form (if not a mistake) may be noted on fol. 38 v.: هرگز فرا تو نخواهم گفت که تو ام جیزی داد (unfortunately Nafaḥat gives no parallel sentence). In the 'dubitative' sense, as an admission of possibility, the imperative also appears: (63) گفت به نبذیری گفتم بو که بذیرم, (133 v.) باش اکنون مانه درویشانیم, etc.[1]

III. *The precative* (or 'direct' optative) is here represented by few instances: (28 v.) الله ترا بخویشتن از خویشتن بمکناد ترا بخویشتن از خویشتن بمبراد ترا از خویشتن بمپوشاد, (29) خدا دهاد, etc.[2]

4. *The passive.* Nothing peculiar can be noticed in this connexion, only a few forms are not very common, as (18) دیده برتو آمد.[3]

5. *The Modal Particles bi and mī.* (*a*) It may seem that in Anṣārī's time the sense of modality added by both these particles to the original form of the verb with which

[1] In the earlier language the expression تا بو که is common, but I cannot remember many examples like the one given above in the text. (The contemporary colloquial equivalent of this expression is *balki*, rarer *kâshki*.)

[2] It is somewhat strange to find that the authors of the more recent grammars invariably call this form conditionalis or conjunctive, etc. It may be taken for certain that even if it recalls the ancient conditionalis, etc., it is in the Modern Persian only optative or rather 'precative'.

[3] Similar formations are not uncommon to the vulgar form of the present colloquial, and can be regarded as rather impersonal.

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they are used in every particular case, was not felt as strongly as at present. Sometimes they are apparently left out, judging from the context and from the point of view of their present use, as *mī* in (30) بوی نسبت کند, (119) تواز بامداد تا جاشتگاه شربت و کوارش خوری, etc.

But more frequently they appear, as it would seem, quite pleonastically or even in contradiction with the original sense of the verbal form as when *bi* or even *mī* are used with the perfect, pluperfect, future, etc.

Moreover, although logically they might be expected to paralyse each other, there are a great number of instances in which they appear together (especially in negative forms): (39 v.) یکی از طلب می بماند, (21) بنه می دید (57), بای من کران شد بنمی توانم رفت (57 v.), بنمی دانست (131), بنمی کرفت (72 v.), بنه می بذیرند کفت, etc.

The same is the case when these particles are accompanied by the verbal suffix *-i*, also believed to express the sense of duration (called by the grammarians یای استمراری). The examples of its use with *mī* are very common. Therefore I will give here only some of those with *bi*: (66 v.) از هر کس خواستمی که آن مرا بنوشتی (68 v.), بنه بسندیدی (127) هر گه که سخن شنیدی خویشتن فرو میکرفت (ibid.), از وئی زعقهء بلند بزدی

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بنه‌دیدی, (129 v.) جنانکه از هرموی وی آب بجکیدی, (134 v.) نبکشتی, etc.

(*b*) *mī-* appears in its old form as همی only very rarely, probably on account of the modernization of the text: (31 v.) پاك همی کردند, (70 v.) همی رسید, (89) در بغداد همی رفت.[1] It is also noteworthy that *mī* is almost systematically separated from its verb by various words.[2] Every page furnishes several examples of this, as (19) جون می جدا خواست شد, (79 v.) وی را می بزرك داشتی, etc.

This particle is added to almost all tenses, even to the perfect, as in (25) بزرك می داشته اند, (113 v.) می ردّ

[1] It is difficult to say how much the modernization of the text by the later scribes is to be blamed for the disappearance of *hamī*. A book, which was probably written at exactly the same time as the Ṭabaqāt, in the district of Jām, a dependency of Herat, by the celebrated saint Aḥmad-i-Jām, shows also a tendency to avoid this archaic form. It is انس التائبین, often referred to above. At the same time, the books composed before and even after that period, but which reached us in older copies, prefer to write *hamī* very often, as is the case with the *Tadhkira* of 'Aṭṭār, from Nishapur, *Asrāru't-tawḥīd* by Ibn-Munawwar, who apparently wrote it in Abīward or Tūs, the translation of Ṭabari's *Tafsīr* (see above, note on p. 23), made probably in Bukhara, etc. Therefore, it is impossible to come to definite conclusions, and it would be more cautious to believe that the copyists have done much to damage the texts in this connexion.

[2] The book of Aḥmad-i-Jām, mentioned in the preceding note, which tries to use the highest standard of the literary language, very often, nevertheless, cannot avoid a similar order of words. This may prove that it was very common in the colloquial of that time, although it might be regarded as 'rustic'.

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کرده اند, etc.,[1] and is very common with the imperative.

(*c*) *bi-* (written joined to or separated from the verb) is used in various ways: (1) with the infinitive, as mentioned above in this section, 2, I, *a*, on p. 338.

(2) With the prohibitive *ma-* of the imperative (as well as with *ni-* in similar circumstances): (31) ازان هیچ بمخور, (54) بمه بسند, (147 v.) بمکذر; or with *ni*: (53) مرا بنه کوئی, (141 v.) بنشنو, etc.

(3) With the enclitic form of the substantive verb ام، ای، اند (see later on, p. 357).

(4) With all past tenses, preterite, perfect, as in (11 v.) بداده اند, (45) بفروخته است, (93 v.) خلق بکشته اند, (131 v.) درتاریخ بیاورده اند, (136 v.) بیامرزیده ام[2] etc. Pluperfect, as in (22 v.) برفته بود, (56 v.) جهل سال بپوشیده بود, (91) بنکذشته بود, (72 v.) بنخفته بود, (130 v.) بکذرده بود, (136 v.) بیامرزیده بود, etc.

(5) A very rare construction, where *bi* is added to the future, can be noted on f. 26 v.: وبخواهندت سوخت.

(*d*) Probably archaic or local are the traces of the frequent

[1] Cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 154.

[2] This is not uncommon in the colloquial and the dialects: *tå ze pizkhanda bare bike waqaw bandåkhtäi*, 'when, smiling with the upper lip, thou hast thrown the cheek and mole into a dimple' (from Nayyīr, in Sabzawari).

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use of فرا, now entirely forgotten except in compounds.[1] It appears to be an equivalent of *bi*, not only forming the dative but very often taking the place of that particle with verbs: (4) فرا خواهند, (133) فرا بوشد, (140 v.) دور (82 v.) ازآن بازارك فرا سازند (74) فرا اوكند, فرا بوده, etc. But it is somewhat difficult to specify every case because فرا may be simply a preposition, while originally the verb may not require a prefix.

6. *Suffixes of verbal coherency.* The suffix *-i*, which gives a verb in a proposition the sense of connexion with another, conditional, historical (as participation in a complex action), or causal (explicative), and which therefore may be called the suffix of verbal coherency—a sort of verbal *iḍāfa*—appears here very frequently. In the present colloquial it is extremely rare, and in the dialects it is doubtful whether it exists at all.[2] In the literary language we can trace its gradual disappearance since the earliest period. It is often taken for a particular suffix of the conditionalis, etc., but it is hardly really that. In an isolated verb it conveys no definite modal idea (while the particles *bi* and *mī* do), and its most essential peculiarity is that it appears invariably only in verbal *groups*, and in these combinations only its full value is manifested. The analysis of the examples shows that whenever it is used as '*-i* of the narrative'

[1] In Aḥmad-i-Jām's book it is used as freely as here. (Its presence in the Nafaḥāt may be explained as only the result of Jami's carelessness as to the style of his book.)

[2] Personally I heard this suffix on one or two occasions in Southern Khorasan, but my materials, collected there, are not available to me at present.

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or 'of duration', its force is not sufficient, and this is why *mī* or *bi* are usually added to the verb notwithstanding the presence of the *-i* at the end. There are also many cases where *-i* is not added to all connected verbs of the sentence, and this may prove that this suffix was not as essential as, e.g., the personal suffixes, etc.[1]

The frequent use of this suffix may be regarded, therefore, as a really archaic feature of the language. Its origin is traced back to the Pehlevi particles (of the same use) *haδ, hēδ, hē* (C. Salemann, op. cit., pp. 313 and 315), which are themselves of rather uncertain origin (ibid., 313). And one of the most interesting surprises which the old-fashioned Herati speech offers to the linguist is that it preserves this suffix in an undoubtedly much more archaic form ـيد—, which cannot be anything else but the Pehlevi particle *hēδ*, just mentioned above. The use of this suffix strictly follows that of *-i*, but while the latter is added here occasionally to the personal verbal terminations (and even to the optative as on f. 88,[2] این سرك وقت خود كه دارى بنازدار كه جاويد بادى ?), the former is usually added only to the preterite stem, for all persons and numbers. I noticed only one instance of its being joined to the 3rd pers. plur. in (64 v.) هر گه ويرا كفتنديد كه فلان كس

[1] It seems that these subdivisions of the 'classes' of the suffix *-i*, as many other constructions of traditional grammar, are based on logical speculations, and have nothing to do with the real synthetic study of the language. P. Horn's attempt to revise these elaborate 'hair-splittings' in a more scientific way cannot be called quite successful. It is difficult to agree with him (op. cit., 151–2) that this suffix has much optative sense in it, and still less with his opinion that it appears as a *prefix* (this is quite a different matter, and the prefixes *e-, i-*, etc., are connected with the dialectical particles *ha, he*, etc., similar in their use to *bi*).

[2] Not found in the Nafaḥāt.

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بمرد وی کفتید[1], and not many instances of its use with the present stem: (67 v.) اکر من ترا نمیخواهید و نمی آرید و نمی خوانید[2], (73 v.) ار من نخواهید میکوئید.

The examples are very numerous (over two hundred cases), and therefore I will reproduce here only the more typical:

(*a*) *Condition* (with *agar*): (9 v.) کفت ار من بجستن ار ما دیدن تو (20), تو یافتید من در حسرت تو بکداختید ار نه آنستی که (25), دوست نمیدارید دیرستی تا ترا ببردید ار نه آن (59 v.), تو میکوئی الله ما همه بغداد بسو ختید کر من (65 v.), بودید که دانستم . . . زهرهٔ من پاره شدید در تو عاصی شدید تو بامن جه کردید کفت ترا بسوختید اکر مرا بنزدیك تو هیچ قیمتی بودی مرك (68) ارخرقانی برجا اید و محمد قصاب (83), من بین المنزلین بودید اکر ایشان کافر (120), من شمارا بمحمد قصاب فرستادید بودید الله تعالی ایشانرا راه نمودید, etc.

(*b*) *Casual and explicative consequence* (so-called

[1] Not in the Nafaḥāt.

[2] Naf., 121, اکر من ترا نخواستمی نخواندمی و نیاوردمی.

In the same way Jami changes all these uncommon forms if he finds it necessary to reproduce the sentences in which they occur. He is particularly fond of this suffix *-i*, and uses it even in those cases in which it is omitted in the Ṭabaqāt.

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'subjunctive', with که and تا): (68) وی نه آئینه روشن
من شمارا (83), کردید که بسخن وی دلها روشن شدید
بمحمد قصاب فرستادید که وی شمارا سود تر دارید
بانك كرك كردید تاجای که سك بودید آواز دادی بان (90)
خضر در (134 v.), حیّ شدی ویارانرا جیزی آوردی ازطعام[1]
مجلس او می بودید که وی سخن می کفتید, etc.

(c) *Participation in a narrative*: (47) بدر وی جام
کوید که (من) شب شنبه نشسته بودید و (58), فروختید
از بس بیران که دیده بودید (ibid.), مادر بر من می کرستید
انجا که خلق را تاریکی (ibid.), و سخنان که اشنوده بودید
شیخ هرکز جنین (6), بود دیدار اورا روشنائی بودید
جون روز عید بودید درخانه باز کردی (68 v.), نکردید
زنکی دیدم سیاه هرکه الله یاد کردید (70), (کردند)
واز (78 v.), من هرکز دعا نکردید (73 v.), سفید کشتی
(82 v.), کرمی که بوده خواستند که دست من بسوختید
همه شب (ibid.), (وی) خاموش کم بودید یا در نماز بودی

[1] Naf., 183.

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از کور وی آواز (90), فریاد میکردید وسخن میکفتید قران خواندن می شنودید هر کس که بزیارت وی شدی[1] بوی آمدی ویرا بدیدی و آنچه خواستید ببرسیدید (108) (117), زاری بروی افتاد کاستید که تباه شدید (111 v.) ببربسین شب رمضان سجده کردید و تا صبح می زاریدید از بزرکان بنوحه نیوشیدی و بکرستید (132), و میکفتی کاههـا بکوشیدید ویرا هیچ مکس ندیدید[2] (134 v.) باز (135 v.), نهاوندی دیك نبختید تا مهمان نبودی (135) هر که در مجلس وی نعره (138 v.), کردید و آمد بهری زدید وی دربرابر آن نعره باز زدید, etc.

7. *Suffix of emphasis.* The suffix -*ā*, used with exclamations and probably intended to convey the idea of the logical accentuation placed on the verb, appears here rarely, only in a somewhat dialectical sentence: (73 v.) با حفص بغاوردان[3] (تا) باسی ازشب بر بیل (?) خفته و میکفت کاری که بد اش نا بده و انچه نبدهٔ (*sic*) اش بده جون کنما. Jami in his Nafaḥāt (127) renders

[1] Naf., 183.
[2] Naf., 312.
[3] So in Nafaḥāt, 127.

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it in this way: کاری که بوده است نا بوده چون کنم چون کنم.[1]

8. *Auxiliary verbs.* (*a*) $\sqrt{ah}$. The enclitic forms of this stem are used quite normally.[2] There is only one strange form, probably a dialectic 3rd pers. sing. هن[3]: (41)[4]

وی در بلخ گفت که بو منصور مارا بسر آمد جنان هن.

The form of the 3rd pers. sing. است appears (positive and negative) with the suffixes *-i* or *-īd*: (25) ار نه آنستی که تو میگوئی الله ما همه بغداد بسوختید (20 v.), (وی را) اگر انکار عالم نیستی از ین کار نشان نیستی, (21 v.)[5] ار نیستید (3rd pers.), etc. The same است

[1] This suffix, which quite probably, as P. Horn (op. cit., 152) thinks, is of the same nature as *-ā* of the vocative case, does not exist in the present colloquial and dialects (except in the expressions borrowed from the literary language, such as *khudâyâ shukr*, etc.). Therefore, the example above, which undoubtedly belongs to the colloquial (or even a dialect) spoken at that time, is interesting evidence that this form was really 'living' and used in speech.

[2] Except in the case where they receive the prefix *bi* (if it is really so, cf. later on, subsection (*b*) of the present section).

[3] This form is very strange, because it recalls those used in the dialects of Fars (see O. Mann, op. cit., 26, 37–8), while in Khorasan, at present, no traces of it are found (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 398, and D. Lorimer, op. cit., 461–2).

[4] On the margin is added یعنی جنانکه می بایست, which is probably the conjecture of one of the scribes.

[5] The addition of the cohesive suffix *-i* to است is quite common in the old language. It is particularly frequent in the old Persian Tafsīr (mentioned on pp. 20–1) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,



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appears in a strange way: (18) جون من کیست که این مرتبه‌را بسندیدم. On f. 9 v. even the 2nd pers. is formed from it: جو نستی (تو).[1]

The most prominent, however, in the language of the Ṭabaqāt is another form of the 3rd pers. sing., i.e. اید or, written joined, ید -- or, after a vowel, ئید —. I took it first for آید because in the old texts this word is occasionally used in the sense 'to become' (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 315–316, and P. Horn, op. cit., 154),[2] and that it really is in many cases. But this meaning does not always fit it as in the frequent quite 'static' sentences وی شاگرد فلان اید or وی استاد بغدادیان اید, etc., because the statement is one purely of fact, not of 'becoming'. The cases in which this word is used as an enclitic verbal suffix dispel all doubts, because this could not be possible with آید where آ is the stem.[3] There is

Aa 7. The same is the case with the language of the انس التائبین mentioned above, where even a plural form appears with the same suffix as on f. 33, اگر این علما بد نیستندی, etc. The instance of نیستید (3rd pers. sing., with the suffix -*īd*) mentioned here is the only one I came across in the Ṭabaqāt.

[1] These forms seem not to be frequent.

[2] Not rarely used in even the more 'rustic' forms of the colloquial at present (as well as the verb *räftän*) instead of *shudan*.

[3] It is very difficult to suppose that the original *ā* was shortened and could then disappear. It becomes *i* or *e* in some Kurdish dialects, but the whole character of the language of the Ṭabaqāt does not permit to suggest such accidental possibilities of analogy.

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even one more circumstance in favour of this admission. Not only does the spelling ـئيد after vowels prove that the pronunciation ought to be *-īd*, but through the whole copy, although the scribe wrote first آيد, the *madda* was erased later, and there are traces of erasion found almost invariably at every occurrence. This careful correction suggests that the manuscript from which the present copy was made possessed special authority and authenticity in the eyes of those who were copying it, otherwise they would not do this, and this conjecture adds to the significance of the fact.

It seems that in this *-īd* we have the missing link in the row of enclitic verbal forms of this stem (replaced by است), and it may be the prototype of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. of the present tense *-ad* (which in Pehlevi was still *-ēδ*). There can be no doubt that it goes back apparently to the ancient Persian *aitiy* and Avestan *aeiti* (see Bartholomae, "Awestasprache," *G.I.Ph.*, I, i, 202), which seems to have survived till a comparatively later period in the other part of the Iranian world, i.e. in the Soghdian, as *χaci*.[1] If so, we can claim great antiquity for this form. An interesting question arises in this connexion. The 3rd pers. sing. of the substantive verb was usually reproduced in the Pehlevi books with an ideogram איתּ (C. Salemann, op. cit., 313), spelt in Pazend as *hast*. Its likeness to our form ايد is remarkable. There was another ideogram for the same form הוה, and it is extremely tempting to believe that the former, איתּ, was originally *not* an ideogram but a *phonetic*

[1] In that language the 3rd pers. sing. *ṣti* is also used. It would be extremely interesting if the students of Soghdian could discover a definite difference in the use of both.

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*reproduction* of a word, which in the earlier period was used everywhere, but for some reason was forgotten later and became a kind of symbol, the phonetical value of which was taken from the other more fashionable and up-to-date form of speech.

The examples of it are very numerous: (47 v.) نیازو, (119 v.) اوّل کسی که برمنبر آشکارا کرد اوئید تعلّم علم محض وشرع صاف, (60 v.) افلاس دکان اوئید ار تو آکاهید[1] ازو که من, (64 v.) همه سخنان ممشادید ار نه آنید[2] که او کفته, (73 v.) آکاهم حال تو بر هم بکردد آن نه آنید که[3] دعا نباید, (ibid.) که ارمن نخواهید میکو ئید ار نه آنید که کفتند ذکرًا کثیرًا هرکز, (17 v.) کرد, (123) نکزارید که زبان من کرد یاد تو کردید یاد کردرا وآن آنید که . . ., etc.

(*b*) $\sqrt{bw}$. The forms derived from this stem are quite regular in the preterite (often used with *bi* as ببود, etc.). In the present tense some deviations from the standard

[1] This is an extremely strange use of ید — which could be taken here for *-īd* as the cohesive suffix, if the word to which it was added were a verb. Therefore we must take it either for the form of the 2nd pers. or the 3rd pers. sing.

[2] Naf., 141, اکرنه آن بودی.

[3] Naf., 142, آن نه آنست که.

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forms can be noticed. Cases of the present tense from بو (except 3rd pers. sing.) are rare: (35) اینان بدو کیتی بی‌او فرا نمی بوند, and a few others. As rare are the forms from باش, as in (51 v.) اهل حقیقت کی باشی که از زندکانی باشی, etc.

Instead of these some other peculiar forms are used:

Sing. 1st pers. بم, 2nd pers. بی, 3rd pers. —? (بید ?).

Plur. 1st pers. —? (بیم ?), 2nd pers. بید, 3rd pers. بند.[1]

I cannot take upon myself to decide whether (1) they are the result of the change of the original *u* into *i*,[2] and then shortened; or (2) they are the enclitic forms of the substantive verb with the addition of the particle *bi*.[3] Both explanations are equally possible, but to me the first theory seems more probable.

These are the examples:

1st pers. sing. (35) من بتو برهان ده که خاموش بم, (37) من ور آنجا جون شاد نبم[4] که بر عالم تو میکذ شتم (92 v.)

[1] Similar forms are very common all over Persia, not only in the dialects (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 366, in the Caspian group, 398, in the Central dialects, about which also D. Lorimer, op. cit., 463, 464, and O. Mann, op. cit., 37–8, for the dialects of Fars), but in the colloquial of the cities as well. Except in the Caspian dialects, however, these forms usually convey the idea of the past tense.

[2] At present it is one of the most prominent phonetic phenomena of Khorasani Persian, and the usual بود is frequently *bi* here.

[3] If *bi* may be prefixed to the past tense of the substantive verb, why cannot it be added to the present as it is usually added to other verbs?

[4] Naf., 76, نباشم.

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ار من باین بآخرت شوم[1] من که بم[2] و بر (107), جنان بم جه بم, etc.

2nd pers. sing. (34) تا پاپس نمانی درهر جه بی بزندکانی آن کنج کجا (105), تو نبی نبی او بود (43), بی نه بکرا هیت آنجه از تو اید خجل بی و هرجه از (140 v.), بود که تو نبی آن آنست که ذکررا ملازم (ibid.), او اید بآن راضی بی بی و مشاهده را ملازم بی همواره رقیب ازل بی وکوش و آن سبق خوئی تو فرا اوکند (اوکن?) از دنیا سیر آئی و باخود به بیکاری بی, etc.

3rd pers. sing. ?

1st pers. plur. ? I have not noticed any instances.

2nd pers. plur. (133) فرفته نه بید.

3rd pers. plur. (107 v.) همه خلق در بادیه تشنه بند.

An interesting case of the suffix -*īd* added to this form of the substantive verb was quoted already: (74) ار نه کسائی ایدمن در عراق نبید.

From the examples given here it seems quite clear that if it would be necessary to replace these peculiar forms

[1] Naf., 243, روم.

[2] Ibid., باشم, etc. In this way Jami usually renders these peculiar forms.

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by those of Standard Persian, in many cases the best substitute would be the forms of the preterite and not of the present. This is why the suggestion seems more likely to be correct that they are derived from بو, in which the original *u* was, under some dialectic influence, altered into *i*.

(*c*) √*st*. The verb ایستادن in our text can hardly be taken for an auxiliary.

(*d*) *shudan* has no peculiarities (except those mentioned above, A, 4, on p. 22).

(*e*) *khwāstan* is used with the apocopated infinitive not only in the cases where it appears as an auxiliary verb, but even where it retains its original sense of 'to wish', as in (26) بحجّ خواست رفت or (63) بحجّ خواست شد etc. At the same time: (35) او که رفتن میخواهد, etc. The case where it is used with *bi* when forming a 'definite' future was mentioned above (5, *b*, 5, on p. 347).

(*f*) *tuwānistan* is not only frequently used with the apocopated infinitive of the chief verb for all persons in the same form of the present stem (as on f. 141 v. بتوان ساخت, etc.), but, if this is not simply a mistake, the main verb receives its original personal suffix: (66 v.) صفت نتوان کفتم (for صفت نتوانم کفت), etc.

(*g*) *dānistan*. It is a rather archaic feature of the language of the Ṭabaqāt that this verb in the same way is constructed with the apocopated infinitive.[1] This does

[1] Cf. E. Browne, "An old Persian Commentary," *JRAS*, 1894, 438.

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not happen consistently, however: (87) برنای بود جیزی دو تن دیده ام که ازوی بدانست خواند, etc., but (82 v.) سخن باز دانست کفتن, etc.

(*h*) *shāyistan* is frequently used in personal forms: (16 v.) تراشایم نه دلم, (37) شایم که مرا ازاهل توحید کردی (36) نشائی . . . بشائی (see F, *a*, on p. 378), etc.

(*i*) *bāyistan* appears often in the form of واید, etc.: (136) وی را بوایست کریخت, (37) نواید, etc. It is even used with the suffix *-i*, discussed above (section 6), as in (91 v.) اکر او ترا نمی بایدی, etc.

8. *Impersonal expressions.* The verbs just mentioned above are used impersonally in a quite normal fashion. But there are sometimes rather uncommon constructions, as: (35) او که آرزوی رفتن است 'because he wishes to go', (113) [1] مرا نان . . . آرزو کرد 'I wanted some bread', (90) آرزومندمست باید که (!), probably simply 'I want that . . .'

## D. *Particles*

1. *Negative particles.* Both نه and نا are often confused, but no general rule in this connexion can be deduced. The examples are very common, as (19 v.)

[1] It seems to have been the usual form of expressions of this type; cf. E. Browne, op. cit., *JRAS*, 1894, 440, and R. Nicholson, *Tadhkira*, vol. ii, introd., 11.

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ناتوانم کفت, (115) ذرّهء ترنا شده, etc., where we would expect نه.[1]

2. *Prepositions.* Some of them seem to be used in a really archaic way, but there are traces of modern (or local) prepositions as well.

اندر appears here rarely (16, 69, 129).

از used in a strange sense in (129) از آب نکون اندر افتاد (mistake for در ?).

با assumes various forms and is, in some cases, not very common :

(1) With the dative instead of به: (21 v.) با دنیا داری افتادی, (31) باز با سر ان شد, (104) با وطن خود میروی (107) با سر و قت خود شد, (119 v.) کم با دید آئی (122) با جای نهادم, etc.

(2) Is spelt occasionally وا, as in (138) وا حقیقت etc. (see above, A, 4, on pp. 21–2).

(3) Sometimes appears as فا: (107) فا تو سخن کوید, etc.

(4) Takes the form of باز before pronouns beginning with

[1] This seems to be quite common in the old language, and a similar confusion is still observed in Khorasan.

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a vowel[1]: (15) بازو کردد, (41 v.) کس بازو نمیتواند, (52 v.) ترا بازان, (72 v.) بازو صحبت مدارید رفت, etc. کار نیست

(5) Apparently simply a phonetic variation of the previous form is فاز: (95 v.) فازوی نکرم, (60) فازان, (56 v.) فازین درویش دهد, etc. نداده ام

بر is very commonly used, as in the colloquial, instead of the به of the dative, sometimes in a vulgar (or old?)[2] form ور (for examples see above, A, 4, on p. 21). The old form ابر is found on very rare occasions (as f. 56 v. ابر طریقت).

به, as mentioned above (A, 3, on p. 20), often appears before pronouns, beginning with a vowel, in the form بد.

[1] The final *z* in باز (فاز) and فراز is undoubtedly an archaism because it goes back to *ž* of the Pehlevi *frāž* and *awāž* (see C. Salemann, op. cit., 319). It is remarkable that it appears only before the initial vowels of the pronouns, as *d*, the old *ṭ*, and after *δ* in *paδ* = بد for به.

These forms, باز ، فاز ، فرا ، فراز, are not common in other books, and therefore it was a kind of indirect evidence in favour of their being regarded as dialectic to find them in the book of Aḥmad-i-Jām, who uses them very freely.

[2] In the present 'rustic' forms of the Khorasani colloquial *bär* and *wär* seem usually to take the place of به and برای.

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تو, which is regarded usually as vulgar and modern (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 162), is noticed here only once: (115) مجرد توجهان توئی (without the *iḍāfa*, as in the colloquial).

سو and سر (at present very common all over Persia in many various forms as *sī*, *si̯*, *súne*, *síne*, etc.) appear here very often, as (65 v.) نه حلالست بسوی ما, etc.[1]

فرا is very common instead of به (even verbal sometimes, as above, 5, *d*, on p. 347). Occasionally it corresponds to the more modern برای, which *does not appear here at all.*[2] The examples are very numerous and a few will be quite sufficient: (78 v.) اگر ملوك دنیا دانند که من ایذر فرا جه, (8) فرا من کفت, (5) ام بشمشیر فرا سر من آیند, (24) من فرا خواب نمی شدم, (17) فرا من رسید

[1] This preposition may be regarded as peculiar to Fars, where it takes the place of the Khorasani *wār*. Its applications are manifold, as *sit* means برای تو (cf. O. Mann, op. cit., 52), *si kâzerún* instead of به کازرون, etc. In Khorasan it is not very common and used only to show direction, as in *sune shār* سوی شهر, etc.

[2] فرا is used as commonly in Aḥmad-i-Jām's book, but I noticed some cases of برای as well.

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فرا درآمد, etc. A case, which may be a psychological mistake, where the author wrote به, but for some reason found it more suitable to use here فرا, and forgot to erase the former, is found on f. 28 بفرا دیدن آوردن.

Although instances of فرا وی, etc., are common, before pronouns beginning with a vowel the other form فراز appears more frequently, which is apparently quite analogous to the باز and فاز mentioned above.[1] The examples are numerous: (70 v.) فرازو راه هست, (94) فرازو میکویند که دعا کن (104), فرازو افتادم (105), رو فرازو کنی (77), فرازین کار می نکریست, etc.

3. *Adverbs.* Of more or less archaic adverbs only ایذر (or ایدر) can be mentioned (53 v., 68, 75, 78, 88, 91, etc.).

بر is used occasionally as an adverb: (131) ترا فرو نشانند و مرا بر نشانند, etc.

فرا as an adverb also appears several times: (19) از من فرا ست, (20) فراتر نشسته, etc.

آنجا as commonly in the old language, is used with

[1] Cf. above, n. 1 on p. 362.

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reference to time: (73) سفر جکنی انجا که ارادت تو درواخ شود.

E. *Vocabulary of rare words and uncommon expressions*

In the list given here are included (*a*) the words which seem to be local and which are not common in the literary language of the same period as that of the Ṭabaqāt, (*b*) the words which are not rare, but which appear in our text in a somewhat uncommon sense, and (*c*) the expressions which, although quite common, may be traced at present to a particular province of Persia outside which they are not current. On the contrary many words, which can nowadays be regarded as archaic, such as تیمار، تاوان، پذیره، پاس، پاداش، انکاریدن، آشامیدن etc., and which one never hears in the colloquial, are omitted.

1 آزرم 'pain, sorrow': (96) سخن اونه بطاقت خلق بود که توحید آزرم نبود.

اکین? (has perhaps something to do with the Pehlevi *akwīn*, cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 289, 'zusammen'?). Here only one case: (89 v.) این خلق که می بینی همه اکین بهشتند. Jami in the Nafaḥāt, 182, reproduces this sentence literally (he writes آکین).

آمیختن as a trans. verb in the sense of 'to console': (16) ناجاره زا جون آمیزم.

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اندوزه 'thought, care, anxiety' ?: (38) اگر ملك دنیا دارد ازآن تو ازوی دریغ نداری و جون داری آنرا قیمت ننهی و اندوه برآن نخوری و اندوزه نکنی (in the Nafaḥāt it is omitted).

انکشتن for انگیختن ?: (38 v.) درجهٔ وی را محسوب نکرد و بنه انکشت (omitted in Naf.).

باتله (پاتله) 'caldron' (دیك). Apparently a dialectical word now used only amongst the Parsiwans of the Herat province (f. 72 *in margine*).

بازانك (perhaps for باذانك from دانستن ?)[1]: (124) درعلوم این طائفه بازانك بود (Naf. omitted).

باسیدن (verb derived from پاس) 'to watch': (126) بیفتاد بباسیدند برفته بود.

بافتابه apparently a mistake for پایتابه 'putties': (86) بای در بافتابه دارد.

[1] Cf. below, نازان in the present list, and also A, 3, p. 20. I cannot remember having ever seen or heard بادان, of which this word may be a diminutive. On the other hand, the more natural reading of this expression نازانك (نادانك) would be in contradiction with the context.

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10 بچلو 'futile', diminutive of پوچ ?[1]: (29) ازآن دنیای بچلوی شما برستم (Naf. omitted).

بدیس (پدیس ?) instruction ? : (36) (الله) آنکاه بدیس داد بتفصیل ریاضات (Naf. omitted).

برزکری husbandry, peasants' work, farming (129 v.). As far as I have found, this word is used nowadays only in the south-eastern part of Khorasan and, apparently, in the district of Farah. It is spelt *båzgäri* (from *båzgär*, a peasant). In Western Persia this word is not known to the people.

پنبه دانه (as further سپند دانه), instead of the usual تخم اسفند، تخم پنبه, are also expressions peculiar to the same part of Khorasan and freely used by Heratis.

بنداره (پنداره) 'thought' (141, 141 v.).

15 بوست کراه, (117) او بوست کراه بود. I regarded it first as a mistake for the more common پوست کر, but found it written in the same sentence in Nafaḥāt in the same way (213). The vocalization apparently belongs to Nassau-Lees (پوست گرُاه), and it would be interesting to find the grounds on which it was written so, because I do not find anything like this in Vullers' *Lexicon*, or anywhere else.

[1] In the rustic colloquial of Southern Khorasan similar formations are still in use, such as *kuchulu*, from *kuchak* (so it is spelt locally), *kachalu* ('bald', from *kal*), *gululä* (from the usual *ghullä*, 'bullet'), etc.

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بها, here used in the sense of 'greatness, awe': (13 v.) این نور و بها بر روی و دستان وی جیست.

بیل (پیل?) a sort of carpet?: (73) بر بیل خفته (Naf. omitted).

تاسا 'sorrow, displeasure': (15) جون بر کذرد از آن تاسا بکرفت (Naf., 69, renders it by تاسا شود, (33) ملول شدی), also on ff. 93 v., 134 v., etc.

تاوستن (apparently for تابیدن or تافتن), (14) ترا توانا کردم تا دیدار من در تاوستی و شنوا کردم تا سخن من درتاوستی. Such expressions as این مرا بر نتابد, etc., are very common here.

تشنا مار 'thirst', (84) برفته در تشنا مار (cf. کشنا مار and above, B, 1, *l*, on p. 27) (Naf. تشنکی).

جرّه (چرّه?) 'bowl, cup?', (43) خواهی جرّه بر سنك زن خواهی سنك بر جرّه.

جم 'nature', (132 v.) (وی را) بسری رسید نه بجم و بدر از وی می رنجید. Naf., 308, translates this word by نبهنجار.

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بر کران (کنار) جورب 'socks'? (= جراب), (129 v.)
آتش دان نشسته بود و جورب در بای.

جولاه, an abusive expression, 'rascal, rogue,' (133 v., etc.) جولاهی آمده است مارا از درویشی می بیرون نهد (probably in a metaphoric sense as a 'weaver of intrigues', etc.; cf. جولاهك, E. Browne, op. cit., 454).

25 خار, probably a mistake for خوار, (21) آن خار نمی بود که برزبان تو کفت.

خا ویدن, apparently for خا بیدن (خوابیدن), (73)
بر سوی ردای وی خا ویدم.

خا یکینه 'omelette' (22, 22 v.), can be regarded as a local word at present used chiefly in South-Eastern Persia (cf. Lorimer, op. cit., 429, *khiya*). It is derived from *khúy*, *khuyk* (in Central dialects, *hek* in Kurdish), which belong to the same stem as the Persian خایه, and is usually pronounced as *khuginá* or *khåginá*.

خرسته ? 'show, exhibition'?, (124) خرسته و آرائش جا مه. Jami translates it in the Nafaḥāt, 305, as خرده‌ء ظاهر وآرائش جا مه.

خسته 'sickness'?, (8 v.) خسته او بیدا بود کسی که اورا



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دیده بود جان در تن او شیدا بود. Jami reproduces the whole sentence literally (Naf., 38); cf. E. Browne, op. cit., 458.

عبد الله خفیف 'quarrel, dispute', (119) خویسه را هنکامی با شیخ موسی عمران جیرفتی خویسه افتاد. Jami omits the whole sentence.

خینا کر 'musician', (135) خینا کری جیزی میزد.

دواخ 'strong, firm': (2) دست درولایت درواخ زند, (73, etc.). I have not been able to trace any of these sentences in the Nafaḥāt. Cf. P. Horn, Asadi's Lughat-i Furs, f. 15 (text).

دوژخ, an older form of دوزخ.

دهشت. There are two words spelt in the same way, Persian and Arabic (دهشة), but it is difficult to say which is meant here: (30) در اندیشیدن درو دهشت است و دهشت نقصان است و معرفت حیرت است. Probably the Arabic word in its sense of 'fear' will fit best.

بروزکار (66 v.) رازه, adverb from راز, 'secretly', (وی) رازه می بودم باصفهان.

رُستی 'alone'?: (21 v.) رُستی صحبت تباه کند (22), خا یکینه خورده (ibid.) رُستی بی یاران با براهیم رفت

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بود رُستی بی یاران. (Jami omits this word in these sentences.)

زشت (112 v., etc.). This word is very common indeed in literary Persian, but I place it in this list because it seems to be also a Khorasani idiom. At present it is used in that part of Persia instead of *bad*, but is rarely heard in other provinces.

زینهار as a substantive, apparently in the sense of 'defence': (65 v.) وی ز ینهار خواست, (104 v.) زینهار, etc. زمین بود

ژند 'nonsense', (28) و این که میکو یند که وی سید عارفانست خود ژند است.

40 ساختن 'to prepare (a dead body) for funeral' (80).

ساز 'all things required for the funeral': (80) همه ساز کوری دیدم کنده وسازوحنوط وی (ibid.), من نهاده یابید.

سبند دانه, see also بنبه دانه (سپند or اسفند, a sort of grass growing in the desert. When dry it is burnt on various occasions, and its smoke is believed to avert the effects of the evil eye).

ستردن 'to cleanse, to dry', (122) آب دهان وی می ستردید (Naf., 301, پاك می کردند).

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هر جه می سکالم می (16, 17) 'to think': سکالیدن
هر جه من می سکالیدم جزان می شد (140), جدا اید.

شاشك 'a kind of fly'? (115) شاشك خر بکزید.

Jami translates it (Naf., 256) with مگسی.

شکویدن (apparently for شکوهیدن) 'to fear' (10 v., 11 v., 52 v., etc.). One example will be sufficient:
الله را بدوستی برستم که به شکویم که نه برستم (10 v.).

طرز ? (130) من و قتی در طرز خود بودم نشسته و دران
ایام که وا داشته بودند مرا از مجلس (Naf., 396, ترز).

طرکست 'crackling' (121). See above, B, 1, on p. 27.

طوطلی ? (86) طوطلی نکرده بود از کسی (cheating ?).

فرهیونده (for فریبنده ?), (36) از فرهیونده لا اله
الاّ الله دروست نیاید.

قزین, a kind of cloth, (133 v.) وی قزین بافتی (probably from قز 'silk').

کار ? (131) هم بکار بارکاه ما در کورست.

کالا 'belongings', (12) کالای خود بدست او یافتی
(as Colonel G. Ranking told me, this word is common in the *Siyāsat-Nāma*).

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کاهیدن, the equivalent of کاستن 'to be small,' (70) بهر جه از بهانه می کاهد از حقیقت می فزاید.

55 کرفه 'shovel' (31).

کز (for کج ?) 'wrong'? (115) خر بجست و بای او در کز آمد و درخت کزفکار شد. Jami gives (Naf., 256) افگار شد (فکار or افگار = wound). Or it may be from گزیدن 'to bite'? (the leg was caught or scratched by the thorny tree and this caused a wound).

کشنامار 'hunger' (96 v., 123, 124). See above, B, 1, *l*, on p. 27.

کلانیدن 'to shake (a carpet)', (79) سجاده فرو کلاند (now in the colloquial *takundan*, تکاندن, is used instead of it).

کن 'a cave' (still used in various places of Khorasan as an equivalent for غار), در کنی از آن کوه بای وی در نر می آمد . . . بیرون آمد از آن کن.

60 کوسی ? (131) ربوبیت همه عین عبودیت است کوسی نادانی بیجاره (بیجار کی ?) ضعیفی بحاصل نفس فراز آمد سیدی کردد (nothing in the Nafaḥāt).

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می باید که بخدایان کوك 'shriek, excitement', (138 v) خدایان هرات کوك کنم (Naf., 329, where only the word is transformed into خیابان). This word is still quite common in the same sense all over Khorasan.

کوکجه 'button' (120 v.). Obviously a diminutive of گوك 'a ball'.

هوا که عرش درآنست کویستن 'to depend'? (141 v.) آن دانش بر علم ربوبیت کویزد (144 v.), درآن نکویزد از صنائع آن جوی (145 v.), برطلب و استبشار نکویزد که بران کویزد.

ابو الادیان کنیه کردند (ویرا) که کیش 'creed', (108). درهمه کیشها مناظره کردی.

65 در مرغوزن مرغوزن 'cemetery, burial ground', (68) کوران. Cf. Asadi, *Lughat*, f. 63.

(مرا) نازان (نادان or ناذان apparently for) نازان کذاشت.

ناوغست, *see* وغستن.

نیوشیدن 'to listen' (11, 22, 26 v., 52, 75, 95 v., etc.).

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وغستن (pres. stem وغند) 'to show, make clear': با خلق بوغست (85), او می وغندد بر نبده (24 v.) common (3 v., 4 v., 25 v., 32, 93, 143, etc.). I did not find a single instance in the Nafaḥāt, but it is perhaps possible to expect it in older MSS. of Jami's book.

70 هاریوکان 'Heratis' (for هریوکان, although always هرات and هری): هیچ نکرده درکار (82 v.) هاریوکان دور فرا بوده و بیشتر مشائخ جنان بوده اند که هاریوکان را بزرك داشته که هاریوکان نیکو دل بوده اند, (83) هاریوکان صفاتی باشند یعنی برحمت (او) پدرهاریوکان بود (131 v.), وعفو و کرم بکویند وشب و روز تیمار شهر وخلق می برد.

هسکیدن 'to discern'? (49 v.) بی تیمار جه بود یافت. (بی) هسکیدن (141 v.), بی جستن و دیدار بی هسکیدن معرفت او بنتوان شناخت (nothing in the Naf.).

هویره 'hopeful'? (77) خدای ترا هویره کناد (nothing in the Naf.).

یازیدن 'to extend': (16) برسزای خویش افسوس

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کسی ور مقام بود بردیکری یازد این (114) ,می یازم
بی ادبی بود. (Naf. omitted).

یاویدن for یافتن (see above, A, 4, on p. 21, and C, 1, on p. 337).

75 یته 'Jewish ghetto'? (107 v.) در[1] یتهء بنی
اسرائیل رفته.

F. *Specimens of the text of the Ṭabaqāt*

It is not easy to select from the Ṭabaqāt some typical passages which could give a more or less adequate idea of its peculiar language. The uncommon expressions, analysed above, are sporadically distributed throughout the book, and although accumulated occasionally in various places, they are sometimes separated one from the other by pages of text which present nothing particular. It is impossible, however, not to give any specimens of the text at all, and I therefore offer here some of them, which probably will be quite sufficient:

(*a*) Some of the passages to which apparently Jami alludes in the Nafaḥāt saying that they are incomprehensible. He does not reproduce them, and therefore we have no means to decide if they were really damaged. In some of them, as they appear in our MS., the 'obscurity'

[1] Apparently the same word is met with on two occasions in Professor Nicholson's edition of the *Luma'* (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. xxii), the text, pp. 173, 215. It is spelt in the edition as تیه, but it would be interesting to learn if the original MSS. admit the reading یته. It is for the specialists in the Semitic languages to decide whether this *yata* and the Italian word ghetto are the same, or go back to a common origin.

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often depends on an unusual sequence of words, which may be original.

(*b*) Jami omits also in the Nafaḥāt many of the Shaykh's moral and Sufic discussions, not directly connected with the exposition, and it will not be useless to give a page of such contents. (Here I offer one of those in which quotations from Anṣārī's *Munājāt* can be found.)

(*c*) In conclusion, a passage, which is also reproduced in the Nafaḥāt, will be useful as showing Jami's methods in dealing with the original text.

(*a*) Typically 'obscure' passages:

(5 v.) برو خواستند (خاستند ؟) بانکار وا راندن تا انکاه که از دنیا برفت.[1]

(33 v.) ای کاشکی تو بازو خالی دالی شد.[2]

(33 v.–34) در قدرت بیر و جوان کی نبود تاوانی بود کار فراخ بود وی را فرمان بود.

(34 v.) علی بن سهل کوید استادرا (*sic* ?) که فتح (موصلی) ار در خوابد (خواب بود ؟) ان مرد اکاه بود جرا نه بحق برستش ان کرفتار بود.

[1] Naf., 36, بروی بانکار بر خاستند تا انکاه که

[2] Probably an instance of تابع, something as لاف کذاف or (colloquial, S. Kh.) *lât-u-pât*, etc.

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(36) مکر منادمت ملوك را نشائی در خلوت که ملوك خالی بود در ایشان در مشو مکر که بشائی.

(36) ارش دوست یافت اش نور یافت ور در طلب بمبرادش (?) شفیع یافت.

Here are some specimens of the unusual sequence of words :

(126) شیخ گفت که جندین بس بود که گویند که تو برین بس میگویند در کسی آن جهٔ تو probably for در کسی وی را قبول (115 v.) In the other example, میگوئی فرا دید آمد بر بزرگان نیشابور, it is not that "he accepted the shaykhs of Nishapur", but, on the contrary, they accepted him, etc.

(*b*) A page from the Ṭabaqāt not reproduced by Jami :

(f. 18) شیخ الاسلام گفت که وقتی در عرفات ازین جوانمردان یکی ایستاده بود، گفت الهی من امروز ترا یادی کنم و بستایم که هرگز کسی جنان[1] نستوده باشد، در ساعت زبان او خشك شد و کنك، آخر بدل وی در آمد گفت الهی بتوبه ام، من کی توانم که بسزا ترا یاد کنم یا بستایم باین زبان آلوده خود بسزای خود،

[1] Written جان.

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جنانکه (*sic*)[1] توانم مفلس وار ترا یاد کنم، در ساعت زبان یافت، شیخ الاسلام کفت یکجند بکسب یاد تو برزیدیم باز یکجند بیاد خود ترا نازیدم (*sic*)، دیده بر تو آمد با نظاره[2] تو پردازیدم، در خبر و غفلت آن همه سازیدم، جون عیان بدید آمد از ان همه ببردازیدم، یاد بشناختم خاموشی کزیدم، جون من کیست که این مرتبه‌را بسندیدم، شیخ شبلی کوید المرید ناطق و العارف اخرس، شیخ الاسلام کفت قدس سرّه که یاد کردند (کردن *sic* for) کسبست و فراموش نکردن زندکانی، و زندکانی ورای دو کیتی است و کسب جنانکه دانی، فی مناجاته، الهی دوستی نکذاشت جزز دوست و دیکر همه آوار، ذاکر و مذکور یکی و رسم ذکر ازو یادکار، الهی فریاد از یاد باندازه و دیدار بهنکام، و از آشنائی بنشان و دوستی به بیغام، واز یاد بیش از صحبت آمیختن در یاد، الهی جه یاد کنم که همه یادم، من جز من نشان خود فرا باد نهادم، به بهانه من بهانه جون

[1] Perhaps چندانکه would be better? [2] Better به نظاره؟

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شویم ، و کفت که علّتست جون کویم[1] ، جه سود از دعا و کوشش و با داش ، که مولی فرا بود نی کفت که باش ، الهی جز تو ترا که شاید که در یاد تو جزز تو کس نماند ، جز تو ترا که داند هیجکس نتواند ، و هر که ترا بخود جوید بر سزای خود فرو ماند ، بتوان تو ترا (f. 18 v.) می جویند و با تو از تو میکویند ، بیننده کنکست و اکاه کویاست.

(*c*) The following is a passage to show Jami's usual methods of handling the original text (f. 82 v., corresponding to the Nafaḥāt, 324):

(شیخ الاسلام کفت) ابو العباس کوینده برو همواره میکفتی خاموش کم بودید یا در نماز بودی قبلهٔ این کاران وقت اوبرد و[2] در ایام من بوده[3] * من میخواستم همواره[4] ومیکفتم فرا[5] شیخ عمو که سه بیر[6] میخواهم که زیارت

[1] Better کوئیم.

[2] In the Nafaḥāt, 324, so far omitted.

[3] Added است همواره.

[4] N. omitted from the asterisk.

[5] N. با.

[6] N. different order of words با شیخ عمو میکفتم که سه پیررا میخواهم.

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کنم شیخ ابو العباس قصاب[1] بآمل و شیخ احمد نصر[2] بنشابور و شیخ ابو علی سیاه بمرو و مرا[3] گفت *من خواهم رفت بهار[4] ترا[5] با خود ببرم، *او خود نبرد و[6] روزی نبود و[7] لیکن بیوسته کسی می آمدی از نزدیك وی بخانقاه[8] عمو و من احوال[9] و سخن وی می برسیدم که کس را[10] احوال و سخن وی جنان معلوم نیست که مرا، وی گفته که وقت کیمیا ست، شیخ احمد کوفانی گفت که[11] همه شب فریاد میکردید[12] و سخن میگفتید[13] بآخر گفتی[13] ما بکی شئ لیس کمثله شئ یعنی ما بقی شئ، شیخ الاسلام گفت که دو تن دیده ام که از وی سخن *باز دانست گفتن[14] یکی شیخ ابو علی (f. 83) کازر از[15] حکایت

[1] N. omitted.
[2] N. added را.
[3] N. وی.
[4] N. رفت (*sic*) که من بهار بخواهم.
[5] N. added هم.
[6] N. instead of this شیخ را.
[7] N. omitted.
[8] N. added شیخ.
[9] N. added وی.
[10] N. هیچکس را.
[11] N. added وی.
[12] N. میکردی.
[13] N. میگفتی.
[14] N. بتمام باز تواتستندی گفت.
[15] N. omitted.

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آن جوان وسك كه ديد كه كفتند كار بنما ينده[1] است نه به
بيننده و بكفته[2] ازو، و ديكر[3] شيخ محمد قصاب آملى كه[4]
شا كرد وى * بود مذكرى كردى شيخ ابو العباس وى را
از مجلس داشتن باز داشته بود كه عامرا سخن نكوئى (sic)
كه سخن وى بلند شده بود.[5]

*Note.*—Another copy of Anṣārī's *Ṭabaqāt*, dated 839 A.H., is preserved in the Nūrī 'Uthmāniyya library at Constantinople, No. 2500. See L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, 1922, vol. ii, Bibliographie, No. 1059. In this work a short extract from the *Ṭabaqāt* is edited and translated, vol. i, pp. 367–69 and pl. xiii. Another in *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, by the same author, 1922, texts, pp. 99–100. Concerning the exact relation between Anṣārī's work and Jami's *Nafaḥāt* see W. Ivanow, "The sources of Jami's Nafahat": *JASB*, 1922, pp. 389–91.

*May, 1923.*

P.S.—I take this opportunity to mention that I am greatly indebted to Colonel G. Ranking and Mr. J. Van-Manen for their invaluable help with my English as well as friendly advice.—W. I.

[1] N. نما ينده.

[2] N. وى كفته.

[3] N. ديكرى.

[4] N. omitted.

[5] N. omitted from the asterisk.

*July, 1921.*

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# Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part V

By L. C. HOPKINS

A RIGOROUS restriction of space in the *Journal*, which to the editor has all the virtues of necessity, and to the contributor most of the features of calamity, confines me to a few lines of preliminary matter. I should have wished to explain the use in these papers of the words "ideogram" and "ideographic", but I cannot. I should also have liked to include entries on the important characters *yin* and *yang* of the dualistic system, which occur in my own collection of Honan relics, but are unknown to either Lo Chên-yü or Wang Hsiang, but this too is impossible. Let us therefore proceed to business.

* * * * *

*Yu* 猷 and 猶. These two characters are mere variants, with the relative position of their elements reversed. But in modern usage, the first is reserved for the sense of "scheme", "plan", while the second is restricted to the adverbial or conjunctional functions of the words "still", "as though". These various senses must all be those of non-cognate although homophonous syllables, on behalf of which 猷 and 猶 have been borrowed. The true and original word to write which the prototype of this compound was designed, was *yu*, a puppy, though doubtless *yu* was not exactly the ancient sound. Perhaps I may make a short digression in support of this statement.

The *Shuo Wen* (s.v. 猶 *yu*) adds at the end of its entry the sentence 一曰隴西謂犬子爲猷 "Another explanation is that in Lung-hsi (Western Shen-si and Kansu in part) they call a puppy *yu*". Such a dialect word would account for the element 犬 *ch'üan*, dog, being a determinative part of the character, while its presence is inexplicable with the usual meanings attributed to the syllable. And there is more.

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A well-known expression survives in modern Chinese, which in *Kuan-hua* speech is pronounced *yu-yü pu chüeh* and written 猶豫不絕. For the second character a homophone is found in the *Li Chi*, in the phrase 定猶與 *ting yu-yü* "to settle hesitations or doubts", so that by an ironical coincidence there exists some doubt and hesitation as to the correct way of writing this very phrase of doubt and hesitation.

But be that as it may, the whole four-syllabled expression means "hesitating", "irresolute", "undecided". To account for the enigmatic binomial *yu-yü*, early Chinese scholars have related fairy stories of irresolute apes and vacillating elephants! But the Sung dynasty author 戴侗 Tai T'ung knocks the bottom out of that nonsense in one common-sense and convincing sentence. After defining the word *yu* 猶 as a puppy, 犬子 *ch'üan tzŭ*, he continues, 犬子視人所向捷出其先覆次且以俟所謂猶豫也,[1] that is, "When a puppy sees which way a man is going, he dashes in front, and waits for him with constant fits and starts, as we say, 'puppy-fashion.'" We all can recognize this vividly truthful explanation, and further comment is needless.

But it is right to say at once that the character under review does not bear the sense of puppy where it occurs on the Honan bones, nor yet of "scheme", "plan", "still", or "as though". Its meaning on these relics is as yet obscure, but in view of the word 伐 *fa* "to attack" preceding *yu* in one instance, it is just possible that *yu* was a tribal name, or a derisory Chinese nickname, of some indigenous people on the then frontier.

Returning now to the *Significance of the archaic forms*, we find that there is none, the character being a phonetic compound, with "dog" for the determinative and 酋 *tsiu* for the phonetic, either because in the most ancient times a syllable that had the same rhyme (as 酋 *tsiu* and 酉 *yu* have) was good as a "phonetic",—and this seems to be the curious

[1] 次且 = the later 趑趄 *tzŭ chü*.

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but general view of Chinese philologists from the *Shuo Wen* onwards; or, because both 酋 and 酉 were once both pronounced with an initial *ts* (which is the view I personally hold), besides occupying the same rhyme category.

Figs. (Bronzes) 1; (Bones) 2 to 5.

*Hsi* and *Hsien* 洗 "to wash", "to cleanse"; "a vessel for holding water"; "to wash the feet", this last sense being obsolete in the spoken language, and confined to the sound *hsien*. It is, however, the sense selected by the *Shuo Wen*, which explains the character as 洒足也 *sha tsu yeh* "to wash the feet", and derives it from "water" and *hsien* 先 "first" as the phonetic.

There are no known examples of this character to be found on old Bronzes, and we must be content to cite the Lesser Seal given by the *Shuo Wen* instead. Happily it is otherwise with the Honan relics, which furnish not only numerous examples, but examples of two types, if we may safely follow Lo Chên-yü in his equation of both as variants of an obsolete form of 洗 *hsi* or *hsien*.

*Significance of the archaic forms.*—Type 1. A foot surrounded by drops of water. Type 2. The same within the archaic figure of a 盤 *p'an* or "basin", though the drawing rather represents a tub with feet and a handle. Some variants are without the latter. Lo Chên-yü has the following lucid passage on his examples:—

"Here the character is composed with 𠂆—the outline of a foot [and the prototype of 止 *chih*, to stop]—and ∴ or ⁙, that is, [a combining-form of] water. To place the foot in water is 洗 *hsi*, to wash. Sometimes 𠙵 is added, depicting a *p'an* or basin, namely a basin used for washing the feet. Within it there is water, into which the feet are put. Judging by the forms of the characters, the ancients used 皿 *min*, vessels for table service, both for washing the face and head, 沐 *mu*, and for washing the hands, 盥 *kuan*, and used basins, *p'an*, for the feet."



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Without challenging Lo's treatment of these two types as mere variants, I would draw attention to the possibility that we have to do with two separate words, each with its own written form. Thus, one form might be restricted to the verbal usage "to wash", and correspond to the simpler Type 1. The second, showing the outline of the vessel, whether a sort of wooden bath-tub or a large basin, might have served to illustrate the word when used as the name of such a vessel. What has rather inclined me to hesitate as to the exact equivalence of the two types is the frequent occurrence on the Bones of a strange and unexplained binomial written ; the second character is as yet unidentified, and may be a proper or ethnic name, or perhaps a title. But this binomial, whatever it is, is never written with the more elaborate Type 2, so far as I can find. Caution is advisable.

NOTE.—The sole possible exception on the Bronzes, mentioned above (Fig. 6), occurs in a short inscription, only partly decipherable, on a sacrificial vessel probably of Shang date.

Figs. (Bronzes) 6; Lesser Seal, 7; (Bones) 8–14.

*Hsün* 訊 "to question, interrogate, examine with authority". This character has, if I have rightly judged, a far more interesting origin than has been discovered by Chinese scholars. The figures given in the Plate support, it would seem, the following analysis and suggested origin.

*Significance of the archaic forms.*—A kneeling human figure having the arms pinioned behind with cords, indicated by the sign *mi* (= modern 糸), and supplemented on the left by the determinative 口 *k'ou* "mouth", to suggest the evidence that has been or will be extorted.

Such is the analysis now submitted, and being believed to be quite new, it naturally requires to be sustained by arguments, and these follow.

If the archaic examples are examined, the determinative, and the old form of 糸 *mi*, can both be recognized at once,

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the latter being, in composition, ideographic not only of textiles but also of thread and cordage. But between these two signs there appears a central element presenting a complicated and unintelligible plexus, varying to some extent in the surviving examples. And if archaic specimens of the element appearing on the right side of such characters as 執 *chih* and 蓺 *i* are compared, a general resemblance to our plexus is observable. All are linearized and disguised alterations of a human figure, usually drawn in a crouching attitude with arms extended in front. Sometimes the lower part of this figure appears to have the ancient shape of 女 *nü* "woman", and in such cases has not been really explained by Chinese authorities. I think there can be little doubt that such terminations are the misunderstood and misformed lines of the kneeling leg, originally drawn as . But in the present character now suggested to be 訊 *hsün* there is one material variation. The arms are not extended in front, but bent backwards and bound at the elbow. This, it is true, so far as the examples from Bronzes show, is no longer evident, and could only be inferred from the position of the sign for "cord". But a single example from the Honan relics recorded by Wang Hsiang from Lo Chên-yü's publication, unfortunately as usual without precise reference to chapter and verse, is much more convincing. I take it (Fig. 21) from p. 4 of the 存疑 Ts'un I section of Wang's work. He conjectures, and I am confident he does so correctly, that the character is 訊 *hsün*. This character is the only known instance yet discovered on the Honan bones, but suffices to show the backward position of the two arms, while it is also a more normal outline of the kneeling man figure than any yet produced from the Bronzes.

The several forms found on the latter have been identified by various Chinese scholars with different modern characters, e.g. with 傒 or 徯 *hsi*, with an alleged ancient version of 馘 *kuo*, with 縶 *hsi*, with 絢 *ch'ü*, and with 訊 *hsün*.

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Among these competing equations I do not hesitate, but concur with 陳介祺 Ch'ên Chieh-ch'i, 吳大徵 Wu Ta-chêng, and Lo Chên-yü in regarding 訊 *hsün* as the corresponding modern character, and not, as do 孫詒讓 Sun I-jang, the able author of the 古籀拾遺 *Ku Chou Shih I*, and the great Japanese scholar, Mr. Takada, the compiler of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, in finding the counterpart in 絢 *ch'ü*, written in an "unusual scription".[1]

But neither Wu Ta-chêng nor Lo Chên-yü indicate in any way what they suppose the primitive design of the pictogram to have been, the former merely observing, "Composed with 糸 *mi* and 口 *k'ou*,—to hold captive an enemy and question him, 執敵而訊之," leaving a convenient blank in the centre, which I have ventured to "rush in" and fill.

Accordingly, I suggest as the hypothetical ideal form the figure that follows, the cord of course not being drawn to scale:

It will probably tend to convince the reader that there is solid ground not only for the equation of the archaic forms with the character later but not originally written 訊 *hsün*, but also for the analysis of the complex now propounded, if I draw attention to a common ancient use of a binomial expression of which this word *hsün* forms the second member. This binomial is 執訊 *chih hsün*, literally, "to hold and question," which is still used as "to make inquiries" and "to interrogate a person in court". But it has in the *Odes*, and frequently in inscriptions in the older Bronzes, the sense of "bound captives", or, as Legge renders it, "captives for the question."[2]

Thus also we find in a Bronze inscription cited in facsimile and modern transcription in the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, vol. viii,

[1] See the point discussed by the former in part 上 *shang*, pp. 26–7 and 29 of his work, and by the latter on p. 13 of *chüan* 19 of his.

[2] The *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 455.

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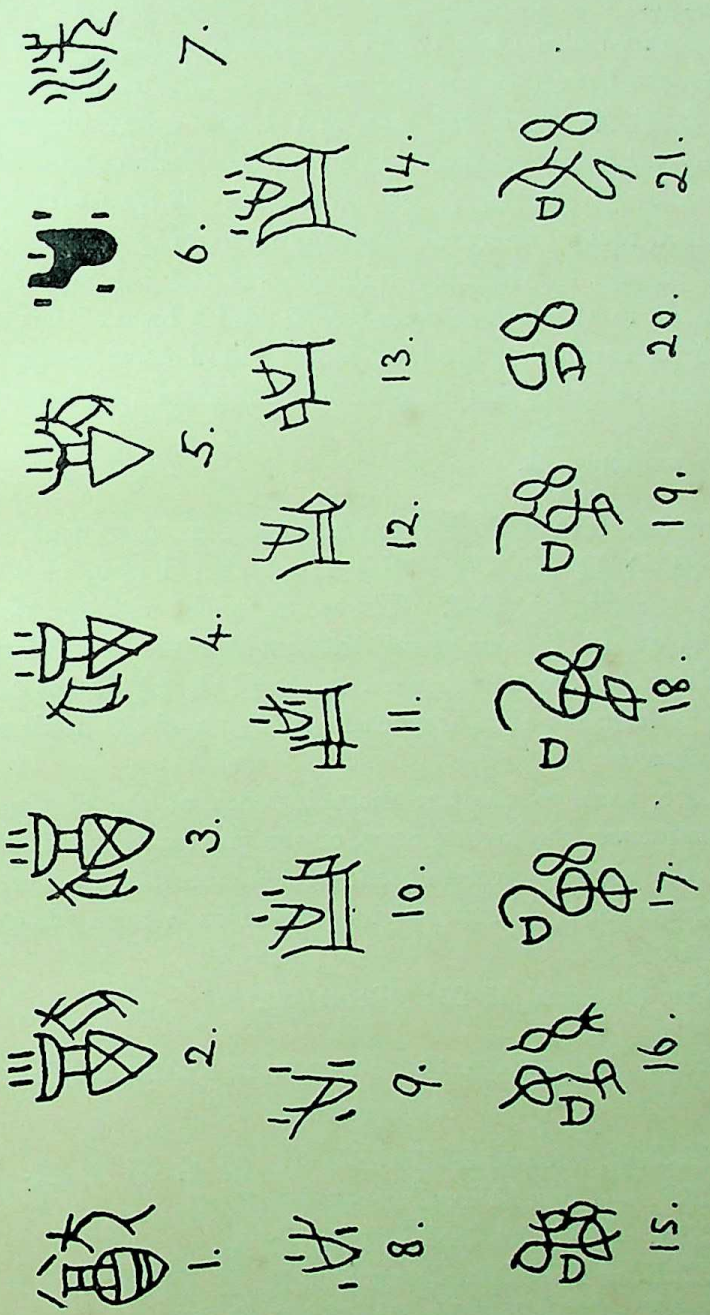


PICTOGRAPHIC RECONNAISSANCES. PART V.

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p. 52, the four characters 折 首 執 訊 *chê shou chih hsün* "dissevered heads and bound captives". Again, in vol. ix, p. 20, we have (I transcribe, as above, into modern script) 多 折 首 執 訊 *to chê shou chih hsün* "many dissevered heads and bound captives" in one passage, followed four lines lower, by 多 擒 折 首 執 訊 *to ch'in chê shou chih hsün* "seized many dissevered heads and bound captives". This last passage is the more valuable because the right-hand element in the archaic character 執 *chih* "bound" has precisely the same corruption of form at the bottom as appears in most of the figures of 訊 *hsün* in the Plate, that is to say, it is written .

To end with a double example from another work, the 古 籀 拾 遺 *Ku Chou Shih I*, of Sun I-jang, cited in part 上 *shang*, pp. 25–7. Here we meet first with the words 首 百 執 訊 卌 *shou pê chih hsün ssŭ-shih* "heads 100 bound captives 40", and further on, 告 擒 馘 百 訊 卌 *kao ch'in kuo pê hsün ssŭ-shih* "reported his seizure of 100 heads and 40 prisoners".

Here, then, we see one more instance of the disastrous consequences for investigators, of the process of substituting for the vigorous verisimilitude of a picture the mechanical adequacy of a determinative parasite on a mere phonetic token!

Figs. (Bronzes) 15–20; (Bones) 21.

## List of References for Figures in Plate to Part V

*Abbreviations*

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* 攈 古 錄 金 文.
I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝 術 叢 編.
K.C.S.I. = *Ku Chou Shih I* 古 籀 拾 遺.
T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵 雲 藏 龜.
Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷 虛 書 契.
Y.K.L.T. = *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan* 簠 室 殷 契 類 纂.

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FIG.
1.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 52 (Mao Kung Ting Bronze).
2.—Y.H.S.K., vii, 12.
3.—T.Y.T.K., 87.
4.—Y.H.S.K., vii, 18.
5.—T.Y.T.K., 81.
6.—C.K.L.C.W., vi, 3.
7.—*Shuo Wen*, Lesser Seal.
8.—Y.H.S.K., i, 47.
9.— „ v, 23.
10.— „ vi, 35.
11.— „ vi, 35.

FIG.
12.—Y.H.S.K., vi, 35.
13.— „ iv, 11.
14.— „ vii, 42.
15.—I.S.T.P., xxii, 2.
16.— „ xxii, 3.
17.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 20.
18.— „ ix, 20.
19.—K.C.S.I., part 上, 26.
20.—C.K.L.C.W., viii, 52 and 54.
21.—Y.K.L.T., part 存疑 *Ts'un I*, ii, 4.

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# The Name Kurd and its Philological Connexions

By G. R. DRIVER, Magdalen College, Oxford

IT is not unlikely that the earliest trace of the Kurds is to be found on a Sumerian clay-tablet, of the third millennium B.C., on which "the land of Kar-da" or "Qar-da" is mentioned.[1] This "land of Karda" adjoined that of the people of Su, who dwelt on the south of Lake Wân, and seems in all probability to have been connected with the Qur-ṭi-e, who lived in the mountains to the west of the same lake, and with whom Tiglath-Pileser I fought[2]; the philological identity of these two names is, however, uncertain, owing to the doubt about the precise value of the palatals and dentals in Sumerian.[3]

The next appearance of the root must be found in the Kardûchi (*Καρδοῦχοι*) of Xenophon.[4] This is clearly nothing but a conversion into Greek of some such form as Gortu, of which Qurṭi was the Assyrian equivalent, together with the Armenian plural termination *-kh*, which must have been current as Gortu-kh in some form of *Urarmenisch* in the fifth century B.C., and which the Ten Thousand assimilated to Greek words ending in the well-known termination *-οῦχος*.[5] Further, although nothing is known of Armenian at such an

[1] Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, i, 150 (No. 22, § 2).

[2] Tiglath-Pileser's *Cylinder-Inscription*, I, ii, 17; iii, 50.

[3] This identification is accepted by Winckler in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i, *s.v.* Tiglath-Pileser; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, 356; Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 80; Sachau in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xii, 52; and Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 524; it is rejected by Streck in *Z. f. Ass.*, xiii, 101.

[4] Xen., *Anab.*, III, v, 15, 17; IV, i, 2-4, 8-11; iii, 1-2, 7, 26-7, 30; v, 5, 17; VII, viii, 25.

[5] The singular Cardûchus is an artificial form deduced from the plural Cardûchi (Xen., *Cyr.*, vi, 3, 30).

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early period, and though consequently it must be assumed from the classical Armenian Gortu-kh or Gortai-kh, "Kurds," that Kardûchi represents the Greek version of a similar form in the pre-literary speech of the early Armenians, this argument is strengthened by two important facts preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium: (1) that the true name of the people called by Xenophon the Taochi (*Τάοχοι*)[1] was the Tai (*Τάοι*),[2] as recorded by Sophaenetus, and (2) that the people of Gordiaea were called, amongst other things, both Gordi and Gordochi.[3] Both must be Greek transliterations of the Armenian plurals Taïkh and Gortukh respectively, of which *Τάοι* and *Γόρδοι* (or the like) were the true Greek equivalents.[4] A variant form of Kardûchi or Gordochi is to be seen in the Kardakes (*Κάρδακες*), a name only used to describe certain Asiatic mercenaries, who seem to have been recruited from the very districts which the Kardûchi are known to have occupied; from being the name of a tribe, it is not improbable that the word Kardakes came to be employed generally for Asiatic mercenaries.[5] On the latter a scholiast on Strabo (*Geogr.*, xv, 734) has the interesting note that they were called the Kardakes "because they lived by theft; for *karda* means 'manly' and 'warlike'"—as indeed *kurd* does mean in Persian; and they can hardly be anything else than Kurdish tribesmen who lived partly by brigandage and partly by serving as mercenaries in foreign armies.

But soon the erroneous nature of the terminations *-οῦχοι* and *-οχοι* was discovered, and they were replaced by *-αῖοι* or

[1] Xen., *Anab.*, IV, iv, 18; vi, 5; viii, 1; V, v, 17.

[2] Steph. Byz., *Ethnica* (Meineke), *s.v.* Τάοχοι, i, 211; see also his note on Καρδοῦχοι, i, 358.

[3] *Id. ib.*, i, 211.

[4] See also Meillet, *Esquisse d'une Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classique*, pp. 40–3, and Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, pp. 404, 518–20.

[5] See Polyb., *Hist.*, v, 79, 11, 82, 11; Corn. Nep., *Datames*, viii, 2; Arr., *Anab.*, ii, 8, 5–6, and Plut., *Sec. Epic.*, xiii; see also Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Kardakes; Hesych., *Lex.* (Schow), p. 403, (Alberti), ii, 147; Phot., *Lex. Synag.* (Porson), i, 131.

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-ῆνοι or the like, although the form in -οῦχοι survived for a while beside the more correct gentilic adjectives. And Pliny definitely speaks of "the people formerly called the Cardûchi but now the Cordueni"[1] bordering on the Adiabeni, past whom the Tigris flowed, and elsewhere of "the mountains of the Gordyaei", under which the same river passed in its course after separating the Orroean (*i.e.* of Edessa, the Syriac Urhai and the modern Urfah) Arabs from the Adiabeni[2]; and Strabo had identified the latter with the Kardûchi in speaking of "the lands of the Gordyaei whom the men of old called the Kardûchi".[3]

These two forms, therefore, and variants of them, which may in many cases be due to the carelessness or ignorance of the copyists, prevailed in later Greek and Roman writers and survived in a mutilated shape even in the writings of the Christian Fathers.

TABLE OF FORMS EMPLOYED FROM THE FIRST CENTURY B.C. ONWARDS BY GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS

In the first century B.C. :—

Cordueni (Sall., *Hist. Fragm.*, iv, 72).[4]

Gordyene (Diod. Sic., *Hist. Gr.*, xl, 4; Strab., *Geogr.*, xi, 527; xvi, 747).

Gordyaeus and Gordyaeā (Strab., *Geogr.*, xi, 522, 529, 532; xvi, 739, 746, 747, 750).

In the first century A.D. :—

Gordyeni and Gordyene (Plut., *Luc.*, xxi, 505; xxvi, 508, 509; xxix, 512; xxx, 512; xxxiv, 515; *Pomp.*, xxxvi, 638).

Cordueni (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 44).

[1] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 15, 44.

[2] *Id. ib.*, vi, 31, 129.

[3] Strab., *op. cit.*, xvi, 747. For references to Kardûchi see Strab., *Geogr.*, xvi, 747; *Epit.*, p. 148 (Kardûchiā); Diod. Sic., *Hist. Gr.*, xiv, 127; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 44; Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi, 2; Agath., *Hist.*, iv, 29; Theophyl. Simoc., ii, 10, 2.

[4] In the corresponding passage in Josephus (*Archæol.*, xx, 2, 2, § 34) the MSS. read Καρρῶν, Καιρῶν, or Καρεῶν, all possibly errors for Καρδῶν, although the form Καρδοί, with which Γόρδοι should be compared, does not actually occur.

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Gordyaeus (Plut., *Alex.*, xxxi, 683).[1]
Kordyaei (Josephus, *Archæol.*, i, 3, 6, § 93).
Cordiaei (?) (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 118, where the MSS. have Condiaei or Gurdiaci, and vi, 129, where they read "Coridaeorum" or "Choridiorum").

In the second century A.D. :—
Gordyene (Ptol., *Geogr.*, v, 12; xi, 527; App., *de Bell. Mithr.* cv).
Gordyaeus (Ptol., *Geogr.*, v, 13; Arr., *Anab. Alex.*, iii, 77).
Korduēne (Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, xxxvii, 5, 3).
Kardynus (Dio Cass., *Epit.* lxviii, 26, 2: τὸ Κάρδυνον ὄρος).

In the fourth century A.D. :—
Kardūēni (Petr. Patr., *Hist.*, in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 187).
Cardueni (Sext. Ruf., *Brev.*, iii, xx, which is copied from the *Historia Miscella*, x, 3; Eutrop., *Hist. Rom.*, viii, 3, 1).
Kordyaei (Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, ix, 11; *Onom.*, 208; *Chron. Armen.*, p. 23).

In the fifth century A.D. :—
Cardueni (*Not. Dign., Or.* xxxvi, 34, and *Occ.* vii, 209) or Cordueni (*Not. Dign., Or.* xviii, 6, 19, and *Occ.* vi, 40, 83).
Corduena (Amm. Marc., *Res Gest.*, xviii, 6, 20; xxiii, 3, 5; xxiv, 8, 4, 8, 5; xxv, 7, 8, 7, 9).
Cordyena (Jul. Honor. in Reise's *Geogr. Lat. Min.*, xxx, 5, and Aethicus, *ib.*, lxxvi, 21).
Kardûēni (Zosimus, *Hist. Nov.*, iii, 31).

In the patristic writings :—
Kardyeus (Epiphan., *adv. Haeret.*, i, 1, 4; ii, 66, 83).
Cordulia (Philostorg., *Hist.*, iii, 7; *Lib. Generat.* (Reise), § 24, p. 116, where the editor conjectures that *l* is an error for *a* and that Cordyaia should be read; see also *Excerpt. Lat. Barb.* (Frick), p. 208, where some MSS. read Cordyna; *Monum. Germ. Hist.* (Mommsen), *Saec.* iv–vii, vol. i, p. 106).
Codryalia (*Syncellus*, edited by Goar, p. 47, where some MSS. have altered the reading to Cordulia).

[1] The other writers of biographies of Alexander the Great have Gordiaei, Gordyaei (Curt. Ruf., *Hist. Alex.*, iv, 10, 8; v, 1, 4, 14–15), or Cordiaei (*Epit. Rer. Gest. Alex. Magn.*, xxix); in one passage of Curtius (*op. cit.*, iv, 10, 8) some MSS. appear to read Cordei.

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No importance need be attached to any other variations which abound in MSS., nor to such fictitious forms as Gordyas, invented by Stephanus of Byzantium [1] as a name for the land of the Gordyaei. There is, however, one more gentilic adjective, seemingly derived from the same root, which must be considered. The Cyrtii are mentioned by several classical authors as an Asiatic tribe who were, like the Kardûchi and the Kardakes, famous as slingers; thus Strabo says that they dwelt in Persia, near Mt. Zagros beside the Mardi,[2] and that they lived by robbery,[3] and both Polybius [4] and Livy [5] record their employment as mercenary slingers. The habits, therefore, and the locality of these people combine to connect them with the Kardûchi, while the short vowel preceding the termination (incorrectly lengthened in the variant Cyrtaei as in certain other forms), which is common to all forms of the name (*e.g.* Qardă, Qurṭĭ-e, Kardŭ-ochi = Kardûchi, Kardă-kes, Gordў-aei, and Cordŭ-eni, *etc.*), and of which the importance will be seen later, offers philological confirmation of this argument.

The name then passed over into Syriac as Qardû,[6] a land defined as lying between the Ṭûru-'l-'Abdîn, the Zagros mountains, and Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, a district overlapping the territory of the Kardûchi and now occupied by a population predominantly Kurdish. The lengthening of the final vowel is due to the reluctance felt by the Semites to form words terminating in short vowels, so that this short vowel, which has been shown to be essential, had either to be dropped or to be supported by a weak letter; thus Gortu-kh became, according to Syriac custom, Qardu-w, which in its turn formed

[1] Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Gordyaea.

[2] Compare the note, quoted below, in Land's *Anecd. Syr.*, iii, p. 332.

[3] Strab., *Geogr.*, xii, 13, 533; xv, 3, 727.

[4] Polyb., *Hist.*, v, 52.

[5] Livius, *ab Urb. Cond.*, xxxvii, 40, 9 (where they are called Cyrtaei), and xlii, 58, 13.

[6] *E.g.* Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* (Hunt MSS. 1), 36 v., *Ascensus Mentis* (ib., 540), 83 v.; *Patr. Or.*, Sim'on bar Sabba'e, cp. 23 (and 25); Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the B.M.*, iii, 1136*a–b*; *al.*

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Qardû by the coalescing of the weak letter *w* in the preceding short vowel. That this is the true explanation of the termination is shown by the parallel form in early Arabic; there the final short vowel was *a*,[1] as in Karda-kes, and this gave rise to Qarda-y, which became Qardā.[2] In one passage the Arabic version has Qardûh where the Syriac has Qardû,[3] but this is exceptional; usually Qardû is equated with Qardā.[4]

The town of Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, the capital of Qardū, is called by several names in Syriac, which are instructive from the light which they throw on the gentilic adjectives formed from the same root. The following forms are in use:—

Gāzartâ d'Qardū (Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the Libr. of Cambridge Univ.*, ii, p. 746; Forshall and Rosen, *Catal. MSS. Or. in M. Brit.*, pp. 102*a*, 104*b*; Assemanni, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, pp. 251*b*, 256*b*; Barhebr., *Chron.* (Bruns and Kirsch), p. 329).

Gāzartâ d'Qardwîthâ (Forshall and Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 102*a*; cp. Assemanni, *Cat. MSS. Bibl. Apost. Vat.*, iii, p. 355).

Gāzartâ d'Qardawāyê (Wright, *Catal. of the Syr. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, pp. 1181*a*, 1182*b*).

This last name gives us the gentilic adjective corresponding to Kardûchi, Gordiaei, *etc.*, with the Syriac ending for the plural; and this is the commonest form in Syriac.[5] Further, a note in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (vol. iii, p. 332) definitely states that the Qardawāyê and the Marûdāyê (*i.e.* the ancient Mardi) lived together in Assyria. A later form, however,

[1] The Nestorians pronounced Qardû as Qardâ, which without doubt contributed to the Arabic Qardā (*Acts of Mārî*, 23, 2).

[2] Avri et Slîbâ, *de Patr. Nest. Comm.* (Gismondi), p. 80; Maris, *de Patr. Nest. Comm.* (Gismondi), pp. 2, 3, 10; Balâdhurî, 176, 5; Aṭ-ṭabarî, iii, 610, 3; Ibn Faqîh, 132, 8; 136, 2; Ibn Rustah, 106, 14; 195, 12; Ibn Khurdâdhbih, 76, 12; 245, 15; Mas'ûdî, *Tanbih*, 53, 12; Ibn Ḥauqal, 145, 13. Yâqût (i, 476) has Qirdā, which he says that people pronounced Qardā. Compare also Bāqardā in Arabic (Aṭ-ṭab., iii, 610, 1).

[3] *M'ārt d'Gazê* (Bezold), Syr., p. 98 = Ar., p. 99.

[4] Elias of Nisibis (Baethgen) in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, viii, 3, p. 17.

[5] Assemanni, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. i, pp. 204*a*, 352*a*; Chabot, *Nest. Synods* in *Notices et Extraits* (Paris), x, p. 165.

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weakened the *q* into a *k*, giving Kartawāyê,[1] of whose identity with the Qardawāyê there can be no doubt; for a scholiast on a passage in the Syriac *Life of Mār Yabhalāhâ* states that the Kartawāyê are the Qurdāyê, whom the Hebrews and Chaldaeans called Qûrdāyê and the Persians Kûrd, and that these Qardawāyê are from the mountains called Qardū.[2] And this note confirms Nöldeke's suggested identification of the hill in Syria called in Syriac Tellâ d'Qûrdāyê and in Arabic Tallu-'l-Kurdî.[3] The usage, however, varies even in the pages of a single author; for, if the copyists are to be trusted, Barhebraeus employs the forms both with *q* and with *k*, though Qardū and Kûrdāyê predominate.

FORMS FOUND IN EDITIONS OF BARHEBRAEUS

Qardū (regularly, as stated above).
Kardū (a variant reading in *Chron.*, p. 522).
Qardawāyê (*Chron.*, p. 81, and *Chron. Eccl.*, Abbeloos and Lamy, § ii, p. 75).
Qûrdāyê (*Chron.*, p. 306, and *Chron. Eccl.*, p. 731).
Kûrdāyê (*Chron.*, pp. 329, 398, 459, 554, 575; see also derivatives from this form in *Chron.*, pp. 153, 151, 238; *Chron. Eccl.*, p. 569).[4]

The forms which were in use in Aramaic need not long detain us, for they are themselves little more than deviations from or corruptions of those employed in Syriac, while the passages themselves are of little or no importance. Onqelos, following the Syriac translation, calls Mt. Arārāṭ, where the ark came to rest (Genesis viii, 4), Qardū[5]; Sa'adiyah's Arabic version has Qardū' and the Targûm of Jerusalem

[1] Chabot, *op. cit.*, x, p. 423 (Syr., p. 165); Tûmâ d'Margâ, *Governors* (Budge), p. 98, *al.*; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii, p. 673; Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, p. 1207*a*.

[2] *Mār Yabhalāhâ* (Bedjan), chap. xiv, p. 121.

[3] Nöldeke in *ZDMG.*, xxix, pp. 419 ff.

[4] Compare the form Kûrdayyâ in a writer of the twelfth century A.D. (Johannes of Nisibis, in Assemanni's *Bibl. Or.*, ii, pp. 221–2).

[5] The Arabic account of Abu-'l-Faraj (Pococke), p. 13, has "the mountain of the Qurd which is called Al-Jûdī".

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Qardûn,[1] recalling the form Kardynos of Dio Cassius. Elsewhere in the versions of the Old Testament (2 Kings xix, 37 = Isaiah xxxvii, 38, and Jeremiah li, 27) the same place is called Qardū and its inhabitants Qardawayyâ. In Rabbinic Hebrew also the plural Qard$^{e}$wāyîn is used.[2] Further, in one place Kardū is cited as a variant for Qardū,[3] but no importance should be attached to such minute differences of orthography in later Hebrew.

It has now been shown that these diverse forms—Qarda (or Karda), Kardûchi, Gortochi (and Gordi), Kardakes and Cyrtii, Gordyaei and Cordueni, Qardū and Qardā, Qardawāyê, Qurdāyê, Kartawāyê and Kurdayyâ, *etc.*—in spite of their differences, have a common descent. The weakening both of the palatal and of the dental is a phenomenon common to the Semitic languages in their decay, hastened in this case by the foreign tongues through which the original name has been transmitted, whereas the short vowel following the dental and preceding the termination has been preserved almost without exception and thus establishes beyond a doubt the case for their identity.

But can these forms be identified with the Persian and Arabic Kurd,[4] which has no final short vowel and which has retained *k* as the initial letter throughout its history? Are the people designated by these names the Kurds of the Persian and Arabic writers? To take the second question first, the answer must be in the affirmative, for several reasons. The Sumerian Qarda on Lake Wân and the Qurṭî with whom the Assyrians fought in the mountains of Azu—which can hardly be other than the modern Ḥazzū—occupy precisely the same territory as the Kardûchi, who beset the retreat of

[1] The form Qardûn occurs also in *Midr. B$^{e}$reshîth Rabbâ* and in the Mandaic *Great Book* (i, 380, 21) in reference to the same passage.

[2] *Y$^{e}$bhāmôth*, 3*b*, 16*a*.

[3] Rabbinowitz on *Bābâ Bathrâ*, 91*a*.

[4] The usual plural in Arabic is *'Akrâd*, but there once occurs *'Akârîd* ('Abdu-'l-Bâsiṭ, *Dâris* in the *Journal Asiatique*, IX, iv, pp. 252–3) as a variant in one MS. for the regular form.

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the Ten Thousand, while the territory described as occupied by the Gordyaei or the Cordueni is merely an extension of Kardûchiā, just as modern Kurdistân is but a vastly expanded Gordyaea or Corduene. The habits also of all these peoples are precisely similar; they are a race of mountain-dwellers, "a people hardy, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs."[1] And, lastly, it must not be forgotten that the ancient scholiasts so identified them; something perhaps of the sort was in the mind of the old scholar who connected the Kardakes of Strabo with the Persian *karda*, and such undoubtedly was the intention of the translator of the *Chronographia* of Elias of Nisibis in a passage which speaks of "the Kartawāyê who are called Jacobites", and which he translated into Arabic as "the 'Akrâd who are called Jacobites",[2] while the annotator on the *Life of Mār Yabhalāhâ*, as quoted above, is even more explicit; again, the 'Akrâd are stated in the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus to have been the people who were formerly called the Kûrdāyê.[3]

The philological connexion, on the contrary, can hardly be maintained, in spite of superficial resemblances and certain attractive parallels. Thus it is possible to point to many instances of the Semitic *q* passing over into Persian as *g* or *k*,[4] especially in foreign words, an argument strengthened in this case by the weakening of the *q* into *k* actually in the Semitic forms and by the confusion to the true letter which the various forms in Armenian and Greek are likely to have caused; and the resemblance between Kurd and Qarda, together with its descendants, is striking indeed. But it is impossible to account for the loss of the essential overhanging short vowel, which seems to be radical in all except the Persian and Arabic

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lix.
[2] See Baethgen in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, viii, 3, p. 17.
[3] Assemanni, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, p. 366.
[4] *E.g.* Assyrian *gardu* or *qardu* = Persian *gurd* or *kurd* (valiant), *etc.*; similarly the Persian *Kirmân* became *Qarman* in Syriac.



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forms. In this point the present writer agrees with Nöldeke,[1] but he is unable to follow him further. For this scholar further objects to the identification on the grounds that the term Qardū only refers to a limited area, whereas the Kurds cover a wide extent of territory; he would therefore derive the name Kurd from the Kyrtii, who have been mentioned above and whom he assumes to have been dispersed far and wide over Persia and Media, and, in fact, over the whole country occupied by the modern Kurds. Against this it can be urged that there is no shadow of evidence for this assumed diffusion of the Kyrtii, that the overhanging short vowel seems no less essential to the Kyrtii than to any other form of the name, and that the territory round Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar was precisely the place which would be called the land of the Gortu-kh, for it was the only part of the rich river-lands of the Jazîrah on to which they encroached, while Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar itself was the only town in those parts in which they constituted the predominant element in the population; elsewhere they were pressed back by the Arabs into the barren mountains, the cradle if not the birthplace of their race, and thenceforward they spread northwards, eastwards, and towards the south-east, where in the half-inhabited mountains the natural desire of a prolific race for expansion met with no resistance. But in their brief sojourn in the Jazîrah they had made their mark, and they left behind them not only their name but also those of their people who preferred the easy life of the cities to a strenuous existence in the hills.

If, then, the name Kurd is philologically unconnected with that of the Qurṭî, *etc.*, what is its origin? It is not far to seek; we have seen that an ancient scholar connected the Kardakes with the Persian word *karda*. Herein lies the solution of the problem; for what is more natural than that

[1] Nöldeke, *Kardu und Kurden* in *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie*: *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, pp. 71–82; see also Hartmann, *Bohtan*, pp. 90 ff.

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the Persians, hearing of and perhaps dealing with these Qurṭî, should apply to them a Persian word which not only closely resembled their proper name but also admirably described their character? The Persian *gurd* or *kurd*, which seems to have been derived from a common origin with the Babylonian *gardu* or *qardu*, signifies "brave", "valiant", or "warlike", and bravery and the love of fighting are the outstanding traits of the Kurdish character. From the Persians it passed into Arabic, whence it became the common European name of the Kurds.

### Additional Note 1

The present writer can see nothing in favour of the view of those scholars who would identify the Guti or Gutu with the Kurds; (see the articles on *Kurdistan* in the *Dictionnaire de la Géographie universelle* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; cf. Sayce, *ibid.* iii, p. 103).

### Additional Note 2

In Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, i, *Geographica*, fol. i r., Syr., p. 23, there occurs a mention of "the Bardāyê who reach to Lake Thospitis" (*i.e.* Lake Wân); as these Bardāyê are apparently unknown from any other source, may not the reading be an error for Kurdāyê, the change from ܒܪܕܝܐ to ܟܪܕܝܐ being very slight?

*February, 1921.*

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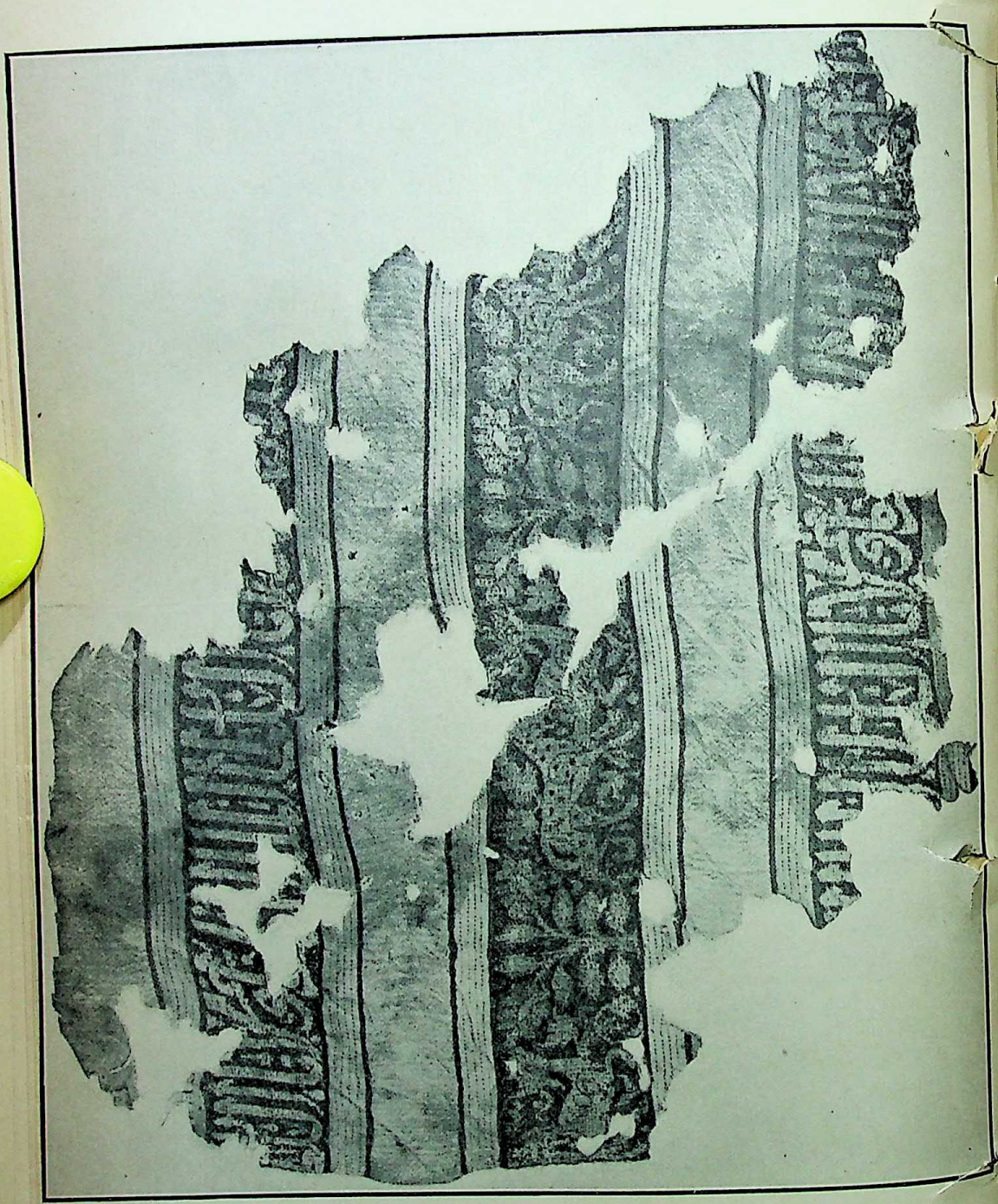

*To face p. 405.*]

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# Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (II)

By A. R. GUEST

(PLATES V AND VI)

A PREVIOUS article on the same subject appeared in the *Journal* for 1918, p. 263. Mr. A. F. Kendrick has kindly supplied a photograph, observations, and a description of the following fabric :—

*Woven silk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. T.* 122. 1921.

This stuff is woven in black, pale-blue, and buff-colour. The pattern is in three horizontal stripes. The middle stripe shows the figure of a leopard seizing a gazelle beside a tree. Each of the others has an Arabic inscription. The design on all three stripes is repeated in a continuous band, the length of the repeat being $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The stripes are black, with thin parallel black lines bordering them above and below. The pattern is in buff-colour, the foliage being heightened with pale-blue. The stuff measures $10\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length and $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width. The width of the middle band is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and that of each of the outer bands $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The stuff is probably the end of a long buff-coloured scarf or wrapping. It was given to the Museum in 1921 by Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Gayer-Anderson, C.M.G., D.S.O., who has also given a similar piece to the Arab Museum at Cairo. The burial ground where this stuff was found has not been ascertained.

The inscription consists of—

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر

*Glory to our lord the Sultan en Nâṣir.*

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In the fragment in the South Kensington Museum, which is depicted in Plate V, the word "en Nâṣir" is mutilated, but it appears clearly in the fragment at Cairo. The Cairo Museum kindly supplied a photograph of this piece.

The Sultans of Egypt who adopted the title En Nâṣir were the famous Ṣalâḥ ed Dín Yusuf (A.D. 1171–93), and the Mamlûks Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn (A.D. 1293–1341), Aḥmad (A.D. 1342), Ḥasan (A.D. 1347–61), Faraj (A.D. 1399–1412), Muḥammad ibn Qâ'it Bâ'i (A.D. 1496–8). From its having been found in Egypt, the stuff is almost certainly attributable to the reign of one of them; but, apart from the possibility of its not being related to an Egyptian monarch, the inscription by itself gives no precise indication of date.

Mr. Kendrick observes that the character of the design is not inconsistent with a date in the reign of Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn, who was the most celebrated Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt and has left his name on numbers of works of art. He is of opinion that it is not likely to be earlier, though it may possibly be later.

He points out that there are two other silk fabrics known with the title En Nâṣir woven into them. One of them, a green silk damask in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was described in this *Journal* in 1906 (p. 395). It was found in Egypt near Asyûṭ, and it bears the name of the Sulṭan Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn. The other is a brocade in St. Mary's Church, Danzig, woven on a black silk ground chiefly in flat strips of gilt leather, with pairs of parrots in large polygons meant for circles, and Chinese dragons filling the intervening spaces (Lessing, *Gewebe Sammlung*, pl. 109). In this piece there occurs the title En Nâṣir in a short inscription which is woven into the wings of the birds.

Mr. Kendrick also remarks that all three stuffs are quite different from one another in colour and design, but all show a connexion with China. The Chinese origin of the pattern of the Danzig brocade is unmistakable, and there can hardly be any doubt that the weaver was of Chinese nationality.

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Both the green silk damask and the subject of the description in this article show clear traces of Chinese influence in their design, but it is doubtful whether the weaver of the damask was Chinese and unlikely that the weaver was Chinese in the other case.

In a passage to which Professor Karabacek drew attention many years ago, Abû el Fidâ' (iv, 96) relates how he was present himself at Cairo in A.D. 1324 when ambassadors from Abû Sa'îd, the Mongolian Sultan of Persia, brought to Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn among other presents eleven Bactrian camels laden with stuffs manufactured in Abu Sa'îd's dominions with Muḥammad's titles inwoven. The brocade at Danzig may well be one of these.

### Dated Inscription of the Fatimid Period

Inscriptions giving the actual year of manufacture are not at all common on Muhammadan textiles. The following occurs on a small piece of silk tapestry which was included in the recent Engel-Gros sale at Paris :—

1. بسم الله الرحمن . . .

2. ثمن واربعين واربعماية

A photograph of the stuff is given in Plate VI (*a*). The first line of the inscription consists of part of the bismillâh, the second of the number 448. The number, which comes at the end since the second line is reversed and the bismillâh must have been at the beginning, seems certainly to indicate the date. It corresponds with A.D. 1056. The year falls within the reign of the Fatimid Khalif El Mustanṣir, and the character of the inscription is similar to that of others in the South Kensington Museum collection which bear his name.

The Museum possess a fragment identical in ornament, which may possibly be a piece of the same stuff. This fragment is reproduced in Plate VI (*b*). Mr. Kendrick

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has kindly supplied the photograph and the following description :—

*Museum No.* 2117–1900. *Saracenic silk from Egypt.*
$2\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Warp : White silk ; 64 to 1 inch.
Weft : Coloured silk (red, blue, yellow, green, white).
Tapestry-woven : Vertical slits are not sewn up.
From El-Khârga. Given by Robert Taylor, Esq.

*December, 1921.*

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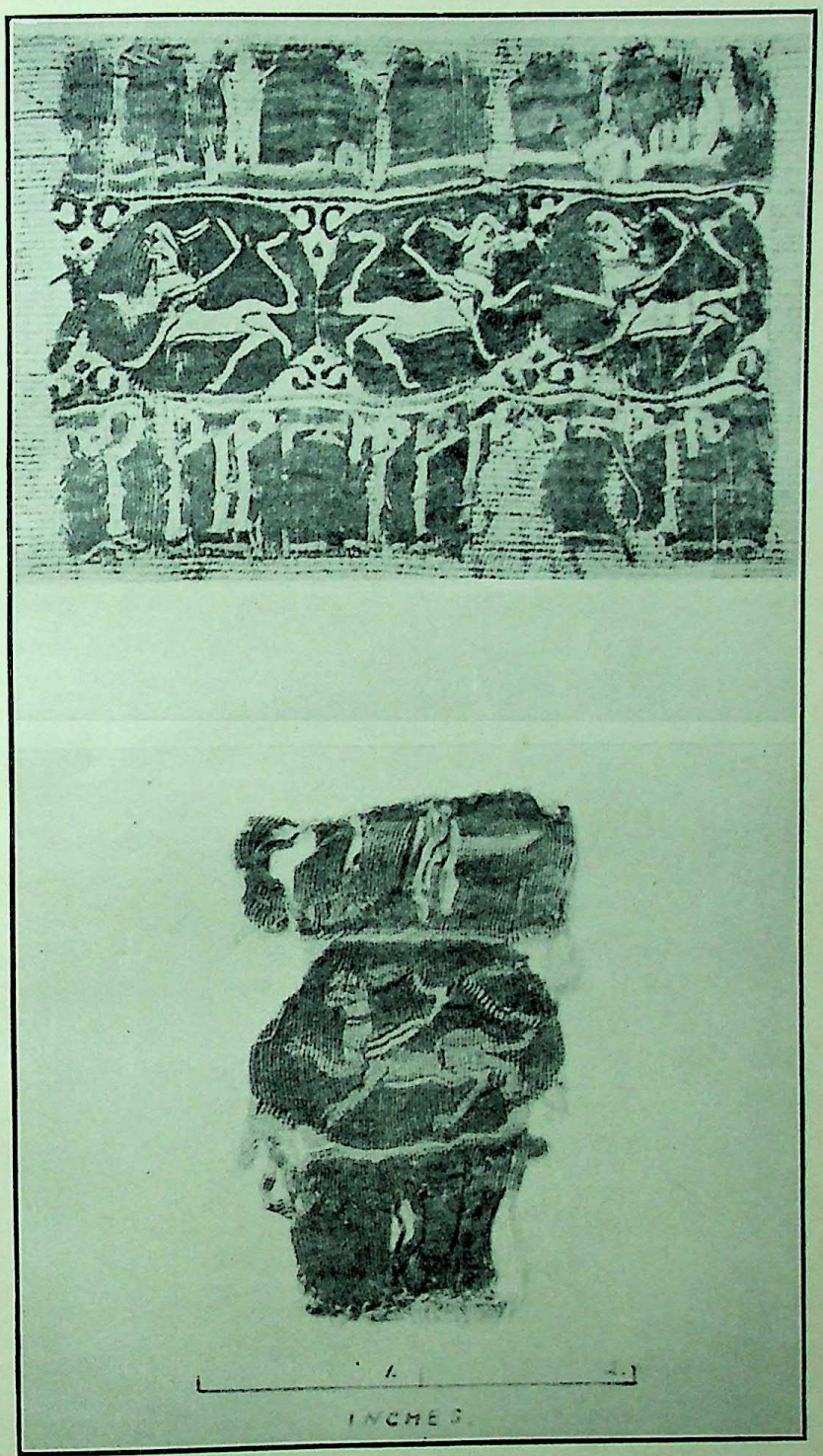


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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## THE CLASSICAL NAME OF CARCHEMISH

A good deal of ink has been spilled over the question of the name under which the city of Carchemish was known to the classical world. Hitherto it has been assumed that our only authority for it was a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, the reading and interpretation of which have been disputed, though it was clear to everyone who had no particular thesis to defend that according to the Latin historian the name was Ninus Vetus, "the Ancient Ninus," and that the city meant was the Biblical Carchemish.

Last summer I was reading Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana and there came across a passage (*De Vit. Ap. Ty.* xix) which has been strangely overlooked, but which conclusively settles the question. The statement of Ammianus no longer stands alone, but is supported by a Greek writer of the second century who (or his authority) was personally acquainted with the place. The passage in Philostratus is as follows: *ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαίαν Νῖνον, ἐν ᾗ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται τρόπον βάρβαρον. Ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰὼ ἡ Ἰνάχου· καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἔκκρουει μικρὰ καὶ οἷον μέλλοντα. Ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι, καὶ πλείω ξυνίεντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἤ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὅν κατ' ἀρχάς ἔφην ξυναποδημῆσαι οἱ, καὶ ξυνέμπορον γένεσθαι τῆς φιλοσοφίας πάσης, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός διασώσασθαι. Ὃς ἀγασθείς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἴωμεν, ἔφη, Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῷ ἑπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοι . . .* (xx.) *παρίοντας δέ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν, ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἦγε καὶ ἠρώτα ὅ τι ἀπάγοιεν . . . τὴν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης.*

Apollonius had been lecturing at Antioch, and as soon as the course of lectures was finished started for Mesopotamia.

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On his way to the passage across the Euphrates at Zeugma, the modern Birejek, "he arrives at the Ancient Ninus, where there was an image in barbarian style, representing Iô, the daughter of Inachus. Small horns protruded from the shoulders, as it were just budding." While he was looking at it and asking questions a certain Damis, the son of Ninis, strolled up to him, whom he had known previously; in fact, they had studied philosophy together.[1] Apollonius proposed that they should continue their journey together, and accordingly they passed on to Zeugma, where the custom-house officer pointed to the tariff and asked if they had anything to declare, to which Philostratus replied: "Yes, the wares, namely, of philosophy." It will be noticed that the ride from the Ancient Ninus to Zeugma seems to have been a matter of a few hours only, and that there was no river to be forded; consequently the Ancient Ninus must have been north of the Sajur.

Dr. Hogarth has pointed out to me that the "image" was that which formed a landmark on the site before the mound of Carchemish was excavated by the British Museum in 1879, and is noticed by Pococke in the seventeenth century and Drummond in the eighteenth century, just as it was by Philostratus. But whereas Philostratus supposed what are really wings to be horns, Drummond imagined them to be the vestments of a "Byzantine ecclesiastic". The monument is now in the British Museum, and represents the goddess of Carchemish, with an inscription on the back relating to the building of certain chapels and the like by a "High Priest of Carchemish" and "King of the Kasians (or Kusians) of the Double-City" (Tyana). The notice of the image is an interesting proof that Philostratus or his authority had visited the spot.

A. H. Sayce.

[1] Damis was apparently a native of the place, and his father's name was derived from Nina, the eponymous goddess of the city.

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## THE IDENTIFICATION OF *SATYAPUTRA*

In spite of the attempts recently made, it is to be regretted that the question of the identification of the Satyaputra kingdom (of Asoka's Rock Edict No. II) still remains unsolved. Perhaps the failure is due to focussing attention on the wrong point. It is a mistake to suppose that etymological interpretations, however ingenious, would throw much light on a question like the present. The highly fanciful character of such interpretations is well illustrated in the recent attempt made by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam (*JRAS.*, January, 1922) to connect Satyaputra with the "Kōśar" of Kongu Dēsa on the ground that they are spoken of in literature as truth-loving people (*satya* = truth). Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's view (*JRAS.*, 1919, p. 581–4) that Satyaputra (= *satī-putra*, or children of women who are *satī* or "peculiarly chaste") refers to the Nairs of Malabar, might *prima facie* appear more plausible; but it would certainly puzzle very much those who are acquainted with the early history of Malabar. One cannot understand why Asoka took the trouble of devising such a fanciful name unknown to history, while in all other cases kingdoms and peoples were mentioned by him in their well-known names!

The legitimate approach to the question seems to be to inquire whether the name "Satya" had been formerly used to denote any locality or region on the West Coast. The ancient literature of that country must enlighten us on the point. Early Tamil works like *Śilappadigāram* and *Pathupāttu* were composed on the West Coast; and subsequently there arose agglomerations of Malabar legends such as *Kēraḷōlpatti* and *Kēraḷa-māhatmyam*.

In at least two places in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* reference is made to a locality or kingdom called *Satya-bhūmi*. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* is a legendary work of uncertain date, and though it professes to give a continuous history of Malabar from Paraśurāma's days, it is replete with anachronisms and inaccuracies, which

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tend to discredit its historical value. Nevertheless, there is no harm in relying upon it for topographical details of the kind we search for. The work exists in many versions, which are not all alike. The following page numbers refer to a printed copy (Basel Mission Press, Mangalore), published by, or under the supervision of the late well-known Malayalam scholar, Dr. Gundert.

p. 33 : "Then Vijayan Perumāḷ erected a fortress at Vijayan Kollam. That place is called Satya-bhūmi, because Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍavas, performed austerities there for a long time."

p. 47 : "The fortress of Valarbhaṭṭaṇam (and the country around) is called Satya-bhūmi ; to the right of it stands the Chēramān fortress." (*The translation is mine.*)

The territory referred to in the above quotations corresponds to one of the ancient political divisions of the Malabar Coast, viz. *Kūpuka*, which, according to *Kēraḷōlpatti*, extended from Perumpuzha in the north to Pudupatanam in the south (roughly North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara). At some later period this region came to be called (and a part of it is still called) *Kolathunād*—the Nād or Kingdom of the Kōlathiri (or Kōla) dynasty. Kōla is perhaps the most prominent royal line of the Malabar Coast : various *tāvazhis* (or offshoots) of it ruled in former days, principalities extending from Elimala (the northernmost point of Malabar District) to Cape Comorin. Valarpatanam, mentioned above, was one of their principal seats, and a noted holy place of Malabar. The great royal family of Travancore, it may be mentioned, is supposed to be a southern branch of the Kōla line.

We have, however, no evidence to affirm that the Satyaputra of Asoka's edicts was none other than the Kōla dynasty noted above, except the fact that the country which once was called Satya (afterwards Kūpaka and Kolathunād) was ruled in later times by the Kōlathiris. We know also that this

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dynasty is an ancient one, that it had a distinct existence as a kingdom, and that in certain literary records Chēra and Kōla are mentioned side by side, suggesting thereby that the dynasty at one time was independent of the Chēramāns, to whom it subsequently became subject. The Chēra dynasty originally ruled only Kērala proper—i.e. the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kannēti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of *Mūshika* (South Travancore), which was then ruled by the Krishna-worshipping Āy dynasty of Shepherd kings. But at some later date Kūpaka seems to have shifted to the south, for in a later passage in Kēraḷōl-patti we find the name applied to the southern political division. This change perhaps synchronized with the migration of Kōlathiris to the south and the foundation of the Vēnad (Travancore) royal family. The country around Āttungel (south of Quilon), one of the principal seats of this latter dynasty, is usually called Kūpaka in Malayalam poetic works.

Even if Professor Krishnaswami is correct in interpreting Satyaputra as Satī-putra, it certainly is difficult to believe that the name refers to a people or tribe devoid of ruling power. We must rather look to some royal dynasty that followed the law of *Marumakkathāyam*, and such a family is the Kōlathiris. So far as we know, the Chēra royal line was regulated by the ordinary mode of succession through sons, but in the various families of the Kōla line property and title invariably descended in the female line. Kings were more or less like managers of their sisters' estates. The Āttungel family, before it merged in the principal Travancore dynasty, was always ruled by queens. Even now the queen-mother of Travancore princes is known as the Thampuran (ruler) of Āttungel. One would naturally be tempted to connect this dynasty with the "noble kingdom ruled by queens" mentioned by Megasthenes. Thus the above interpretation would very well fit in with the Kōlathiri Dynasty, but this

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identification, however ingenious, is rather suspicious, seeing that there is no further evidence of any dynasty or tribe having been called Satīputra either in literature or in inscriptions.

We may therefore provisionally identify Satyaputra with the ruler of Satya Kingdom (probably Kōlathiri), which lay towards the north of Chēramān's kingdom (Kērala proper). Why the ruler is called Putra (son) is not evident. Keralaputra is apparently the Sanskritized form of the Tamil word Chēramān. In Sanskrit literature Malabar is always Kērala, but the name Keralaputra is found, apart from Asoka's edicts, only in Græco-Roman accounts of India (Pliny, Ptolemy, and the *Periplus*), and even there in distorted forms like Kerobothros (Ptolemy), Cælobothras (Pliny), Cerobothra (*Periplus*). Satya is not mentioned by these writers. Is it because Satya had in the meantime been swallowed up in the Chēra kingdom? Or because the Satya rulers had migrated to the south and become incorporated in the Āy political division mentioned by Ptolemy (Aioi)? Very likely Satya was a small kingdom, and the importance it assumed in Asoka's eyes may have been due to the spread of Buddhism and Jainism there. We know that both these religions gained a foothold on the coast before Asoka's days, and possibly it was owing to this fact that Satya and Kērala are not mentioned among those to which Piyadasi sent missionaries "for the conquest by the Law of Dharma" (Rock Edict XII), while those are expressly named among the countries for which he made curative arrangements (Rock Edict II).

P. J. Thoma.

Oxford.

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## THE ANTHROPOS ALPHABET

In the course of my remarks on Mr. A. R. Brown's *Andaman Islanders* in the issue of April last, I noted that the Anthropos alphabet was not a happy one. I would like to emphasize the point. A tree is known by its fruit, and putting the Anthropos alphabet to that test in a language all Englishmen know, let us see the result for ourselves.

On page 1065 of vol. ii a specimen of "Southern" English is given, written in "Anthropos". I reproduce it here *verbatim et literatim*.

3. Anglais (sud)

727. ze̥ sän sēz:

mai néim i̥z sän. ai e̥m ver^i brait, ai raiz in ze̥̥ īyst; e̥n wen ai raiz, it i̥s déi. ai luk in e̥t yo windou wid̥ mai brait gouldn̥ ai, e̥n tel yū wen it i̥s taim te̥ get äp; e̥nd ai séi, slägɐ̥d, get äp; ai dount šain fe̥ yū te̥ lai in bed e̥n slīyp, be̥t ai šain fe̥ yū te̥ get äp e̥n wäk e̥n rīyd e̥n wō̥k e̥baut.

If anybody would like to argue that the above reproduces English correctly, I should like to join issue with him. E.g. the specimen begins with "the sun says". Here *the* is rendered by ze̥. Now, whether the *z* here is a misprint for *ẓ* or not, I do not propose to admit, as an Englishman, that *th* in *the* is a *z* at all. Nor can I admit that the vowel in *says* is long. Why write *ē* to represent it?

Next, I observe that the "Anthropos" e̥ is made to represent the sound of the vowel in *the, am, an, and* (written both e̥n and e̥nd), and *at*. It is also made to do duty for *o* in *to* (te̥), for *u* in *but* (be̥t), and *a* in *about* (e̥baut). It represents also *or* in *for* (fe̥). As an Englishman I must mention that the true sound of the vowels in *the, am, and, at, to, but*, and *about* is not by any means the same in all of them, even if spoken quickly so as to approach the neutral vowel.

The Anthropos alphabet gets into further confusion still when it writes fe̥ for *for*, and thus fails to appreciate the liquid

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*r* of "Southern" English. This failure to represent (i.e. to hear) the liquid *r* turns up in another form, and we find *your* written *yo* (as the American Negro pronounces it). Lastly this failing is found to produce a grotesque travesty of English by writing *sluggard* as *släged*! Now, whatever "Anthropos" may think, the liquid *r* of English is really audible to aliens, for the Indian languages trill or roll the *r*, and yet I have never seen an Indian, when transliterating or transcribing English into his own script, ignore the English *r*, although in speech he will usually trill it, as does the "Northern" Englishman. This means that the Indian hears it. Therefore it exists.

The horrible form *släged* reminds me that "Anthropos" is hazy as to the English neutral vowel *u*, because, besides bet for *but*, it writes sän for *sun*, släg(ed) for *slug*, and äp for *up*, as if the vowels in *sun*, *slug*, *up* differed from that in *but*. A combination of this haziness as to the neutral vowel with the failure to appreciate the trilled *r* produces a true horror—*wäk* for *work*! Again, when the Englishman does trill his *r*, "Anthropos" is so upset that it invents a letter ʳʷ to express it.

The English "lisps" the surd and sonant *th* (*th* as in *thing* and *the* respectively) evidently bother "Anthropos", though they are common in many languages. Thus we find ze̥ and ze̥ for *the*, but wid̥ for *with*. The Englishman's spelling shows that he regards the sounds he writes as *th* as liquid forms of *t*, whereas the European Continental pronunciation and the "Anthropos" spelling show that they are regarded on the Continent as a kind of *s* and *z*. Shall we say as liquid hisses?

I perceive also néim for *name*, dei for *day*, séi for *say*, īyst for *east*, slīyp for *sleep*, rīyd for *read*, windou for *window*, gouldn̥ for *golden*, dount for *don't*. As an Englishman, I am inclined to assert that the long vowels in *name*, *day*, *say*, *east*, *sleep*, *read*, *window*, *golden*, and *don't* are not diphthongs in the mouth of the man in the street.

I further observe that although "Anthropos" writes sēz for *says*, and raiz for *rise*, it also writes both iz and is for

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*is*. Here there comes to the fore the well-known Mid-Continental confusion between surd and sonant, also observable elsewhere in the world.

As regards English, then, the specimen is not only a travesty of the language, but it is also not even true to itself. It indicates an incorrect ear, and therefore shows itself to be an unsafe guide to the student. The question at once arises: what kind of a guide is it to the student in the case of other languages?

Seriously, if this is science, is it not better to continue to be unscientific, and to look upon the words of a language when spelt out on paper by native speakers as idiograms to be learnt, just as one has to learn the sounds that the spelling represents?

R. C. TEMPLE.

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## "SYRIAQUE ET NABATEEN"[1]

This note was written in a different tone and put in an envelope ready to be sent to the Editor of the *Journal*, when my eyes fell on the obituary notices in which the lamented death of M. Clermont-Ganneau, the scholar with whom it deals, was registered. With the words of praise lavished on him by Dr. Cowley I gladly join, and the two unfortunate mistakes—mistakes they are—found in his communication referred to above were doubtless committed by inadvertence and bona fide, because keen as his insight was in the domain of Semitic epigraphy, Syriac was not really a subject in which he specialized. The present communication should be considered in its way as a tribute to his memory, because, following the example of great men, he would have been the first to acknowledge and to correct an error into which he might have fallen: *Errare humanum est*.

1. The Syriac word ܢܦܫܐ or ܢܘܫܐ with the sense of "sepulchral vault, funeral crypt" is well attested. I need only refer the reader to *Thesaurus*, pp. 2330 and 2432 (where

[1] See the last number of *JRAS*. 1923, p. 263.



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written with a *wāw* or a *pé*), to Audo's *Sīmtha* (s.v. where written with a *wāw* or a *pé*), to Manna's *Vocabulaire*, 1900, pp. 439 and 460 (where written with a *wāw* or a *pé*), to Pognon's *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, 1908, pp. 15–16, 18, 43, 104–5 (where written with a *pé*), etc. The use of a *wāw* or a *pé* in this word is quite facultative, since both of them have the same sound (viz. *wāw*) according to the East Syrian way, where *pé* is pronounced like a *wāw*, as stated in my Syriac Grammar No. 3. In a note of my article I drew attention to the fact that some copyists have written the word with a *pé*, in the East Syrian way, but M. C.-G., by oversight, omits to say so, and writes: "l'auteur embarrassé par ce mot . . . propose de corriger graphiquement ܢܦܫܬܐ." Further, in this part of my article I was dealing with the translation of the word that Mitchell has erroneously rendered into "souls", and not with the orthography of the palimpsest of which I had spoken in an earlier part.

2. The Syriac word ܟܦܪܐ cannot have the meaning of "sepulchral vault", and I repeat here my warning against its registration in this sense by future lexicographers, and remind them that ܟܦܪܐ in the Ephremic text deciphered by Mitchell is *certainly* a misreading of ܥܦܪܐ. The word occurs in two places where Ephrem is speaking of the natural element of some animals (pp. 40 and 73 of vol. i). In the first of them Ephrem says:—

"Because every entity which exists is contented if it is in its own place—because that is the place which belongs to its nature: as fish in water, as moles in earth, as worms in wood, . . ." Obviously we could not change "as moles in earth" (ܐܝܟ ܚܘܠܕܐ ܒܥܦܪܐ) into "as moles in the sepulchral vaults", without assuming that more than nine-tenths of the moles of the world are not in their natural element.

The second passage of Ephrem is equally decisive: "If these fishes do not long to go up to dry land and to soil themselves in the mud and the earth (ܘܒܥܦܪܐ) of the moles . . ."

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Further, I believe that I have read all the known Syriac works in print or in MS. found in the libraries of East and West, except a few insignificant and unpublished ones in the library of Mount Sinai, and I have never come across the word ܟܦܪܐ with the gratuitous meaning of "sepulchral vaults", and I promise my deep gratitude to any one who will show me this word with such an unnatural meaning.

A. MINGANA.

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## NOTE ON ARAB PROVERBS

Maulawi Abd-el-Hai Sahib, Professor of Adab at the Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan, has just published a specimen of a larger work on this branch of Arabic literature. The specimen consists of twenty-three paragraphs dealing with idiomatic expressions and proverbial sayings, based on the theme بيض which in its various formations, and combined with other expressions, yield a variety of formulas. His abstracts are drawn from the Diwāns of poets, as well as prose works on *adab*, even comprising comparatively modern writings. The pamphlet begins with a note on the phrase أبيض الوجه, which, the author says, expresses purity of race and nobility of character. In explanation of this he adds that the Arabs, northern as well as southern, were originally white, while their Abyssinian slaves were black. The variety of meanings found in these combinations is really surprising, because the average reader of Arabic texts has only a limited survey of such phrases in his mind. Particularly interesting are those expressions which allow opposite meanings, as e.g. بيضة البلد is used for praise as well as blame. The author's collection is illustrated by suitable quotations, but the material is not easily exhausted. It is rather strange that he did not quote the passages Qor. iii, 102; xvi, 60; xxxix, 61; and

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xliii, 16. When the larger volume appears it will form a useful reading-book for beginners in the study of Arabic literature, especially as the compiler's explanatory notes are very helpful. Needless to say, many of his items are to be found in the dictionaries, yet to have them together on a small compass with comments is of distinct advantage.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

## Indica

1. Geschichte der indischen Litteratur. Von Dr. M. Winternitz. Dritter Band. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 696 pp. Leipzig: Altenburg printed, 1922.

The method of Dr. Winternitz is not that of Taine, who presents us with a pathological study of a nation's moral and intellectual life illustrated from its literature, nor that of the arid and inaccurate Brockelmann, who furnishes a skeleton composed of little more than names of writers and their works classified by periods and subjects, but a *via media*, in which the material is divided according to subjects but the skeleton is clothed with live flesh by giving in each section a lucid historical and critical survey of the literature embraced in it, illuminated by copious translations of excerpts and abstracts. Thus his "Geschichte" is not only a work of reference of enormous utility to students, but is itself literature of no mean order. The magnitude of the task which he has accomplished may be judged from the fact that the first volume saw the light in 1904, and the *explicit feliciter*, on which we heartily congratulate him, was penned in October, 1922. The present volume, which deals with the greater part of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit literature—namely poetry, drama, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, law, polity, erotics, medicine, astrology, astronomy, and mathematics—displays the same merits as its predecessors, notably wide knowledge, lucidity of style, orderly method, and above all calm judgment, which is indeed a rare and precious quality in a writer treading a path so beset with the darkness of ignorance and the *ignes fatui* of superstition and prejudice. The verdict that the Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra is probably not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. (p. 523) is typical of the author's sane criticism. Perhaps he may be said to have slightly lapsed from his usual

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caution in crediting Bhāsa with the authorship of the recently published plays ascribed to him. But even here he accepts the attribution with "a certain reserve" (p. 184 ff.); and he adduces on p. 187 a number of facts which lead him to the just conclusion that "Bhāsa" is not very ancient, and is nearer in date to Kālidāsa than to Aśvaghōṣa. One of these facts, from which he has not drawn all the inferences that it warrants, is that "Bhāsa" in *Pratimā* v mentions a *Nyāya-śāstra* by Mēdhâtithi, which almost certainly, in our opinion, is the famous *Manu-bhāṣya*, a work that Dr. Winternitz himself admits to be probably a product of the *ninth* century A.D. (p. 494; cf. Jolly, *Recht u. Sitte*, p. 31). The ascription of the plays to Bhāsa in particular is really based upon the coincidence that one of them is called Svapna-vāsavadatta; but Dr. Winternitz himself shows that a coincidence of this kind proves nothing, as he notices no less than *three* Kumārasambhavas (cf. p. 198, n. 1). We therefore venture to hope that when he revises his book for its next edition he will realize that there is no good reason for attributing the plays to Bhāsa in particular or to any other ancient dramatist, and will therefore treat them simply as anonyma.[1]

[1] On the other hand he is perhaps a little too cautious in doubting the identity of Bhartṛhari the poet with Bhartṛhari the logician and grammarian. I-tsing relates that the latter became seven times a Buddhist monk, and as often lapsed. There is in this nothing essentially inconsistent with the experiences of the poet revealed in his verses, except that I-tsing represents him as a Buddhist and ignores his poems. A Chinese pilgrim might easily err in ascribing Buddhism to a non-Buddhist (the seven conversions and lapses are reminiscent of the tale of Cittahattha in *Dhammapada-aṭṭh.*, iii, 6–7), and the somewhat "high-browed" circles with which I-tsing held converse would pay little notice to a scholar's poetical parerga. With these deductions, the story fully harmonizes with the poet's character. Lapses from the religious life were common among *bhaktas*, notably in the case of Māṇikka-vāchakar. The combination of parts is common in India: Caitanya gained some reputation as a logician before he became a religious singer and apostle, Śrīharṣa is as famous for his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* as for his *Naiṣadhīya*, and many respectable Jain divines have composed highly erotic poetry.

We venture to append a few respectful adversaria. p. 40: the sketch of the history of the Guptas needs some qualification since the publication of the Damodarpur plates; and it is perhaps going too far to say that

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The only weak point in the book is the painful inadequacy of the treatment accorded to the vernaculars. Apart from a few passing references in footnotes, practically all the notice that they receive is an appendix of less than twenty-seven pages modestly styled "Ein Blick auf die neuindische Litteratur", in which the ancient and modern literature of Tamil is allowed scarcely more than three pages; those of Kanarese, Telugu, and Malayalam are dismissed with the curt statement that they are less important than Tamil; and the Aryan vernaculars are treated with similar superficiality, except Bengali, to which are allotted twelve pages—out of which seven are occupied by Tagore. Great as are the merits of this work, it is not a "Geschichte der *indischen* Litteratur".

2. A Bibliography of Religion (mainly Avestan and Vedic). By Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4$, iii + 142 + xvii pp. Bombay, 1922.

This book, which forms No. 3 of the "Dorab J. Saklatwalla Memorial Series", is absolutely the worst and most unintelligent compilation that we have ever seen. None of the entries give adequate bibliographic data; many of them are merely titles of books or articles without statement as to where and when they were published; and in almost every line are to be found the grossest misspellings and misprints. One example will suffice: under the letter P we read "Ptein, A. Sand—buried Cities of Khoton".

Kālidāsa's description of Ujjayinī in his *Mēgha-dūta* leaves *no* doubt that it was his home (pp. 42, 44). p. 146: Gumānī's Upadēśa-śataka is not "aus unbekannter Zeit stammend" (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 177). p. 203: the statement regarding King Śūdraka that "his name occurs neither on inscriptions nor on coins" is somewhat misleading; a king named Śūdraka is known from inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* v, App. Nos. 642, 646), though there is no evidence to connect him with Śūdraka of the Mṛcchakaṭika. p. 213: the name of the play should be spelt *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* or *Śākuntalam*. p. 267: the dictum that "the fable arose in literature itself, and in all probability belonged from the outset to Sanskrit artificial poetry", may be right, but the proof is lacking. p. 442: Ānandatīrtha is quite different from Ānandagiri. p. 449: that "the Sāṅkhya-system originally is not based like that of the Vedānta upon exposition of Scripture, but was attached later to the Veda and adopted into Brahmanism", is quite possible, but it is not "certain", *pace* Dr. W.

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3. Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature. By Andrzej Gawroński. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, i + 80 pp. W Krakowie, 1919.
4. Notes sur les Sources de quelques Drames Indiens. By Andrzej Gawroński. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, i + 92 pp. W Krakowie, 1921.
5. Notes on the Sāundarananda. By Andrzej Gawroński. Critical and explanatory. Second series. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp. W Krakowie, 1922.

These little books form respectively Nos. 2, 4, and 6 of the "Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres". M. Gawroński is a super-polyglot: he draws for illustrations upon the literature of almost every language in Europe and Asia, and the reader is somewhat surprised to find him refraining from quoting Chinese. The first book contains notes on Buddhacarita, a study designed to prove "that at the time of Aśvaghōṣa there existed at least Book II of the Rāmâyaṇa (but most probably the remaining genuine books also) in much the same form as it is known to us to-day", critical notes on the printed text of the Jātakamālā, observations on the relation of the Divyâvadāna to Aśvaghōṣa's poems, and critical notes on the Sāundarananda. These bear testimony to wide and careful reading and considerable ingenuity; but in textual criticism M. Gawroński has something to learn. Several passages that he tries to emend are perfectly sound (e.g. his alteration of *kūrmē yugacchidra ivârṇavasthaḥ* on p. 78 to *kūrmē yugacchit sa* merely shows his ignorance of the common figure); in others his suggestions are often too daring to be probable, and it is only rarely that he convinces us. The second work consists of four essays, which are interesting, though some of the author's views seem to us rather subjective. The first treats generally of linguistic and stylistic influences in Indian literature, and urges that, as is especially shown in its use of synonyms, Sanskrit is a dead language (a proposition which we think requires some qualification), and that therefore

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Sanskrit authors proceed rather by imitation than by inspiration. The second discusses the origin of Açt iv of the Vikramôrvaśīya; it points out that the essential features of that play are found in the Sudhanāvadāna of the Divyâvadāna, and argues, not very convincingly to us, that Kālidāsa drew his version of the story from a folk-tale, but at the same time was influenced by the Mystery-plays of the Kṛishṇa cult, as evidenced by the Gīta-gōvinda. An appendix suggests the possibility that the Śākuntala also derived its plot from a popular form of the story. The third examines the influence of the Mēghadūta upon the Mālatī-mādhava, and the fourth proves the plot of the latter to recur in a Turkish folk-tale, which must hence be of Indian origin. As to the third work, it must be admitted that the unsatisfactory state of the text of the Sāundarananda gives considerable scope to the emendatory imagination, and some of the author's conjectures, such as *anṛtād* in vi, 17, and *cittâmbhasaḥ* in xvii, 45, are attractive. Others, however, are less happy, and some are quite needless, such as the alterations of *vivartyamānaḥ* in iv, 44, *viṣayēṣu* in xiv, 39, and *vinigṛhya* in v, 47. Even the best of Sanskrit poets do not invariably write precisely what exacting critics like Dr. Gawroński would demand from them.

6. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Nos. X–XVIII. Baroda. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Bombay printed, 1920–1.

The mere catalogue of these volumes—all of them *editiones principes*—indicates that the treasures of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, far from being exhausted, are only half revealed. No. X contains (1) the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, an historical drama of considerable merit by a Jain divine, Jayasiṃha, glorifying the victory of Vīradhavala over the Moslem invader Hammīra and his success in dissolving a coalition of hostile kings, through the statesmanship of the famous brothers Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla and the latter's son Lāvaṇyasiṃha; (2) the same poet's *Vastupāla-Tējaḥpāla-praśasti*, seventy-seven verses on the history of the Cāulukya dynasty and

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the family of Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla ; (3) thirteen verses of a panegyric poem or *stuti-kāoyāni* ; and (4) Udayaprabha's *Sukṛta-kīrtti-kallōlinī*, a poem of 179 verses on the same themes as No. 2, but carrying the royal pedigree back to Vanarāja. No. XI contains Soḍḍhala's *Udaya-sundarī-kathā*, a *campū* on a Jain legend. In No. XII we have (1) the *Mahā-vidyā-viḍambana* by Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra (Mahādēva), a treatise on a form of syllogism with commentaries of Ānandapūrṇa and Bhuvanasundara, (2) Bhuvanasundara's *Laghu-mahā-vidyā-viḍambana*, a short tract on the same, (3) Kulārka's *Daśaślōkī-mahā-vidyā-sūtra*, aphorisms on the same, with anonymous commentary and Bhuvanasundara's gloss on the latter. No. XIII is the first part of *Prācīna Gurjara-kāvya-saṅgraha*, a collection of old Gujarati compositions in verse and prose, chiefly on topics of Jain religion and legend, with a few Sanskrit pieces. No. XIV is a bulky work, the *Jina-dharma-pratibōdha* or *Kumārapāla-pratibōdha* of Sōmaprabha, describing in Prakrit (Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṃśa) and Sanskrit the history of the Cāulukya king Kumārapāla (with a sketch of his pedigree) and of the great Jain divine Hēmacandra, the latter's preachings, and the king's conversion to Jainism. No. XV contains Bhā-sarvajña's *Gaṇa-kārikā*, eight verses summarizing the theories of Pāśupata Yōga, with an anonymous commentary and appendices, including *inter alia* the *Kāravaṇa-māhātmya*, the sacred legend of Karwan, where was born the famous Yōgī Lakulîśa, the reputed incarnation of Śiva. A lighter vein is touched in No. XVI, the *Saṅgīta-makaranda*, a work on music ascribed to the mythical Nārada. No. XVII consists of a catalogue of the library of Kavīndrâcārya Sarasvatī, a learned Dekhani Brahman who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century ; his collection, now unhappily scattered, was remarkably rich and catholic, embracing works on Vedic and other religious literature, law, philosophy, science, and belles-lettres, and seems to have included some very rare and valuable MSS. Last we have in No. XVIII the *Vārāha-gṛhya-sūtra*, a short code of domestic

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rituals, which the editor ascribes to the first and second century A.D. A word of recognition is due for their labours to the editors, Messrs. C. D. Dalal (who has edited Nos. X, XIII, and XV, and unhappily died before completing No. XI), E. Krishnamacharya (part of No. XI), Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang (Nos. XII and XVI), Muniraj Jinavijaya (No. XIV), R. Ananta Krishna Sastry (No. XVII), and R. Sama Sastry (No. XVIII).

7. Śri-Ballāla-viracitō Bhōja-prabandhaḥ. Adapted to the requirements of students going up for the Matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities. Edited by Pandit Upendranath Vidyabhushana. 4th edition, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xxvii+128 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

Ballāla's romance is fairly suitable for use as an elementary Sanskrit text, and the present edition is a handy adaptation for the purpose. The English introduction shows an intelligent attempt to do justice to the pseudo-historical character of the work; and the text, to which are appended notes in English and Sanskrit, is tolerably accurate, except for a few misprints.

8. Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata. By V. Venkatachellam Iyer. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, $10 + 416 + xv$ pp. Madras, 1922.

This is a very ingenious attempt to disentangle by means of analysis and a comparison of the ancient Telugu version of the Mahābhārata the diverse elements, original and spurious, which a succession of unscrupulous diaskeuasts have woven into the inharmonious whole of the Mahābhārata. Many of the author's conclusions seem to be quite sound. His style is lively and interesting, and he has done well in calling attention to the Telugu version, for, as Nannaya lived in the eleventh century and Tikkana in the thirteenth, their translation throws valuable light on the nature of the text (or texts) upon which it was based. The book is one that will have to

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be seriously considered when the herculean task of constituting a critical text of the Mahābhārata is undertaken in earnest.

9. Selections from the Baudhāyana-gṛhyapariśiṣṭa-sūtra. Academisch proefschrift ter verkrijging van den Graad van Doctor . . . aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht . . . door P. N. U. Harting. $9\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, i + i + xxxii + 67 pp. Amersfoot, 1922.

The Pariśiṣṭas or supplements to the Gṛhya-sūtra of the school of Baudhāyana contain a number of rituals which in character are midway between the old Vedic cults and the later or classical Hinduism, thus forming a transitional stage in the development of Indian religion which hitherto has not received adequate attention. Dr. Harting has therefore done well to publish these selections, which he has critically edited with an English translation and introduction. They comprise Praśnas II, xiii–xv, xvii–xix, xxii; III, iii–x; and IV, ii. Though the literary interest of these semi-Vedic and semi-Puranic rituals is slight, Dr. Harting is well justified in the assertion that "they do help us to understand the development of liturgy, and they bring some new facts concerning mythology"; and he has performed his task as editor and translator with much skill and ample though unobtrusive erudition.

10. La Bhagavadgîtâ. Traduite du sanscrit avec une introduction par Emile Senart. (Les Classiques de l'Orient.) $9\times5\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp. Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1922.

No scholar is better qualified than M. Senart to present the Gītā in a French garb, and it is almost superfluous to say that his translation is worthy of him. The hand of the master is visible throughout the book. Perhaps he would have lightened the task of the student if he had furnished analyses of the often incongruous currents of thought of which the Gītā is composed. In his thoughtful introduction, M. Senart

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refuses—quite rightly, as it seems to us—to accept theories like those of Garbe, which dissect the Gītā with the scalpel of logic; he regards it not merely as a handbook of the emotional religion of the Bhāgavatas, but as "un recueil de strophes et de morceaux que la tradition centrale de la secte a groupés autour de son idée maîtresse", which is a somewhat disputable proposition. Does he mean that the Gītā is made up of a miscellaneous collection of largely anonymous verses expressing heterogeneous points of view on theology and philosophy, which have come together more or less by chance in Bhāgavata circles? Granting that the fervour of a new cult is quite strong enough to fuse various incongruous ideas together in its melting-pot, and that the inconsistencies of thought in the Gītā are most naturally explained thus, we must still suppose that there was a writer, if not writers, of the Gītā, a man or men who cast it into its present shape partly by incorporating old materials and partly also (though M. Senart seems to ignore this function) by paraphrasing anew current ideas. Such a man would not be strictly logical; but he would not be a merely mechanical transcriber, and so one wishes to understand his intellectual position; and this is the one point on which M. Senart does not enlighten us as fully as he might.

This book, like the other volumes of the series to which it belongs, is defaced by deliberately hideous and clumsy woodcuts which have not the least suggestion of Oriental art.

11. Bhagavadgītā. By Dr. St. Fr. Michalski-Iwieński. Texte sanscrit. 9×6, xii + 48 pp., 2 plates. Paris: Varsovie, 1922.

In this book, which forms No. 1 of the "Publications de la Société Asiatique de Varsovie", Dr. Michalski-Iwieński presents in romanized transliteration the text of the Gītā from the edition of Schlegel and Lassen, with a few variant readings noted on p. 46. It will be very useful to young students, especially as it is fully punctuated and the combined

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long vowels are marked by being printed in italics. He has added to it a preface which perhaps is hardly adequate as a critical estimate of the doctrines of the Gītā, but makes amends for any deficiency in this respect by paying to its supposed merits a tribute of ecstatic admiration. After lamenting that it is not yet appreciated in Europe at its true worth, he proceeds: "L'haleine puissante de l'idéalisme qu'elle exhale, l'envolée de ses idées, la grandeur de ses conceptions, l'ampleur gigantesque de ses rêves et de ses images, la beauté choisie de la langue, les ondes lumineuses de ses strophes, la simplicité avec laquelle elle résout les énigmes éternelles de l'univers, la sagesse, profonde et claire de son enseignement—tout cela fait que dans la littérature européenne on trouvera à peine une oeuvre qu'on pourrait mettre à côté de Bhagavadgītā." Well, we must confess to some doubts.

12. The Nyāya-Sūṭras of Gauṭama, with the Bhāṣya of Vāṭsyāyana and the Vārṭika of Uḍḍyoṭakara. Translated into English with notes from Vāchaspaṭi Mishrā's [*sic*!] "Nyāya-Vārṭika-Tāṭparya", Uḍayana's "Parishuḍḍhi" (and Bodhasiddhi, Vardhamāna's Anvīkṣānayaṭattva-bodha), and Raghūṭṭama's Bhāṣyachanḍra. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇgānātha Jhā, M.A., D.Litt. Indian Thought Series. Vols. ii–iv. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Allahabad, 1917–19.

A melancholy interest attaches to these volumes. "Indian Thought" made its first appearance in 1907 under the able editorship of George Thibaut and Ganganatha Jha, and seemed to have before it the prospect of a long and prosperous career. The translations of philosophical works issued in it were uniformly good, and the only point on which cavil could fasten was the detestable system of transliteration forced upon the series by some misguided and inconsistent enthusiasts for phonetic innovation, an example of which is furnished by the title of the present work above, in which the disagreeable-

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ness of the system is alleviated only by the inconsistency with which it is applied. And now Thibaut is dead, and "Indian Thought", after bravely living through eleven volumes, has also expired. The loss to scholarship is great. But the work achieved by the series is one of lasting merit; and of it *pars magna fuit* the work of Ganganatha Jha. The stout volumes now before us are as good as anything that he has produced, and that is saying a great deal. Probably no European can approach him in the mastery which he wields over the rugged realms of Indian philosophy; and in the mazes of the logic and epistemology of the Nyāya-sūtra and their commentaries he has had full scope for his skill. We congratulate him on the conclusion of his labour of love.

13. The Padyacūḍāmaṇi of Buddhaghōṣācārya. Edited by (the late) M. Ranga Acharya, M.A., Rao Bahadur, and by S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A. . . . with a commentary by . . . K. Venkatesvara Sastri and D. S. Satakopa Acharya. $9\frac{5}{8}\times6$, 5+2+6+ii+276+xiii pp. Madras: Government Press, 1921.

This work—a Sanskrit poem in ten *sargas* on the legendary history of the Buddha, on the same lines as Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddha-carita*, and proceeding as far as the conquest of Māra—was first brought to notice in the *Bauddha-grantha-mālā*, No. 2 (Colombo, 1908), which printed the text down to ix, 16. The present volume contains the whole text, as far as it is known, together with a *ṭīkā* by two modern pandits which has the merit (somewhat rare in modern commentaries) of explaining clearly and briefly what needs explanation, without useless parade of erudition. The ascription of the poem to Buddhaghōsa is evidently fictitious; the style and vocabulary (which even includes *nāsīra*, from the Arabic *naṣīr*) prove that even Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri's assignment of it to the fifth–seventh centuries is too generous, and suggest a considerably later date. It is, however, free from the worst affectations of later poets; though frequently inclined to

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prolixity and tedious variations on commonplace themes, the author generally avoids excessive obscurity, and sometimes succeeds in striking a pleasing and graceful note. Taken all in all, the poem is a meritorious contribution to Sanskrit literature.

14. Die Suparṇasage. Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur- und Sagengeschichte. Von Jarl Charpentier. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 399 pp. Uppsala, 1921.

In this work Professor Charpentier presents a critical text of the Suparṇâdhyāya with translation and exposition, preceded by a study of the literary character of the poem, which he assigns to the epic genus, and followed by an examination of the mythical elements contained in it. First he considers the Ākhyāna-theory applied to the Ṛg-vēda and Suparṇâdhyāya, and then the Drama-theory; neither of these, in his judgment, can be applied except to a very limited degree to the Ṛg-vēda. He next analyses the legend of the Suparṇâdhyāya in detail, gives the text and translation of the poem, considers its relations to the other versions of the legend, and lastly studies its two main *motifs*, that of Kadrū-Vinatā and that of the churning of the Ocean, in the light of comparative mythology. The work is scholarly and stimulating, and it will be read with interest even by those who do not share all the author's opinions.

15. Manduki Siksa, or The phonetical treatise of the Atharva Veda. Edited . . . with an introduction, appendices, and an index [in Hindi] by Bhagavad Datta. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xviii + 25, vi, vii. Lahore, 1921.

16. Brihat Sarvanukramnika [*sic* !] of the Atharva Veda. Edited . . . with an introduction and an index [in Hindi] by . . . Ramgopala Shastri. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xlii + i + 204 + xxii pp. Lahore, 1922.

17. The Ṛg-vedaprātiśākhya with the Commentary of Uvaṭa. Edited . . . with introduction, critical, and additional notes, English translation of the text, and

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several appendices by MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI, M.A., D.Phil. Part of the introduction. $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 33 pp. Oxford: University Press, 1922.

The Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā is not a novelty, having been previously printed in Yugalakiśōra Vyāsa's *Śikṣā-saṅgraha* (Benares, 1893), and the value of the present edition lies in the variant readings from three MSS. which it furnishes. The editor in his preface deals with some interesting points connected with this Śikṣā, e.g. its relation to the Ṛgvēda-prātiśākhya and Yāska, the age of the existing Śikṣās, and the references found in Vedic literature to Maṇḍūka, the putative author of the Māṇḍūkī. On the first problem his conclusion is that the basis of the Prātiśākhya is earlier than Yāska, and its final recension later than his time, so that it quotes him (993) and is in turn quoted by him (105).[1] He justly admits that the amount of original material in the Māṇḍūkī is extremely meagre, the major part of its teachings being derived from other Śikṣās; and he believes that the verse xvi, 7, which coincides with Manu ii, 218, was borrowed by it from Manu, but his view as to the antiquity of Manu is by no means in harmony with our western prejudices. Of greater importance is the Bṛhat-sarvânukramaṇikā of the Atharva, which performs for the Fourth Vēda the same function as is rendered to the First by Kātyāyana's Sarvânukramaṇī. It is not altogether strange to students, thanks to the full notice in Weber's Berlin Catalogue, Bd. II, Abt. i, p. 79 (No. 1487); but the present edition is ampler than the MS. described by Weber, containing eleven *paṭalas*. The editor has given us in a long Hindi preface his views on the antiquity of the Vēdas, and of the Atharva in particular (it is interesting and certainly new to us to learn that the Atharva had an influence on the religion of early Egypt, etc.), and on the canonicity of the Atharva, as to which he maintains that the term *chandāṃsi*, commonly

[1] The evidence for the Rpr. quoting Yāska is not very convincing, being only the use of the definition *saṃhitā pada-prakṛtiḥ* (105) = *pada-prakṛtiḥ saṃhitā* in Nir. i, 17.



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understood to mean the Ṛgvēda, denotes the Atharva likewise. The introduction to the Prātiśākhya is a welcome promise, the sample of Mr. Mangal Deva Shastri's critical theory auguring well for his practice, and we look forward with pleasure to the publication of the rest of the book. There is ample room for a new edition of this ancient manual of Vedic phonetics, and the one thus harbingered seems likely to mark a distinct advance.

18. Buddhist Legends. Translated from the original Pāli text of the Dhammapada Commentary by Eugene Watson Burlingame. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. xxviii–xxx. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$, 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1921.
19. Buddhist Parables. Translated from the original Pāli by Eugene Watson Burlingame. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxix + 348 pp., 1 plate. New Haven, 1922.
20. Anubuddha Buddhaghosa Thera's Paramatthajotika, or the commentary to the Khuddakapátha. . . . Edited by . . . Welipitiyé Déwánanda Théra . . . revised by . . . Mahagoda Siri Ñanissara Théra. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i + vi + 176 pp., 1 plate. Colombo, 1922.
21. Bhadantachariya Buddhadatta Maha Thera's Madhuratthavilásini, or the commentary to the Buddhawansa of the Khuddaka Nikáya. . . . Edited by . . . Yagirala Paññánanda Théra . . . revised by . . . Mahagoda Siri Ñanissara Théra. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 268 pp., 1 plate. Colombo, 1922.

Mr. Burlingame's sumptuous volumes are of first-class value as revealing the utmost "inwardness" of Buddhism, for in these legends, fables, and parables we see the very heart of the religion, not as a group of somewhat elusive and imperfectly comprehended philosophemes but as a live force in the souls of men, firing their imagination with its ideals and winning their hearts with its message of love and charity. They show us Buddhism on its moral side, for better and for

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worse—often childlike, sometimes childish and wrong-headed, but sometimes also profoundly sweet and noble, as in the stories of Vakkali and the Sick Monk told in the "Parables". The "Legends" are prefaced by an abstract of the legend of the Buddha, a summary of Buddhist doctrine, an account of the Dhammapada, the place of the latter in the Canon, its Aṭṭhakathā and its nature and structure, etc., followed by the captions of all the stories. The "Parables" (a slightly misleading title, for the book contains besides parables proper a number of simple legends, narratives, and edifying stories, and fables from hagiology and folk-lore) are drawn from the Vinaya, Jātaka, and other books of the Suttapiṭaka, the Aṭṭhakathās of the Aṅguttara, Thērī-gathā, Dhammapada, the Milindapañhā, Chavannes' "Cinq Cents Contes", the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Sūtrâlaṃkāra, and Divyâvadāna, with some mediaeval European derivatives from Buddhist sources. The other two volumes, which form respectively vols. xi and xii of the now well-known Simon Hewavitame Bequest, are also welcome additions to the library of the student of Buddhism, being full of valuable matter and excellently printed.

22. Ākhyāna-saṃhitā, or Legends of Ind. Illustrating samples of ancient arts and science of India in her palmiest days. By Upendranath Vidyabhushana. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5$, viii+169 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

This is a collection of stories in simple prose and verse from the epics and other narratives, with English and Sanskrit glosses. It will be a useful reading-book for junior classes; but we cannot agree with the Pandit in his opinion that his selections prove the ancient Hindus to have been "thoroughly conversant" with aeroplanes, cannons, dynamite, and scientific chemistry. The illustrations are rather feeble, and we have noted a few misprints.

23. The Beginner's Sanskrit Grammar and Composition. Introductory and supplementary to the Elements of

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Sanskrit Grammar. Published by the Calcutta University. . . . By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. 4th edition. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, xi+336 pp. Calcutta, 1915.

The author's method here, as in most of his other educational works, is practical and effective, though the book is not without a few slips. The rules of grammar are given mainly in Bengali, and exercises in English.

24. A MANUAL OF HIGHER SANSKRIT GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. Pts. I, II. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$. Calcutta: 1919, 1921.

The object of this work is to teach grammar and composition by means of select aphorisms of Pāṇini explained in Sanskrit and English, with illustrations from standard authors and appendices on the art of poetry and prosody; and in carrying out this design the author shows considerable skill and much learning. The student who will have mastered this book will be thoroughly equipped for the study of Sanskrit belles-lettres on the lines of traditional pandit-craft. We must confess to an heretical belief that the orthodox native method of teaching grammar, especially that of the school of Pāṇini, is exceedingly cumbrous and antiquated, and that the same results could be attained with half the labour if a really scientific mode of exposition were followed. But so long as Hindus prefer the more laborious way, they cannot have a better guide than our author.

25. SAṂSKṚTA-PĀṬHA-MĀLĀ. Sanskrit Reader. By Pandit UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. Pts. I, II. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$. Calcutta, 1922.

Pt. i of this useful little work has reached the seventh edition, pt. ii the fifth, and it merits its success, for it marks a decided move in the right direction. The author teaches the elements of Sanskrit in a simple, practical manner, similar to that of Buehler's Leitfaden, and uses for illustration passages from standard narratives, recast into simple form.

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26. SARALA-PAÑCATANTRAM, or Panchatantra for Beginners. By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, iv + 112 pp., 7th edition. Calcutta, 1921.

A handy edition of the popular fable-book, simplified as to vocabulary and *sandhi*-forms, with suitable English foot-notes.

27. HELMUTH V. GLASENAPP, DER HINDUISMUS: Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien. $9\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+505 pp., 43 plates. München: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1921.

The attempt of Dr. v. Glasenapp to present a survey of the religious and social conditions which together compose the heterogeneous complex called for a lack of a better term "Hinduism" has been remarkably successful. His knowledge of modern conditions is extensive, and he fully realizes their organic relation to those of the past; hence his book may be described as a general outline of Hindu religion, philosophy, and social life from the earliest times to the present day. After discussing India and the Indians and the nature and development of Hinduism, he treats of the subjects of religious thought (inanimate and animate beings, spirits and gods, etc.), religious literature, natural philosophy, moral conceptions, the philosophical systems, social life and worship, sects, and finally western influences. On the last-named topic, which includes the religious, philosophical, and political movements of modern times, his survey is notably instructive. It shows no trace of political animus, and on the whole estimates the facts under review fairly and sensibly. Altogether the book is a good and useful one, and sound without being obtrusively erudite. Some of the paintings reproduced in the plates are excellent of their kind.

28. THE SOMA PLANT. By Sj. BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE, M.A., M.R.A.S. $6\frac{1}{2}\times9\frac{3}{4}$, 9 pp. Calcutta, 1922.

The object of this little essay is to demonstrate that the Sōma plant of Vedic ritual is not, as is commonly supposed,

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the *Asclepias acida*, but the *Cannabis sativa* or Indian hemp. The negative side of its argument seems to us rather more effective than the positive, and the author's treatment of the literary sources is not always convincing; but on the whole he makes out a case for hemp which deserves serious consideration.

29. Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for . . . 1920–2. By Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S. 3 vols. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, Bangalore, 1921–2.

Untoward and most regrettable circumstances have delayed the publication of our notices of the first two of these reports upon the well-nigh inexhaustible artistic and historical treasures of Mysore, and our review of them now must be briefer than they deserve. The Report for 1920 gives an account of several buildings surveyed or re-surveyed, notably the temples of Mysore, Koramangala, and Harihar, with some valuable observations on the caves of Karle, Elephanta, Nasik, Ellora, and other places of interest in the Bombay Presidency. Several important records are published for the first time with facsimiles, in particular two Gaṅga grants from Narasimharajapura purporting to be from the reigns of Śrīpuruṣa and Śivamāra, which appear to be genuine, though they do not throw much new light on the obscurities of Gaṅga history. As regards manuscripts, it is somewhat exciting news that the traditions recorded in Gaṅga documents to the effect that Mādhava I composed a commentary on the Dattaka-sūtra, and that Durvinīta expounded Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya XV, are to some extent borne out by the two discoveries recently made in the Madras Oriental MSS. Library, scil. of a commentary on two chapters of the Dattaka-sūtra and of an Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra, which in its preface states that Bhāravi stayed at the court of Durvinīta and was contemporary with Viṣṇuvardhana (apparently the Eastern Cālukya) and the Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu. The latter tradition,

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though not necessarily of first-hand authority, well deserves consideration. The next Report is chiefly remarkable for its illustrations of some beautiful architecture at Belur and Halebid and for the publication of two Gaṅga grants, of which the first (purporting to be of Harivarman, in Śaka 188) is a clumsy forgery, but the second (of Mārasiṃha, in Śaka 884) has every sign of genuineness, and is of prime importance as a document of Gaṅga history, besides being a noteworthy specimen of Sanskrit composition. The Report for 1922, which is more slender, has a melancholy interest, for it is the last that will appear from the pen of Mr. Narasimhachar, who has now retired from the office of Director of Archæological Researches after a service of sixteen years. His record is one upon which he and his native State may well look with pride. He tells us that "the number of new records deciphered and dealt with during this period was about 5,000, the number of Hindu, Jaina, and Muhammadan buildings visited and described more than 1,000, the number of coins dealt with about 4,100, and the number of palm-leaf manuscripts examined nearly 1,800", besides a vast amount of subsidiary work; and how well the work has been done, with what massive and exact scholarship the Rao Bahadur has laid the foundations for the history of Mysore, is known to all students. We bid him in his official capacity a sorrowful farewell, with the earnest hope that his leisure may be as fruitful in scholarly achievement as his previous career.

30. Bhārat-kē Prāchīn Rājavaṁś (Ancient Dynasties of India). By Viśvēśvarnāth Rēu. Vols. I, II. 7×5. Bombay, 1920–1.

One of the most promising features in the development of modern India is the growth of a spirit of historical research. This *purātattvânusandhitsā*, though it is still limited to a comparatively small band of scholars, and sometimes (as in Europe) is not quite as severely objective as stern criticism demands, is full of vitality, and has already produced fruits

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of high merit, which deserve sympathetic recognition by western students. Its literature, however, is nearly all in English, and hence the author of the present work has done wisely in writing in his native Hindi, for thereby he is sure to attract a larger number of his fellow-countrymen into the circle of his researches than if he had used English as his vehicle. The object of his book is to present in summary a history of the chief dynasties of ancient India as far as it can be determined, from inscriptions, charters, coins, and literary sources; and so far as the present volume goes, he has been thoroughly successful. He gives us in it accounts of the Western Kṣatrapas, the Haihayas or Kalachuris with their branch in Southern Kōsala and the later Kalachuryas of Kalyani, the Paramāras with their branches in Kiradu, Danta, Jalor, Malwa, Vagar, etc., the Pālas, the Sēnas, and the Chauhānas with their offshoots at Ranthambhor, Chhota Udaipur and Bariya, Nadol, Jalor, Deora, Dhaulpur, and Bharoch. He also gives lithographic plates of ancient alphabets, which, though rather lacking in finish, are fairly accurate; and a preface is contributed by Pandit Dēvīprasāda of Jodhpur. The second volume contains chapters on the Kali-yuga, the Mahābhārata and its date, and the early dynasties from the Śiśunāgas down to the seventh century of the Vikrama era, including separate studies of the Buddha, Mahāvīra, Śaśâṅka, Vikramâditya, and the Vikrama era, Kālidāsa, the antiquity of Indian writing (wherein the author champions the "patriotic" view, which does not convince us), and Indian historiography. Some of the English references might be more carefully printed: it needs a little effort of divination to recognize "Briggs's Ferishta" in "Brgg's Faritets" (i, p. 298). The phonetic transliteration of European names into Indian characters is likewise not very successful, Megasthenes appearing as *Maigesthanij*, Menander as *Minaiṇḍar*, and Eudemus as *Iyūḍīmas*.

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31. Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India. By Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{2}$, ii+viii+218 pp., 1 map, 2 plates. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1922.

The Kṣatriya clans described by Mr. Law are the Licchavis, Vidēhas, Mallas, Śākyas, Bulis, Kōliyas, Mōriyas, Bhaggas, and Kālāmas; and among these the Licchavis, as befits their aristocratic eminence, occupy out of a total of 218 pages 138 pages, which deal with their name and origin, their capital Vaiśālī, their manners and customs, religion, philosophical views, government, and political history, mainly from the references to them preserved in Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese literature. The other clans are treated similarly, in so far as the scantier materials permit. The book is useful as a painstaking collection of references, though from the standpoint of criticism it leaves something to be desired.

32. Sārnāth-kā Itihās. By Brindāvan Bhaṭṭāchārya. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5$, xii+177+xi pp.; 6 plates. Benares, 1922.

The author of this work has undertaken the task of narrating in High Hindi the history of the famous Buddhist sanctuary of Sarnath—the Isipatana-Migadāya of the Pali scriptures—from the earliest recorded times down to the present day, and he has accomplished it, on the whole, very well. Beginning with the Pali sources (in dealing with which he is not excessively critical), he proceeds to trace the fortunes of Sarnath through the centuries as indicated by the monuments and inscriptions found there, which attest the rule of Asōka, the Śuṅgas, Śakas, Kuṣanas, Guptas, and later monarchs. He then gives a sketch of the excavations made at Sarnath, which, beginning from the casual vandalism of Jagat Singh nearly 130 years ago, have gradually brought to light the ancient glories of the place; and this is followed by an account of its monuments and inscriptions and of its present condition. The plates are of rather mediocre quality, and on the one

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depicting Asōka's inscription the letters are almost invisible; but in most other respects the little book is good and useful.

33. Vedic Antiquities. By G. Jouveau-Dubreuil. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, 29 pp. Pondicherry, 1922.

This is a short account of the author's examination of some ancient rock-hewn graves in Malabar district, which appear to have preserved the characteristics of the Aryan tomb of the Vedic period, a hemispherical vault with a central pillar supporting it, which would seem to be also the fundamental design of the Buddhist *stūpa*; he connects this further with the Vedic house, and finds in the caves of Malabar even a survival of the Vedic *agnidhrīya*. Whatever the ultimate solution may be, Professor Dubreuil deserves our thanks for the vigour with which he has carried out his researches and the suggestive answers that he gives to these problems.

34. Vijaya Dharma Sūri: His life and work. By A. J. Sunavala, B.A., LL.B. With a prefatory note by F. W. Thomas. $7\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$, 85 pp. Cambridge.

This is a biography and appreciation of a remarkable man. Vijayadharma Sūri, by his combination of religious earnestness, force of personality, and learning, stands at the head of modern Jain teachers, and has done much to revive the spiritual and intellectual energies of his community. Not the least of his fine qualities is the broadminded scholarly spirit which enabled him to sympathize and collaborate with Western students in their researches in Jainism and its literature. Mr. Sunavala does full justice to his *nāyaka*.

35. British Bhārat-kā Ārthik Itihās. $7\frac{1}{8}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, xxii + 216 pp. Benares, 1922.

This book is an abridged Hindi translation, by Mr. Kesavadeo Sahariya, of the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *Economic History of British India*, and forms No. 16 of the *Jñāna-maṇḍala* series. The much-discussed question as to the merits of the latter work need not be reopened here;

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suffice it to say that the present volume furnishes a handy Hindi summary of about half the bulk of the original.

36. The History of the Bengali Language. By Bijaychandra Mazumdar. Published by the University of Calcutta. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xviii+298 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir. G. Grierson's theory of the origin of the Aryan vernaculars, he maintains their derivation from the Vedic language, and explains their variations as due to the influence of non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian; in particular, Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Māgadhī Prakrit, and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian speech. We must, however, confess that the philological method pursued by him is not always wholly satisfactory; undoubtedly many correct identifications are suggested, but on the whole his method of comparison is hardly adequate, many of the Dravidian words being wrongly spelt, and insufficient care being taken to trace modern words to their oldest forms. To us the most attractive chapters are ii–iv, on the names *Vaṅga* and *Bānglā*, the geography of ancient Bānglā with the connected regions, Gauḍa, Rāḍha, and Vaṅga (though here, also, many assertions are made that need proof), vi, on Bengali phonology, and vii–ix, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of especial value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive, and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali. The author has for several years suffered from total blindness; that he should have struggled so valiantly against his affliction and produced a work of so much merit must enlist for him the sympathy of his readers and to some extent disarm criticism.

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37. A Grammar of the Chhattisgarhi Dialect of Eastern Hindi. Originally written in Hindi by Hira Lal Kavyopadhyaya . . . and translated by Sir George A. Grierson. . . . Revised and enlarged by Pandit Lochan Prasad Kavya-vinod under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. 9×6, ix + 225 pp. Calcutta, 1921.

Although the literature of Chhattisgarhi is of no great age and contains nothing comparable to the great works found in some other kinds of Hindi speech, the dialect itself well deserves study. It is the chief tongue of a wide area, comprising the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur, and Drug, together with the fourteen feudatory States in the Chhattisgarhi district of the Central Provinces, and is a vigorous and interesting speech. The author of this grammar, being himself a native and a contributor to Chhattisgarhi literature, has been able to give a very clear sketch of the grammar of the language and also of its idioms, illustrating them by lively dialogues, proverbs, riddles, verses, and the stories of Rāma, Ḍhōlā, and Chandā. Except for a certain number of unimportant misprints and inexactitudes in transliteration, the book is well produced.

L. D. Barnett.

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## Recent Works on Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula

Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst. Door Dr. N. J. Krom. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7$. Vol. I: xiv + 414 pp., 42 plates, 1 map. Vol. II: xi + 338 pp., 58 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920.

The late head of the Archæological Department of the Dutch East Indies is to be heartily congratulated on the issue of this fine work, the outward appearance of which, with its admirable printing and beautiful illustrations, fitly matches the intrinsic value of its literary contents. We have here, for the first time, an adequate account of the development of Indo-Javanese art (i.e., in the main, architecture and

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sculpture), an art which, while undoubtedly originating from Indian inspiration, nevertheless evolved on lines of its own, into forms of great beauty, unsurpassed and perhaps unequalled in India proper, especially as regards the tasteful treatment of its decorative features.

The bulk of Dr. Krom's work consists of accurate and critical accounts of the individual monuments (mainly temples) in their general chronological order. But these are preceded by chapters on the history of archæological research in Java, the history of Java in its Hindu-Buddhist period, the religions illustrated by the monuments (i.e. mainly Sivaism and Mahayana Buddhism), the origin and technique of Javanese art, and other introductory matters, while the concluding chapters deal with the spread of this art eastwards and westwards, into Bali, Sumatra, etc., and with the minor department of metal work. Needless to say, the treatment of the historical part is up to date, and is remote *toto cælo* from the idle tissue of legends which passed for history in the time of Raffles, a century or more ago, and which still influences some English writers who have read Raffles but will not trouble to read Dutch. In chapter iii I note some very useful descriptions of the iconographical details of posture, emblems, etc., characteristic of the several Hindu divinities, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc. Bibliographical lists appended to most of the chapters facilitate the student's access to the large scattered literature that has accumulated on the subject of the Javanese monuments.

The author's general conclusions are summed up in asserting (1) the essential unity of Javanese art, and (2) its relative freedom, within certain wide limits, of development according to the desires of the individual artists.

PERAK MALAY. (Papers on Malay Subjects: Second Series.) By C. C. BROWN. $10\frac{1}{2}\times7$, xv+106 pp. Calcutta: published for the Committee for Malay Studies, Federated Malay States, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1921.

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Texts as materials for the study of the local Malay dialects of the Malay Peninsula have long been a *desideratum*, and here we have an excellent beginning, consisting of twenty-nine dialogues in Perak Malay, racy of the soil, with Standard Malay and English versions added by Mr. Brown, who is also responsible for nine of the originals. The rest were written for him by local Malays, including amongst others the Sultan of the State, so there can be no doubt as to their representative character. Mr. Brown's introduction explaining the peculiarities of the Perak dialect is also very valuable, but suffers from ambiguity in some of its phonetic statements. For example, we are left in doubt whether the *r* in such dialectic pronunciations as *dĕngor*, *dangor* (p. xii), and *pikior* (p. xiii) is really an *r* at all, or (if so) what kind of *r*. To say that the final syllables of these words rhyme with "for" (or "yore") does not settle the point: is the reference to Southern English, or some other, pronunciation? If the former (which has no final *r* sound), how is that to be reconciled with an alleged similar pronunciation of *kĕdĕngoran* (where, surely, there is a real *r*)? And if a pronunciation with a genuine final *r* really is intended, does such sound actually occur in *dangor* (= Standard *dangau*)? It seems improbable. In the representation of dialects, phonetic precision is a primary essential.

Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums. Band xvi. Celebes. I. Süd-Celebes. Erster Teil. Von Dr. H. H. Juynboll. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+145 pp., 10 plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922.

This volume continues the admirable catalogue of the riches of the Dutch Ethnographical Museum and illustrates the material culture, arts and crafts, etc., of the Bugis and Macassar peoples of Southern Celebes.

Wir Menschen der Indonesischen Erde. II. Der Sinn für das Wahre, Gute und Schöne in der indonesischen

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Volksseele. Von RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. $8\frac{3}{4}\times 6$, 27 pp. Luzern: E. Haag, 1922.

In this second part of the above-named monograph Dr. Brandstetter pursues, with his usual acumen and scholarship, the study of the psychological attitude of the primitive Indonesians towards ethical and aesthetic concepts, so far as it can be inferred from an investigation of their languages and literatures. It is unnecessary to emphasize the amount of learning and research involved in the making of this little work: the examples are drawn from a large number of Indonesian languages, and the analogies with parallel phenomena in the Indo-European family are of great interest.

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VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN. By H. KERN. 9 vols., $9\frac{3}{4}\times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x+319, viii+320, viii+323, viii+344, viii+323, viii+319 (with three folding tabular forms and four epigraphic facsimiles), viii+320 (with 1 map, 2 plates, 1 folding and 24 other epigraphic facsimiles), viii+324 (with 1 folding facsimile of MS.), viii+316. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913–20.

It is impossible for any one person to do justice to the multifarious contents of these fine volumes: the late Professor Kern's versatility altogether precludes any such attempt as that, for he was familiar with an enormous number of different subjects. To speak first of languages, Sanskrit, Pali, ancient and modern Javanese, Malay, and a large number of the languages of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia were at his fingers' ends, and he wrote about them with apparently equal facility and almost equal precision and elegance in Dutch, French, English, and German. His translations from Russian and his citations from ancient Irish and from Hungarian (to mention only these) testify to his wide acquaintance with the languages of Europe as well. But his work was by no means exclusively linguistic. The ancient Indian literatures,

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philosophies, and religions, especially Buddhism, were favourite subjects for his handling, the science and art of epigraphy was a tool that he wielded with uncommon skill, and his intimate acquaintance with Indian prosody stood him in good stead in the critical editing of metrical texts.

In several of these departments of research he was a pioneer, and it may be doubted whether anyone else, even in such a long lifetime as he enjoyed, could have done so much original work on so many different lines as he was able to accomplish. It is quite out of the question that I should even attempt to appraise all these various achievements : it would require the joint efforts of a fairly large committee of specialists to do anything of the kind at all adequately. For the most part I must confine myself to a bare mention of some of the more important contents of these volumes, particularly in so far as they lie outside the limited sphere of my own studies. Such, for example, in vols. i and ii are the translations of the *Yogayātrā* and *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, two works of a more or less astrological character (with a preface to the second one in vol. iv), besides a number of essays and miscellaneous papers on Indian subjects ; in vol. iii certain Sanskrit inscriptions of Camboja which Kern was the first to identify as such and to decipher, thereby opening out a path for the French scholars who so ably followed him ; and in vols. vi and vii a number of Sanskrit inscriptions of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo.

Of his great work in contributing to the foundations of Indonesian comparative philology I have already had occasion to speak in this *Journal* (Jan., 1918, pp. 183–4), and to avoid repetition I merely refer to those pages, though they do not profess to give anything like an exhaustive statement of the results achieved by Kern in this important line of research. He supplemented the dissertations there alluded to by a number of other articles and papers, and in copious notes on various texts and inscriptions he continually contributed fresh material towards the building up of the comparative philology of the Austronesian family of languages. With this great

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work his name will always remain associated as a pioneer and co-founder. I can only mention here his valuable *De Fidji-taal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië* (in vols. iv and v), *Taalvergelijkende verhandeling over het Aneityumsch. Met een Aanhangsel over het klankstelsel van het Eromanga* (vol. v), *Over de verhouding van het Nufoorsch tot de Maleisch-Polynesische talen, Klankwisseling in de Maleisch-Polynesische talen, Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische volken, Sawuneesche Bijdragen,* and *Over de taal der Jotăfa's aan de Humboldt-baai* (vol. vi). These and his shorter contributions constitute an ordered mass of materials in support of the conclusions which he drew from them with an acuteness and sobriety of judgment that was all his own.

Kern's epigraphic work includes a number of inscriptions in Old Javanese (vols. vi and vii) and also a non-Javanese inscription of the seventh century, being nearly the oldest dated record in any Indonesian tongue. It is in a language closely akin to Malay, but contains many peculiar forms and a good deal that even its learned editor could not interpret. Among the Old Javanese texts (other than inscriptions) with translations and notes contained in these volumes, special mention must be made of the *Wṛtta-Sañcaya* (vol. ix), a treatise on prosody in the form of a poem embodying a romantic story. It was originally published as long ago as 1875 with the text in the Javanese character, but appears here in a Romanized version. The work is of interest both as a specimen of Old Javanese and as illustrating many metres, of which some have apparently not been found in Indian literature. Kern's grammatical notes on Old Javanese (in vols. viii and ix) were unfortunately never completed. They remain as a sure foundation for further work on that difficult subject, but it will be no easy matter to find a scholar who is fully competent to raise the missing superstructure and finish the plan in its entirety.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting item of this great



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collection is the Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (vols. vii and viii) to the translating of which Kern devoted the greater part of the last years of his life. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* dates from A.D. 1365, and its language, while not so archaic as that of the early Javanese inscriptions, presents many difficulties, particularly as there is only one MS. of it, which in a good many places is clearly corrupt. It is, however, a most important historical document. The light which it throws on social, political, and religious conditions in the Java of the fourteenth century makes it an invaluable record. We see portrayed before us a social structure organized as a feudalized monarchy, permeated with the Indian system of caste, and under the all-pervading influence of two great Indian religions, Hinduism and Mahayanist Buddhism. The syncretism and mutual tolerance of the two creeds went so far that several of the Javanese kings lived and died as avowed adherents of both religions. The country was full of the shrines and monasteries of the two faiths, all being equally in the enjoyment of State protection and patronage. Some of the Buddhist sites were in the possession of the regular monks (*kawinayan*), others were held by a kind of secular clergy of the Tantric school (*kabajradharan*). The Hindu sacred places included the seats of Brahman ascetics (*karĕsyan*) and of Vaishnava and Śaiva votaries.

There is a curious account of a *śrāddha* ceremony held at the capital in 1362, which seems to have partaken of some of the characteristics of a spiritualistic séance; and a highly conventionalized description of a royal hunting expedition, wherein the beasts are pictured as meeting in council under the chairmanship of their king (*mṛgendra*, here, no doubt, the tiger) in order to decide what tactics they are to adopt.

As is generally known, the poem contains a long list of countries overseas which the Javanese monarch claimed as his vassals, besides others with which he had friendly relations, and there are notices of traders and ecclesiastics coming to Java from various parts of India and Indo-China:

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Jambudwīpa Kamboja Cina Yawana len Cĕmpa Karṇṇāṭakādi Goḍa mwang Syangka." We have also many topographical details relating to the capital, Majapahit, and to Eastern Java in general, the latter being mainly in connexion with several tours made by the king in various years. There is a good deal of information about the several members of the royal family; and the history of the country from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century is illustrated by many particulars amending, confirming, or amplifying the information derivable from the later prose chronicle known as the Pararaton.

The author, whose name (or title) Prapañca harmonizes well with the prolixity of his style, was a Mahayanist Buddhist holding a high position in the hierarchy and was apparently also a kind of poet laureate. His poem illustrates a wealth of Indian metres and overflows with words of Sanskrit origin. Artificial as the work is, it betokens a refined and elaborate literary culture and is a striking example of the way in which Indian models were imitated by the mediaeval Javanese. In view of its importance, the labour devoted to its elucidation by its learned translator must be regarded as well spent.

I pass over many minor articles, merely adding that the collection has been brought up to date by the addition of new footnotes from the hand of the author, and since his lamented death to some extent by annotations made by the editor, and that the volumes are admirably printed and got up. The only thing I regret is that there are not more epigraphic facsimiles and that those which are given do not always reproduce the whole text of the record which is dealt with.

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VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN. Tiende Deel. By H. KERN. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vii + 324 pp., 1 MS. facsimile plate. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1922.

The contents of this volume of Professor Kern's writings consist of various studies on Old and Modern Javanese

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literature and on the languages and scripts of the Philippines. The most valuable, perhaps, are *De legende van Kuñjarakarṇa*, the Dutch translation of Cantos I–VI of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Eene Indische sage in Javaansch gewaad*. But the lists of Sanskrit loanwords in the Tagala and Bisaya languages should also be of interest to the Indianist as evidence of the eastward spread of Indian civilization.

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Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd im westlichen Hinterindien. Von Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern. (Sonderabdruck aus Band li der Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.) $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, 36 pp., 1 map (in the text). Wien: Im Selbstverlage der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1921.

The author discusses, and disposes of, the supposed intimate relation between matriarchy and headhunting in the Assam-Burma region, and utters a salutary warning against the too readily made assumption that aggregates of cultural elements necessarily form a genuine unitary complex of a coherent and consistent kind. As he points out, it may well be that their several elements represent importations brought in at different periods (and, it may be added, from different quarters), and having no essential connexion with one another. This (amongst others) is a question that lies at the root of anthropological method, and the mere layman may venture to doubt whether the new school of cultural anthropology has yet discovered a sure and certain foundation of first principles.

C. O. Blagden.

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Buddha in der Abendländischen Legende. By Heinrich Günter. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 306 pp. Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1922.

The author of this interesting work, well known by his researches on the Christian legends of the Middle Ages, is himself no indologist; but he is remarkably well read in the literature dealing with Buddhist lore, and has, moreover, had

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the assistance of two most distinguished scholars, Professors Garbe and Hertel. The scope of the work is a wide one: the author has carefully sifted the Apocryphal Gospels, the Physiologus, the whole of the mediaeval legends and lives of the saints, etc., as regards possible influences from the Far East. The results are nearly wholly negative, as to him Barlaam and Joasaph remains the one undeniable example of Buddhist tradition in Western garb.[1] They are, unfortunately, far too negative, and there seems to be little reason to look upon them as in any way conclusive.

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ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, IN INDIA. By F. A. D'CRUZ. $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$, 70 pp., 24 plates. Madras: Hoe & Co., 1922.

This is a vigorous attempt to uphold the tradition according to which St. Thomas was martyred at Mailāpur in South India. Unfortunately anything like proofs of the authenticity of this time-honoured tradition are not forthcoming, and the whole problem remains a matter of faith rather than one of scientific research. All that can be said is that if there were to be any hope of progress the investigation would have to follow lines wholly different from those adopted by the author of this little book.

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THE MADHYAMA VYĀYOGA. A drama composed by the Poet BHĀSA; translated from the original Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. ERNEST PAXTON JANVIER. $9\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{3}{4}$, 44 pp. Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1921.

A notice of this pamphlet will chiefly be of interest as a contribution to the rapidly increasing Bhāsa bibliography. By itself the work is rather insignificant; the introduction offers little of interest, and there are several slips in the translation and notes.

[1] The author apparently has not noticed the recent theory of M. Alfaric on Barlaam having reached the West by Manichæan transmission.

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TALES OF OLD SIND. By C. A. KINCAID. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 140 pp., 8 plates. Oxford: University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1922.

This nicely printed and well-illustrated volume gives a translation of fourteen tales, only one of which seems to have been formerly made known to English readers. As the author himself points out, they are of different origin, some of them belonging to the Panjāb and Rājputāna rather than to Sind. The student would, perhaps, have welcomed a somewhat more detailed information concerning the sources of these tales; but, quite apart from this, it is only fair to admit that Mr. Kincaid has here given us a pleasant and by no means unimportant contribution to Hindu folk-lore.

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DES VIŚVANĀTHA PAÑCĀNANA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA KĀRIKĀVALĪ MIT DES VERFASSERS EIGENEM KOMMENTAR SIDDHĀNTAMUKTĀVALĪ AUS DEM SANSKRIT ÜBERSETZT. Von OTTO STRAUSS. 9×6, xi+133 pp. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1922. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XVI: 1.)

In his preface Dr. Strauss tells us that in preparing this translation he was at one time able to consult a Calcutta pundit but that, owing to the outbreak of the war, he had to give up his work for an indefinite time. In spite of these difficulties, and though he has unfortunately not been able to get his own extensive notes printed together with the translation, it seems obvious that he has given us a very useful and trustworthy translation of Viśvanātha's Kārikāvalī and its commentary. He has put it as his goal to give a German text which, carefully studied, would give the student a fair idea of the Sanskrit original, and it may at once be admitted that he has succeeded very well in this. It is to be hoped that he may be able to publish his notes on the text later on.

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THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY'S PALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and WILLIAM STEDE. Pt. I (A); II (Ā–O). $11\frac{1}{2}\times9\frac{1}{4}$, 174 pp. Chipstead, Surrey: Published by the Pali Text Society, 1921–2.

The need for a new, up-to-date dictionary of the Pāli language has for years been more and more sorely felt by all students in the field of Buddhism, Indian languages, etc. The work of Childers still remains an admirable one, and some of his achievements are perhaps not to be superseded or have, at any rate, not yet been superseded; but the fact that such a vast amount of Pāli literature, only a diminutive part of which was known to Childers, has during recent times been made accessible to students makes it more or less an impossibility to pursue researches in Pāli with the single aid of that dictionary, be it ever so excellent.

Several efforts in the direction of a new lexicographical survey of the Pāli language seem to have been made by various scholars, efforts that have, for one reason or another, come to nothing. It was therefore with the greatest satisfaction that students greeted the issue during the autumn of 1921 of the first part of *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* under the chief editorship of Professor Rhys Davids, whose fame as one of the main authorities on Pāli lore is too well established to be dwelt upon here even with one word. With laudable speed this fascicle was followed within less than a year by a second one, which brought to an end the Pāli words beginning with vowels.

That all available sources of Pāli lexicography have been thoroughly sifted by Professor Rhys Davids and his assistant, Dr. Stede, there is little reason to doubt, and one may feel well convinced that no objections as to the completeness of the work can reasonably be raised. One might perhaps have hoped that some more light would have been shed on certain dubious passages in the Pāli scriptures, but such a suggestion cannot be taken for a criticism as the present writer is not prepared to state to what extent that would really have been

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possible. Anyhow, it seems quite obvious that this dictionary offers to the student a means of safe guidance through the tangled mass of works composed by the Ceylonese Buddhists.

There is, however, one objection to this dictionary that ought to be strongly emphasized, and that concerns the etymological part of the work. We learn from the preface (p. viii) that this belongs to the domain of Dr. Stede; and considering the works of which, according to the bibliography, he has availed himself in achieving his task, the way in which it has been achieved may perhaps appear to be less astonishing. The books consulted in reference to Sanskrit are Aufrecht's edition of *Halāyudha*, Uhlenbeck's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, which should certainly be used by no critical scholar, and Grassman's *Rig-Veda Dictionary*; together with Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik* and Walde's *Etymological Dictionary of Latin*, which are both admirable works but give little of Sanskrit except the household and partly incorrect store of etymologies; these are the sources from which Dr. Stede has drawn his main information concerning the vastest and etymologically most ill-treated of Indo-European languages. The absence of a Sanskrit grammar and dictionary from the bibliography would mean nothing if well-nigh every page of the work did not witness that they have, incredible as it may sound, apparently not been used.

The result is that the etymological part of a great number of articles is such that it ought not to appear in any scholarly work, leave alone a dictionary of this scope and importance. Lack of space prevents me from going into details; but articles like *abbhuta*, *abhijjhālŭ*, *amacca*, *ābhassara*, *āluka*[2], *ucca*, *ussoḷhi*, etc., are certainly amazing, to use a very moderate expression. A discussion like that given under *ogamana* (cf. also *otāra* and *ovaraka*) can be of no use whatever, and one feels somewhat bewildered to learn that *āracayāracayā* (if that be the correct reading) is "a gerund or ablative form". To those who feel it somewhat difficult to share the optimistic views of Professor Rhys Davids (p. vii) concerning a second

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edition of the work this state of matters seems rather a pitiful one.

The amount of misprints is unproportionally high, and they are sometimes of an art to make them somewhat puzzling even to the advanced student.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT (ẔAFAR UL-WÁLIH BI MUẔAFFAR WA ÁLIH). By 'ABDALLÁH MUḤAMMAD BIN 'OMAR AL-MAKKÍ, AL-ÁṢAFÍ, ULUGHKHÁNÍ. Edited from the unique and autograph copy in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Sir E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. Vol. II. xxxviii + 393–852 pp. Indian Texts Series. London: John Murray, 1921.

This volume is divided into two parts, of which the first contains the history of Gujarāt under its last two Sultans, Aḥmad and Muẓaffar, and the conquest of the country by the Emperor Akbar in the year 980/1572, while the second is a general history of Muḥammadan India from the time of Muḥammad ibn Sām to the accession of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq in the year 721. The second of these two parts is by far the less important. It is based almost entirely on the *Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī* and Baranī's *Ta'rīkh i Fīrūzshāhī*, and seems to furnish little, if any, new information. The first part, however, is a contemporary narrative of which nearly every page supplements and elucidates the information previously available. Even if much of this story of warring nobles in the reigns of two boy kings is only relatively important, and if the multitude of *dramatis personæ*, the complexity of their inter-relations, and the unrevised state of the author's manuscript render it by no means easy or attractive reading, the work is nevertheless of considerable interest and well deserves the honour of publication in the Indian Texts Series.

The editor's Introduction is a valuable aid to the study of the work, and, in particular, the six pages devoted to summary

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accounts of the chief title-holders are so useful as to justify the expression of a hope that the Index of Personal Names will be compiled on the same lines. These six pages are not indeed entirely free from the fault of conflation which Sir Clive Bayley and Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi frequently committed. Thus Shīr Khān, the boy king Aḥmad's boy wazīr, has been wrongly identified with Wajīh al-Mulk, the wazīr of I'timād Khān, while the reduction of three persons named Jhūjhār Khān to two has rendered the statements concerning Bilāl Jhūjhār Khān, who died in 953, not 966, largely incorrect. It may be added that Ṣafar Salmānī was not called Sa'īd Ṣafar Salmānī, that Muḥammad Khayrat Khān seems to have no claim to the title of Sayyid which is ascribed to him on p. xvii, and that by a misprint the death of 'Imād al-Mulk Aṣlān Rūmī is said on p. xv to have occurred in 969 instead of 966. Here and elsewhere in the Introduction more frequent references to the passages in the Arabic text on which the editor's statements are based would have been desirable.

In preparing his text on the basis of the autograph manuscript the editor has very properly "aimed at reproducing the author's words just as" he "found them". That is to say, he has not altered grammatical irregularities or removed inconsistencies of spelling. It does not, of course, mean that he has refrained from emendation or from inserting diacritic points and occasional short vowels, but until the appearance of the *apparatus criticus*, which will form part of volume iii, there will be no means of discovering precisely to what extent the manuscript text has been altered or emended. Misprints, in spite of the unfavourable circumstances in which, as the editor tells us, the proofs were corrected, do not seem to be very abnormally numerous except in the form of wrong division of words, an error which occurs with surprising frequency. Corrections of some misprints, as well as a few notes and conjectural emendations, are appended :—

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Page 392, line 3, وَلَدَهُ. 394, 1, يأمر : يزالا به. 394, 12, من دار. 395, 7, آبائه. 395, 20, مُرّهُ يحمل : فرس. 396, 9, فغارق. 396, 12, الرأى. 396, 21, وكمن. 397, 10, . . . نأخذ. 398, 4, ونقيمه. . . . ونكون. 401, 3, وضيّعه. 401, 4, تبتّاه. 402, 24, لذى. 405, 5, ترجّل. 405, 6, وتشمّر. 405, 13, حجم. 405, 14, المؤذنة. 407, 16, ناهز. 413, 16, مَحاله. 413, 17, بدا. 417, 6, تستكمله. 418, 21, رجاله. 418, 22, طرقتهم. 419, 4, يريده. 425, 10, يصل. 426, 12, أكان. 426, 17, مضايقه. 429, 1, فَرَّ مِنّ. 429, 2, فتعانق. 429, 9, للسيد. 430 ult. فيم [اذًا]. 439, 20, انهضم. 440, 21, ينشأ. 442, 22, حال. 446, 22, شائبًا. 449, 20, omit (*sic*). 450 ult. عذرًا. 451, 13, (?) آخرها. 451, 22, للجماعة. 456, 18, برقع يبرق, cf. 459, 7, 11. 457, 8, سلوكا ; رأيه. 461, 1, برت. 461, 4, ارتفعت. 461, 12 (?) على الارض. 464, 10, عالٍ. 465, 11, a word seems to have dropped out after الا أن. 467, 7, this verse should properly begin with the words اهمّ بأمر الحزم ; cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl* (Cairo, 1310), ii, 29. 470, 15, اصبر. 471, 23, السرج. 473, 2, يقال. 481, 2, اجدع ; cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, ii, 168. 482, 13, من ذات [النحيين] ; cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, i, 255. 569, 19, يشاء [كان ?]. 571, 14, ذُكِروا لِحَيّ ; cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1434, 10. 572, 16, these verses will be found in *al-Isti'āb*, 167. 639, 7, (?) السنتَيْن. 641, 21, لم توجد. 643, 10, والله. 645, 4, شأن اولئك ; cf. 675, 3 a.f., 852, 15. 651, 8, زَرْقاء (a blue sky). 655, 1, (?) ما يتصلّب به. 670 ult., insert آمنًا after زبنا ; cf. *Qur'ān*, iii, 46. 678, 13, مَضْجَعًا. 680, 5, insert [معركة] before انجلت. 682, 22, الموذن (without tashdīd). 683, 16, وكُلِمَ أَهَمُّ اكابر البلد (?) ولا حَرَجَ. 692 ult. التمثّل. 709, 1, "and the chief nobles were wounded". This appears to be an

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incorrect rendering of the words وحوالی شهر همه خراب گشت in the *Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī*. 717, 15, التغرير. 718, 13, وكان قريب العهد من الكامن seems to be meaningless. If for الكامن we read الكُفْر ("he had recently been converted from heathenism") we obtain a sense which is appropriate in this context. 720, 13, وبالهرب. 729, 2, للكمال. 729, 3, كان امرد. 729, 18, اجترأتُ. 735, 8, للمماثلة. 735, 10, يخلو جسد. 735, 21, يستخفّه. 735, 22, وبمثلهما. 738 ult. وانتقاء. 736, 1, (?) الجديدة. 744, 18, فلِمْ لا تُسْبِلُ (metre!). 748, 18, أَنْفِقْ. 754, 13, شِنْشِنَتُها. 760, 5, جَلَلٌ. 766, 13, يأسًا "in despair of finding food". 767, 2, دأب. 767, 6, النصيحة.

C. A. Storey.

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(1) Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the years 1916–17, 1917–18, 1918–19. With 11 plates. Government Press, Allahabad, 1921.

(2) Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Nizam's Dominions, 1918–19. With 4 plates. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1920.

(3) Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 12: Astronomical Instruments in the Delhi Museum. By G. R. Kaye. With 5 plates. Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta, 1921.

(4) Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort. By J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D. With 80 plates. Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta.

These four comparatively recent publications all bear witness to the many-sided and interesting activities of archæological workers in various parts of India. It is true that no startling discoveries, antiquarian or epigraphical, are chronicled, but there is abundant evidence of general and

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steady progress carried out on sound and careful lines, which is both gratifying and reassuring. The first volume gives an account of operations during a period of three years when war conditions prevailed and funds were limited, but it is clear that a good deal of useful work was done, not merely in such well-known historic centres as Agra, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Delhi, and Lahore, but in other localities, to arrest the deterioration of important buildings and to improve their immediate surroundings. Continuous progress has also been made in the collecting of interesting inscriptions. The excellent photographic plates at the end of the report illustrate very clearly what has been done by way of restoration or conservation in several places, especially at the Shaikhupura tank, the Dhakri-ka-Mahall tomb near Sikandara, and the mausoleum of Baha-uddin at Fatehpur-Sikri.

The belated report from Hyderabad relates only to one year and the actual letterpress barely covers ten pages, though the appendices and plates help to make the fasciculus more bulky. This report contains an interesting description of the Quṭb Shâhî buildings in Hyderabad city and its suburbs. The chief of these are the Châr Mînâr, the Châr Kamân, and the Jâmi' Masjid, which is shown by an inscription to have been built by Muhammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh in 1006 A.H. (A.D. 1597). A good deal of money has been spent recently by the Nizam in conserving monuments of the past at Ajanta and Bidar. As the lengthy correspondence published in the first appendix shows, there seems every hope that the famous frescoes in the Ajanta caves will by this time have been subjected to a process of cleaning and preservation at the hands of specially chosen Italian experts and that they will all soon be available in photographic reproductions made by the best three-colour process.

The third of these publications furnishes a very full and interesting account of three astrolabes and a brass celestial sphere, which have recently been acquired by purchase and

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added to the Delhi Museum. The sphere bears the name of the maker and the date A.H. 1087 (A.D. 1676–7), but the astrolabes have no details of this kind engraved on them. Mr. Kaye gives detailed and convincing reasons for assigning the two older astrolabes, which are of very delicate and elaborate workmanship, to the years A.D. 1280 and 1495 approximately. The star-catalogues on them are in the Kufic and Naskhi Arabic characters respectively. The first contains a list of twenty-nine stars, all of which but two are clearly identifiable with well-known modern stars. The second originally gave the latitudes of sixteen stars, but the names of two are not now legible. The third astrolabe is inscribed with Devanagari characters, and is much more crudely constructed. Its date cannot be calculated by means of precession, but Mr. Kaye is of opinion on general grounds that it is not earlier than the end of the seventeenth century. The star list on it contains twenty-two stars, but eight of these are not identifiable with any degree of certainty.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Kaye has only given transliterations of the Arabic names of the stars on the first two astrolabes and the longer list containing eighty-one names, which is given in Arabic on the celestial sphere. Such words as 'Unq, Â'zal, Wâq'î, Tâîr, Qâîd (all three with long î), Yamânîh, Shâmîh, show that his transliterations cannot be relied on, and the glossary at the end contains many inconsistencies and errors.

The fourth and last volume is, as its high price indicates, of a much more elaborate and ambitious type. The main bulk of the work consists of a very fine series of coloured plates reproducing specimens of the enamelled tilework found on the wall of the imperial palace at Lahore, where a wall-space of nearly 500 yards in length and 16 yards in height has been covered with tile mosaics. What makes the work of unique interest is the fact that in addition to foliated and geometrical designs a great number of the panels, in defiance of the tenets of Islam, exhibit figures of human beings as well as of animals.

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There is an admirable introduction, covering fifty-five pages, in which Indian tilework in general, the history of the Lahore fort, and the question of the date of these tile mosaics are discussed in detail. The conclusion arrived at is that these mosaics belong to the decade 1620–30, i.e. the end of Jahangir's reign and the beginning of that of Shahjahan, and that the pictures described by Finch, who visited Lahore in 1611, were frescoes inside one of the palace buildings. This last fact is clear from Finch's own narrative, which is quoted in full with its quaint perversions of proper names (e.g. Mocrow Bowcan for Muqarrab Khan, and Caun John for Khan Jahan). There has, in fact, been a curious silence about these tile mosaics in the writings of travellers and residents in India. Even in India at the present day they have hitherto attracted very little attention. This sumptuous reproduction of many of the most interesting panels will, no doubt, help to make them more widely known and appreciated.

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A LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BURMA. PART I: THE LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR DATES. Compiled and edited by CHAS. DUROISELLE, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma Circle. Superintendent Government Printing, Rangoon, 1921. Price Rs. 6.

This book of 216 pages is simply a classified list of the inscriptions found in Burma, which have already been published in a corpus of Burmese inscriptions, consisting of six enormous volumes. It is thus merely an ancillary book of reference. Part II of the same work, which will consist of an index of the names of persons, places, and monuments occurring in the six volumes of inscriptions and also in the three volumes of the Mhan-nan Yâzawin, will be published later on. Nearly all the inscriptions are of a dedicatory nature. In Mr. Duroiselle's short introduction stress is laid on the fact that Burma is very rich in lithic inscriptions, and that

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epigraphs are found in no less than eight languages, bu really there are only three languages which are employed with any frequency. Tamil and Chinese only occur once each, and in the whole of Burma only two Siamese inscriptions have been found. There is no complete inscription in Sanskrit in Burma proper. Most of the Pyu inscriptions are either illegible or mere names inscribed on funeral urns. The Môn inscriptions only number forty-eight, Môn, better known as Talaing, being the language of the people who inhabited Lower Burma when that country was annexed by King Anorata of Pagan in 1057.

The great bulk of the inscriptions, amounting to 1,457, are in Burmese, or Pali, or in these two languages combined. They are described by Mr. Duroiselle as being a rich mine of data concerning Buddhism, history, the growth of national institutions, and the gradual development of the language, but he admits that the method adopted in publishing the inscriptions, which have not only been transcribed in modern Burmese characters, but had their spelling altered and modernized, has deprived them of a good deal of their philological value.

R. P. Dewhurst.

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An Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton. By Norman M. Penzer. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xvi + 351 pp., 24 plates. London: A. M. Philpot, 1923.

This sumptuous volume is worthy of its subject, and that is saying much. It is a bibliography which realizes an ideal seldom, if ever, reached. It is, indeed, more than a bibliography, for it presents us not only with the results of Burton's literary activity, but with the man himself. Nothing is omitted, and the scrupulous accuracy with which the work has been compiled is astonishing. Even those who knew Burton well will realize from it as they never did before the extraordinary extent of his knowledge, the multifariousness of his interests, and the brilliancy of his work.

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Like many other geniuses, Burton lived before his time and suffered accordingly. His insight enabled him to reach conclusions which conflicted with the orthodox theories of the day, and consequently were not accepted until their author was forgotten or ignored. Too independent to repeat the words or reflect the ideas of others where they seemed to him to conflict with the truth, and too honest to remain silent where he deemed it his duty to speak, it is not wonderful that there was friction between him and the bureaucrats of red-tapeism, or that the reward of his work was to be sent to some remote and insanitary corner of the earth "to die". But instead of dying he usually managed to discover new facts and make additions to science in his place of exile. Dr. Grenfell Baker says truly, in his preface, that "each of Burton's books was composed with the sole object of recording every single item of necessary information concerning the subject treated, and that, too, without regard to whether by so doing he would or would not please or offend any particular section of his readers".

I was first brought into personal relation with Burton by my review in the *Academy* of his *Etruscan Bologna*, which was the commencement of a friendship that lasted to his death. The book was a good illustration of Burton's versatility and, at the same time, his power of quickly grasping a subject. The subject was new to English readers, and the book was thrown off by its author merely as a sort of appendix to a tour in Italy. But it presented in a clear and readable form the results of excavations which were still in progress, as well as the conclusions which were to be derived from them, and the facts hidden in Italian periodicals were presented to the English reader in an attractive dress.

Mr. Penzer is hard upon Burton's biographers, and their errors and inaccuracies, and in some cases conscious bias, lay them justly open to attack. But it must be remembered in Lady Burton's case that she honestly endeavoured to shield her husband's memory from what she believed to be aspersions



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on his character. She had persuaded herself that the mar Masses she had caused to be said for his conversion had really ended in fulfilment, even though Burton himself was unconscious of the fact, and that so long as she could convince the world and herself that he was what her spiritual adviser declared he ought to be, minor inaccuracies were of little consequence. He once said to me: "Whenever we settle in a new place my wife asks me for money to pay for Masses for my conversion, and, of course, I let her have it; it pleases her and does not hurt me."

One of the features of Mr. Penzer's bibliography is that he gives the sale-prices of Burton's books from the date of publication up to the present day. In most cases they have changed but little, indicating but little change in their scientific estimation; it is only books like the *Arabian Nights* where there has been a marked rise. As to the relation between Burton's translation of the "Nights" and that of Payne, to which Mr. Penzer refers, Burton told me that he had been in correspondence with Payne—I believe his words were "constant correspondence"—and that a translation adopted by the one or the other was sometimes the result of mutual agreement. He further told me that he considered Payne too much inclined to a "smoothly modern" style.

It goes without saying that Mr. Penzer's work embodies a vast amount of minute and conscientious labour as well as expenditure of time. Its usefulness is much increased by an elaborate index.

A. H. Sayce.

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Arabia. By D. G. Hogarth. 7 × 5, 139 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

This is a history of Arabia from our earliest knowledge to quite recent times. The subject does not seem to have been treated as a whole in this way in any book that has appeared before.

Mr. Hogarth, who evidently writes with thorough

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knowledge, probably had the modern history chiefly in view, but he does justice to the other parts of his topic. He gives a skilfully drawn and well-balanced outline, bringing out the main features of the narrative and suppressing needless details. His book is full of information, and is interesting and readable besides being valuable as a work of reference. The map of Arabia is a good one.

One or two misprints have escaped correction, e.g. Khuhaa (Khuzaa), Ghavri (Ghauri).

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THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN, KNOWN AS THE FUTŪḤ MIṢR OF IBN 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM. Edited by CHARLES C. TORREY. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 369+65. Humphrey Milford; and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922.

Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam was an Egyptian Arab. His work, composed in the middle of the ninth century of our era and now published complete for the first time, is one of the earliest Arab histories that have reached us. The range of the subjects included is wider even than the title indicates, and there may be noticed a considerable section devoted to those of the companions of the Prophet who entered Egypt, with some of their reminiscences of him.

The book is almost entirely a compilation of traditions, the isnâds of which are given. It contains a great deal of valuable historical information, and as regards the conquest of Egypt in particular, it preserves a large proportion of all that is left of the Arab tradition. As a local history it not infrequently gives details about the Arabs that are of considerable general interest, for similar particulars concerning minor matters relating to them at the period are rarely to be found elsewhere, at least on equally good authority. A certain number of the traditions are fabulous, some are weak and wrong. The book leaves an impression of confusion and want of judgment on the part of the compiler, and one feels that he ought to have managed to make up something much

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clearer and better out of the materials that must have been available to him. The genuine merits of the history are liable to be obscured by its obvious defects. It is a historical source of importance.

Professor Torrey produces an excellent edition. The text is based on four MSS., one of them a particularly good one. The many difficulties which it presents are dealt with ably and with accurate knowledge, and the more closely it is examined the more evident becomes the amount of care, learning, and research that has been devoted to the readings. The printing is extremely clear and good, and misprints are commendably few. There is a full introduction, and words and expressions of interest, of which a considerable number occur, are explained in a useful glossary.

Very few suggestions on the text can be offered, but the following may be hazarded for what they are worth, if only to show that due attention has been given to the examination of the book:—

Page 72, 11, الأَنزال; 83, 2, يرى مَنْ وَلِيَهم; 98, 5, 11, probably اثيناس; 103, 19, هَدْم; 108, 4, الرَمْية; 116, 4, جازوا; 116, 7; 121, 7, 19, جرًّا, cf. 122, 2, يجرّك for يُخرجك; 126, 7, يافع; 126, 8, مَوْهِب; 152, 17, see Khiṭ. Wiet, 1, 323, for the readings of this important and much discussed passage; عرفاء can hardly be right; 176, 5, أَوْ تَرْقُوَتِه, and delete وَتَر from glossary; 182, 14, شِقّي; 209, 5, غَرقوا; 224, 2, الوَرَع; 229, 13, الفَتْرَة.

For the place-names اخنا, قربيط, read أَجنا, فربيط (see

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Maspero and Wiet, Geographie), and for لَبْدة read لِبْدة (Qâmûs, i, 332), in spite of Yâqût.

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THE BOOK OF RELIGION AND EMPIRE BY 'ALI ṬABARI. Translated from an apparently unique MS. in the John Rylands Library by A. MINGANA, D.D. 9×6, pp. xxiv+169. Manchester: at the University Press.

Ibn Rabban would have been a more distinctive name for the author of this book. Ibn Rabban was a writer on medicine of some note; two of his works on this subject are still extant. The book is a vindication of Islam, written under the patronage of the Khalif el Mutawakkil, and seems to be by far the earliest specimen of Muhammadan apologetics that has survived. The first chapter as it stands does not answer at all to the description of it given at the end of the book, so that it appears that there must have been some alteration in the text.

Doubtless there are many people who will be interested in following out the somewhat quaint arguments advanced. To make a readable translation of a book of this sort is far from being an easy matter. Dr. Mingana achieves a considerable measure of success. His introduction and notes will give the student the help he requires.

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MAQRÎZÎ. EL MAWÂ'IZ WA'L-I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL-KHIṬAṬ WA'EL-ÂTHÂR. Édité par M. GASTON WIET. Vol. III. 14×11, xiv+379 pp. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1922.

Monsieur Wiet continues his great edition of Maqrîzî's Khiṭaṭ, the earlier portions of which were noticed in this *Journal* for 1912 and 1921. This instalment carries the work up to about one-fifth of the whole book. The volume covers a large part of the section dealing with the towns of Egypt.

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All, or very nearly all, the matter in the text is taken by Maqrîzî from other books. Some twenty-five towns are the subjects of notices, but not very much information is given with regard to any of them, except Alexandria and Tinnîs. There is an account of Nubia, particularly good in its way, and it is to be hoped that some day something will be discovered about its author, of whom all that is known at present is his name and date. There is a very detailed topographical account relating to a small part of the Delta, besides various other geographical and historical items. Some ancient history of Egypt which is introduced is for the earliest period pure myth, but the region of fact is entered with lists of kings from the twentieth dynasty, as Monsieur Wiet is able to show. The editor's notes display his great knowledge of his subject and his unsparing pains. The edition continues to preserve the same high standard as before.

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A Handbook of Libya. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. 7 × 5, 628 pp., 5 maps. Published by H.M. Stationery Office, no date, probably dates from 1917.

Libya denotes the Italian province, and thus includes Cyrenaica as well as Tripoli. It is a vast arid tract relieved by oases, which are fairly numerous in some parts. Much of it is bare desert. The country has little history, and seems to have small prospect of any great development.

Even up to the present, information about the remoter parts of it is deficient, and most of the rest has not become at all well known until comparatively recently. The handbook seems to be the first complete guide that has appeared, at any rate in English. It contains a full description on the usual lines. Nearly half the volume is taken up with a detailed description of routes. Maps of the tribes are a useful feature. The numerous plans of places and the vocabularies also deserve notice.

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HANDBOOK OF ARABIA. VOL. I: GENERAL. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Staff, Admiralty, London. 7 × 5, 708 pp., 4 maps, and 15 plates. Published by H.M. Stationery Office. 10*s.* net.

A full and comprehensive account of modern Arabia and its people, well arranged and clearly written, based partly on unpublished material, this book constitutes a valuable accession to knowledge, and students of early Islamic history will realize its importance in connexion with their researches. A very useful feature is a detailed enumeration of all the various tribes of the peninsula. The book appears to have been compiled in 1916, too early, therefore, for the results of Mr. Philby's journeys in Southern Najd to be incorporated. The second volume, which is said to be devoted mainly to detailed routes, does not seem to have been published yet.

A. R. GUEST.

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BAHDINAN KURMANJI. By Captain R. F. JARDINE. 7×5, iii+114 pp. Baghdad: Government Press, 1922.

The Mesopotamian press appears to have collapsed before the production of this small work, which has suffered from haste on the author's part, indifference on that of the proof reader, and the active malice of the compositor. The vocabulary, which has a good and ample selection of English words, is rendered practically useless by the general lack of stops between words and of diacritical marks over long vowels. Not content with this, the compositor has lightly sprinkled a few of both here and there with a most confusing result. There appears to have been no correction of proofs. Examples are (from the vocabulary):—

short kurt, bhost (a span less kem
voracious gallek khwar, chavb (irsī chāvbirsi)
thrush te ra k. khirzepandin

Even with a knowledge of Kurmanji it is sometimes very difficult to understand what the author intends. Errors due to careless proof correcting are no less serious, though not so

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frequent. For instance, "mal" (p. 37) for "hal" is badly misleading.

Of hurried or careless writing there are many examples. On p. 10 "aw min dekushit" is translated as "he will kill", but no translation of "min" is supplied, though the phrase is in illustration of nominative and oblique cases in pronouns. The note at the foot of par. 14, p. 10, is merely incoherent.

As an example of the oblique case-ending in nouns as used with prepositions, the author gives a sentence containing no preposition—"bahārī kūshti pāhīzī shūstī"—and has failed to detect the fact that he is giving an example of the use of the case-ending as a pure locative.

On p. 9 two of the sentences used to illustrate the demonstrative pronouns contain none.

On p. 26, having explained that the future tense is formed by prefixing "dē, dā" (as distinct from pres. ind. "da-"), the author gives three examples in "de", one in "dē", and one with no particle.

The arrangement of the grammar is good, and the lists of connected sentences (49) to (56) are excellent. Capt. Jardine knows well the dialect of which he writes, and has certainly added to the published knowledge of the subject. He would, however, have found some study of both Sorān and Hakkārī of very great use to him. A knowledge of one of a group of allied dialects can only be perfect after some familiarity with the others has been acquired.

E. B. Soane.

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Peking: A Social Survey. Conducted under the auspices of the Princeton University Centre in China and the Peking Young Men's Christian Association. By Sidney D. Gamble, M.A., assisted by John Stewart Burgess, M.A.; foreword by G. Sherwood Eddy and Robert A. Woods. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xxiii+538 pp., 47 illustrations, and 38 maps and diagrams. Oxford: University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1921.

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This volume is "dedicated to the Missionaries whose work has made this study possible", and is epitomized on the wrapper as "A careful study of the life of Peking, social, political, industrial, commercial". Such a description does rather bare justice to the solid merits of this important work. Written in a restrained and dispassionate style, supported by 120 pp. of official and other statistics in appendices, and dealing chiefly with the most modern and post-revolutionary aspect of affairs, there is a welcome absence of the less amiable features of missionary literature. The point of view is concisely put in Mr. Eddy's foreword. "We must know our problems before we solve them. We must know the present reality before we seek to rebuild in the light of an ideal."

It is to be hoped that these most instructive chapters will receive from journals devoted to sociological subjects (such as the *Sociological Review*) a more extended examination than is possible in that of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose particular interests do not coincide with the ground covered by these valuable, candid, and judicious studies of the rapidly changing mentality of the Chinese *intelligentia*, and of the much less suitable characteristics of the proletariat beneath them. Especially interesting are the pages upon the momentous possibilities of the so-called Renaissance Movement, the "New Tide", as it is termed by the young Chinese themselves; the account of the guild system, as the victorious foe of competition; and the unblinking chapter on the social evil.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE. General Editors: WALTER MAKEPEACE, F.J.I., Editor of the Singapore Free Press; Dr. GILBERT E. BROOKE, M.A., Port Health Officer at Singapore; ROLAND ST. J. BRADDELL, B.A., Advocate and Solicitor of the Supreme Court, Straits Settlements. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Vol. i, 592 pp.; vol. ii, 668 pp. London: John Murray, 1921.

Except for perhaps a hundred residents, present or past, of the Straits Settlements, two bulky volumes comprising

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1,260 pages are in the times we live in too great a tax on even an omnivorous reader for the subject here treated. It would have been easy to compress all that is of real interest and importance—and of this there is plenty—between the covers of a single volume, including 21 pages of "Chronology", the excellent Index, and some of the numerous illustrations.

Another point that might be made concerns the title. This hardly does justice to the material, for the reader will find that he is rather embarked upon a century of the Straits Settlements at large than confined to the island of Singapore. This will force itself on his attention especially in the second, third, and fourth chapters of vol. i, "Stamford Raffles, the Man," "The Government," and "Law and Crime", but particularly in the introductory first chapter by Mr. Blagden, completed by Mr. Braddell.

Many readers will probably find the Rev. William Cross' account of Sir Stamford Raffles, sympathetic though not altogether satisfying as it is, the most interesting in the book. Certainly it was a life of ceaseless endeavour, of struggles crowned in the main with success, but ending in a tragic and premature collapse, for death seized him, a man already worn out, on the very eve of his 45th birthday. And the narrative leaves us with a feeling that Raffles, like Chinese Gordon after him, may have been a difficult and in some ways unsatisfactory subordinate for his official superiors, notably in the matter of his accounts. Not in that particular, but in a general fierce energy and driving power, he seems to have resembled the late Sir Harry Parkes.

The long chapter on "Law and Crime", perhaps the most valuable in the two volumes, by Mr. Braddell, is not only instructive in a marked degree, but most interesting. The singular administrative difficulties and embarrassments are described and commented on by a very competent pen, which in the last section on "Piracy" is handed over to Dr. Gilbert Brooke.

L. C. Hopkins.

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GIPSY LANGUAGES. By STEN KONOW. Being vol. xi of the Linguistic Survey of India, edited by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., D.Litt. 14×10½, viii+213 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1922.

The Linguistic Survey of India is now complete. Sir George Grierson is writing an introductory volume, in order that all the information may be laid under contribution and that scholars may reap the results of a quarter of a century's study. Most of the work has been done by the editor himself, but two complete volumes and the greater part of a third are from the pen of the well-known Norwegian philologist, Dr. Sten Konow.

Of the fifteen or twenty "Gipsy" dialects spoken in the sub-continent a dozen have already been described, as they are closely connected with Bhili or with Dravidian languages. There remain six, which are dealt with here. The word "Gipsy" is perhaps the best that could be employed in the title—it is difficult to think of a better—but there is a danger that the unwary may regard the use of the term as indicating a connexion with the Romani race of Europe and Asia Minor. This the author expressly disclaims, explaining that the word merely draws attention to the wandering lives which the speakers of these dialects lead. He does, indeed, believe that ultimately not only will these migratory tribes be shown to have a common origin, but, more remarkable still, the Romani chals of the west will prove to be derived from the same stock.

Dr. Konow has been well-advised to confine himself almost entirely to the elucidation and proof of the former proposition. The few lines in which he outlines his views on the European connexion contain little that is tangible, and what is tangible strikes me as rash. But his masterly summing up of the situation of the Indian nomads is an illuminating contribution towards the solution of a difficult problem, and goes far to demonstrate the essential oneness of these now diverse units. Ethnologically it appears that they are Dravidians.

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The linguistic arguments are illustrated by a wealth of detail derived from the specimens with which the book is furnished. These facts show that Dravidian elements in the vocabulary add weight to the ethnological conclusion, but that the dialects as they stand are mostly Aryan of a Rajasthani type with a strong admixture of Gujrati and Marathi. All this points to the Vindhya Hills as their earliest habitat. Who or what were these people, in those far-off days? What were their occupation and religion, their relation to other tribes? Why did they wander? Are the Boswells and Lees and Hearns their descendants no less than the Gāṅgūs and Saiddās and Maṅgtās who were one's friends in India? One can only hope that Professor Konow's work will inspire someone adequately equipped to take up and endeavour to solve these and other questions of language and history.

The most important of the dialects described is that of the Sāsīs. Kolhāṭī is so like it that the two may be regarded as one, and in point of fact the two tribes call themselves by the same name. Sāsī including Kolhāṭī is the only form of speech in the volume which has a clearly defined ordinary dialect as well as a secret argot based upon it. Some have dialects without argots, and others have mere argots based upon a language spoken by neighbours, altered by deliberate consonantal changes and by the substitution of a few secret words.

As a student of secret dialects from the lips of many dusky speakers I offer Dr. Konow hearty congratulation on this deeply interesting book.

T. Grahame Bailey.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series; Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3. Edited by E. O. Winstedt, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford.

Members of the R.A.S. may be interested in two further instalments of Dr. Sampson's Welsh Gypsy Tales and in Miss Dora Yates's Rumanian Gypsy Songs. In No. 2

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Dr. Sampson explains his system of transcription, but we are left in doubt about the Rumanian songs.

The remaining articles in these two numbers will be read by those who are students of Romani ethnology. They are conversational descriptions of Gypsies, their family names and their singing.

I understand that an article by Professor Woolner will appear in an early number. This will be eagerly looked out for.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Third Series; Vol. I, No. 4.

This number contains a very useful article on the language of St. Petersburg [*sic*] Gypsy Singers by Bernard Gilliat-Smith (no explanation of the signs employed), another Welsh Gypsy story by Dr. Sampson, and a popular, but learned, contribution entitled "Notes on the Gypsies of Turkey" by Professor W. R. Halliday.

T. G. B.

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PISTIS SOPHIA. Englished, with an Introduction and annotated Bibliography. By G. R. S. MEAD. New and completely revised edition. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, lxix + 325 pp. London: Watkins, 1921.

In the short space at my disposal for this belated notice little more can be done than to indicate wherein the second edition of Mr. Mead's book chiefly differs from the first. The main difference is due to the utilization of Professor Carl Schmidt's German translation (1905), which became available since Mr. Mead's earlier edition appeared. Schmidt's work put the study of the *Pistis* upon a new plane, and it goes without saying that the present version owes and owns a large debt to it. The other feature wherein Mr. Mead has reaped a benefit from time is in his Bibliography: the first edition enumerated some twenty works dealing with the subject, the second can record sixty; and, besides recording them, Mr. Mead has added a valuable analytical note to each one.

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The only omission I have observed is that of the controversy as to the character of the dialect in the *Pistis* between Professor Schmidt and Professor Leipoldt (see *Theol. Lit. Z.*, 1905, 514, and *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1905, 139). I am myself inclined to see, both in the idiom and in the type of script, evidence that the MS. was written in *Middle* Egypt, in the district Oxyrhynchus-Hermopolis-Lycopolis, where the Sa'idic was at its purest. This greatly increased bibliography and the very fact of his own new edition may show, as Mr. Mead maintains, that interest in these forms of mysticism is increasing; though it would be strange if such dreary stuff, as these Gnostic books must seem to all but the fewest specialists, ever attained much popularity (cf. what is thought of them by an exceptionally competent scholar, E. De Faye). The absence of an Index is perhaps, in such a book, hardly ground for complaint: the full analytical table of contents will to some extent take its place.

Meanwhile, Mr. Mead's book has suggested to Professor Burkitt a number of interesting reflections upon the character and origin of the *Pistis* (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, 1922, 271), among them a reconsideration of the problem of its original language. Professor Burkitt is less inclined than Coptic scholars have so far been to accept the Coptic text as a translation from the Greek, and Mr. Mead (p. xxvii) names others also whose views tend in the same direction.

All scholars will look forward to the new edition of the text of the *Pistis* which is shortly to be printed by Professor Schmidt in the Rask-Oersted Foundation's series of *Coptica*.

W. E. Crum.

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Rigveda Brahmanas. The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda. By A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. $10 \times 6\frac{5}{8}$, xii + 555 pp. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1920.

Journal of the Department of Letters. Vol. V. Nine Essays by various Writers. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$, 404 pp. Calcutta: University Press, 1921.

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Professor Keith's massive volume will enhance his reputation for recondite Indian learning. His name is a guarantee for the translation of the two Brāhmaṇas from the original Sanskrit, and the translation is enriched throughout with scholarly footnotes. But, in addition, there is an Introduction of over 100 pages, dealing, in a masterly fashion, with the contents, relations, composition, and dates of the two Brāhmaṇas. Questions of ritual, language, style, and metre are also discussed. The work is beyond praise, and rather calls for gratitude. The labour involved must have been prodigious, as those who have done laborious authorship work will best appreciate.

The Calcutta University *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. v, contains nine Essays, mostly on Indo-Aryan subjects. Eight of the Essays are in English, and they are all interesting and ably written. There is one on "Indo-Aryan Polity during the period of the Rig-Veda"; four are devoted to "Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age"; a lengthy one deals with the "Anthropology of Asia". The ninth Essay is unfortunately not accessible to English readers, being in Bengali. Its inclusion is none the less desirable on that account, although in an English dress the scope of its usefulness would have been greatly widened.

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INDIAN LOGIC AND ATOMISM. An Exposition of the Nyāya and Vaiçeṣika Systems. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 291 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

THE KARMA-MĪMĀṂSĀ. By the same Author. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$, 112 pp. London: Oxford University Press; Calcutta: Association Press, 1921.

DIE WEISHEIT DER UPANISCHADEN. By JOHANNES HERTEL. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 181. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921.

JIVATMAN IN THE BRAHMA-SUTRAS. A Comparative Study. By A. GUHA, M.A., Ph.D. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, ix + 230.

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In the works by Professor Keith, an excellent service has been rendered, which, it is to be hoped, will be duly appreciated here and in India, which owes an incalculable debt to authoritative British scholars. Professor Keith embodies, in fine conjunction, the two qualifications for successful work of this kind, viz. a fine expository power or faculty, and a critical instinct which never fails of what is required. This is equally true of both books, though the subjects are so different. They are deserving of the warmest commendation.

Professor Hertel's little book may also be warmly commended. Its renderings from the Upanishads are very clear and interesting, and equally so are the abundant notes and introductions. But it is disappointing to find neither the *JRAS.* nor any living British authority included in Dr. Hertel's list of sources or authorities. This is to be needlessly self-impoverished, since it is to go without the criticism and correction which some of the authorities quoted have received. It means some loss in scientific value.

Dr. Guha's work is, in many respects, an interesting and creditable performance. But surely the difference of the Vedānta philosophy, in spirit and method, from that of Hegel is much too obvious to need to be so laboured. Also, the author is too completely within the system he expounds to be able to criticize it. He does not even see that the Vedānta philosophy, equally with Hegel's, suppresses the reality of the individual in the absolute. His faith that the Vedānta is destined to become "the faith of the world" is just a shade too pathetic.

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Benares Iconographical Notes. By B. C. Bhattacharyya. $10 \times 6\frac{3}{8}$, 7 pp., 11 plates.

These notes are of much iconographical interest, and relate to ancient images and statues found by the author in the southern part of the city of Benares. Eleven excellent plates of gods and goddesses are given, and the author

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succinctly describes each image. The most striking of these sculptures is that which consists of a standing four-armed image of Viṣṇu. The image is intact, except damage to the four hands. As the author remarks, "it is boldly and spiritedly designed and carved," and "the whole piece of sculpture" constitutes "a real triumph of the Indian artist". It is certainly a very arresting piece of work.

Some of the images assume a very realistic form, that, for example, of Kubera, god of wealth, with its characteristic embellishments. The author has done his work well, and his notes are a *multum in parvo*.

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HYMNS OF THE TAMIL ŚAIVITE SAINTS. By F. KINGSBURY, B.A., and G. E. PHILLIPS, M.A. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 132, 5 plates. Calcutta: Association Press, 1921.

The authors of this work have rendered an important service in making these hymns of the Tamil saints known to the English-speaking world. For Tamil is the mother-tongue of more than eighteen millions of people, and the hymns here presented form an interesting study in religious values. Tamil scholars will pronounce on the merits of their translations, but the authors have, with commendable courage, printed the Tamil version on the opposite pages of the English translations. The English form of these early productions of the religious and poetic spirit carries in it, in very many instances, a degree of fervour, rhythm, and glow, which is highly praiseworthy, when it is remembered that the compositions mostly belong to between A.D. 600 and A.D. 800. The explanatory paragraphs interspersed among the hymns are marked by good sense and judgment, and will be very useful.

The work is in four chapters, dealing respectively with the hymns of (1) Sambandar, (2) Apparswāmi, (3) Sundaramūrti, (4) Māṇikka Vāsahar. These are followed by two appendices and a good Index. The five plates are excellent.



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JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS. Vol. IV. University of Calcutta. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$, pp. 353. Eleven Essays. By various writers. Calcutta: University Press, 1921.

This volume does much credit to the University of Calcutta. The papers are, of course, not all of equal value and interest, although each contributes its share in making the volume what it is. I can only remark on some points likely to be of interest to Western readers. The opening paper on "Indo-Aryan Ethnic Origins" is an interesting one, albeit rather controversial in tone. The writer of the paper is Mr. H. Bruce Hannah, who, later in the volume, contributes an essay on "Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age". In this latter paper, he attempts to explain, or explain away, the differences between the Oriental and the Occidental mind in a way that is to me very far from convincing. He allows this to lead him into a divagation that is not very relevant to the subject of his paper. When he does come back to the "grand old Āryan aristocrats", with their "profoundly and sublimely esoteric doctrine of the *Ātman*", we have only a burst of enthusiasm over their "splendid secrets", but no word of the appraisement which this now very familiar doctrine has received at the hands of the best modern philosophical criticism. The net result of the paper is rather disappointing for one who writes so ably. In contrast with the confident dogmatism of these papers, Mr. B. Mazumdar, in treating of "The Aryans of India", rejects every theory hitherto promulgated as to "the origin of the so-called Aryans".

The most rewarding paper in the volume is, in some respects, that by R. Kimura on "What is Buddhism?" Only, its value is expository rather than critical. There are papers on "Four Ancient Yakṣa Statues", with seven plates, by R. Chanda; on "Vātsyāyana", by H. Chakladar; on a "Bihāri Ceremonial Worship of Totemistic Origin", by S. Mitra; on the "Revenue Policy of Shivaji", by S. Sen; on the "Karmā Dharmā Festival of North Bihār", by S. Mitra; and on

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"Water Transport in Mediaeval India", by B. Sarkar. The last essay, on "Advaitavād", by K. Sastri, is in Bengali, and not accessible to English readers.

The enterprise of the University of Calcutta in publishing such volumes is to be commended.

JAMES LINDSAY.

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ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY. VOL. I: HISTORY OF JAHANGIR. By BENI PRASAD, M.A. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xx + 501 pp. London, Oxford University Press, 1922.

This is a valuable addition to recent works on Indian history. The author is an assistant Professor at Allahabad University, and his book appears under a preface by the well-known Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D.

The author has used all, or nearly all, the available sources, and he has used his material with judgment and acumen. The only omission that he seems to have made is that he has said nothing about the romance of Jahangir's youth, that is, the mystery of Anarkalī, the dancing girl of Lahore—the Balaustion or pomegranate flower of Jahangir when he was Prince Selim. What was her fate? Did Akbar really bury her alive on account of jealousy? If so, Jahangir was almost excused for making war upon him.

Now that Mr. Beni Prasad has in a manner exhausted the subject of Jahangir, it does not seem likely or necessary that there should be another book about the Emperor. We can say that the world has now learnt all that it need know about him. He was a poor creature, and owes his celebrity only to his position. Indeed, he was worse than a poor creature, for he was a murderer of the brilliant Abul Fazl, to whom the world is so much indebted for a knowledge of India in the sixteenth century, and he also slew the gallant Sher-afgan, the tiger-thrower, who was Nūr Jahan's husband.

Jahangir, however, was not wanting in ability and he had a genuine love of nature, and he inherited from his father an active and inquiring mind. There was an almost uncanny

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resemblance between him and James the First and Sixth, his contemporary. But James was the better man, especially when we consider the distressing circumstances under which he came into being.

It is to Jahangir's credit that he is still reverenced in India for his love of justice. He was also an encourager of Art, and a new instance of this has recently been made known to the world in the discovery at Ajmere of a sculpture of a "Seated Elephant". Probably this is the stone elephant mentioned in Jahangir's *Memoirs*, i, 103–4, and the Prov. Hist. Society, London, 1922, but if so, it is either a replica or Jahangir has given a wrong date and site for it.

H. Beveridge.

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The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Large 8vo, 242 pp. Leipzig: Markert & Petters, 1922.

This book is a study in comparative Hindu political constitutions and concepts, the outcome of lectures delivered in American Universities during 1916 to 1918. The author says he has based his views as regards India exclusively on inscriptions, coins, and contemporary reports and has eschewed Sanskrit and Prakrit treatises (which he estimates aright), but from the copious Bibliography and references it seems he has drawn largely from the writings of others, with little original research. He deals with the whole subject in two parts, the first sketching the private, municipal, religious, and governmental laws and institutions that obtained, and the second expounding political literature and the theories of the constitution of States. He seeks to give a readable account, and this he has done with frequent allusions and much elegant writing, yet in substance like other treatises which regard the past conditions of India as nearly homogeneous.

What is necessary to a right understanding of all these matters is to distinguish between the conditions of North

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(Aryan) India and those of the Dravidian Dekhan, and to investigate those conditions separately as they existed in the earliest times, during the Buddhist influence and under the finally established Brahman ascendancy, and all this with strict heed to historical sequence and regional variations. He rightly notices the paucity of the original data, yet the paucity itself is a fact to be accounted for, and it may not be slurred over with data belonging to other regions and times. A close scrutiny of the political and religious conditions wherein the paucity occurs will lead to wholesome and profitable revision of theories.

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THE SINHALESE ARYANS. By C. A. WIJESINHE. 8vo, 110 pp. Colombo: W. E. Bastian & Co., 1921.

This small book is a refutation of a lecture delivered three years before on *The Origin of the Sinhalese Language*, which asserted that Sinhalese is a Dravidian language; and it also attacks various views published by the author of that lecture in his book *The Aryan Question in relation to India*. The method of refutation adopted is to adduce on each point opinions and views published by other authors who have touched on it, and they are cited freely whatever be the weight of their opinions.

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SHAH ABDUL LATIF. By M. M. GIDVANI. 8vo, 48 pp. London: The India Society, 1922.

Shah Abdul Latif is described as a poetical teacher of Sufiism who lived in Sindh two centuries ago, and this book gives brief notices of his life, poetry, and some of the tales he utilized. His poetry appealed to Hindus as well as Mohammedans, and some selections from it are translated. The construction is of the slightest, though the book is very handsomely printed.

F. E. P.

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Mir'āt al-Janān by Abū Muḥammad 'Ad Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī. 4 vols., large 8vo, 464 + 52, 454 + 54, 500 + 92, 366 + 115 pp. Haiderābād, A.H. 1337–9.

The author belonged to the large South Arabian tribe Yāfi, which to this day inhabits a large extent of country to the north-east of Aden. He grew up in Aden and settled in A.H. 718 in Mecca, making later journeys to Syria and Egypt, and spent the rest of his life in the two holy cities, dying in Mecca on the 20th of Jumada, A.H. 768.

His history is based upon the large work of Ḏahabi and the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān, but he has made use of quite a number of other historical works, which he mentions in the course of the work, some of which, like the Kitāb al-Ma'ārif of Ibn Qutaiba, are accessible to us, but others, as e.g. the book on poets by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the Dumyat al-Qasr, are only at present existing in manuscript copies. The arrangement is, like the Duwal of Ḏahabi, in order of the Muhammadan years, and the substance varies considerably in merit. He forgets to mention the dates of succession of some of the early caliphs, and has only a few words for the majestic grandeur of the caliph 'Omar, but has a long account of Uwais al-Qarani, a personality which I feel I can safely assert never existed at all. It is pathetic how you have to dig out the real name of some insignificant Sufi sheikhs among the crowd of laudatory epithets. The history contains, nevertheless, much valuable material, and I cannot endorse the judgment of Rawlinson entirely, written in his copy of this work now in the British Museum: "It is certainly not deserving of much attention." F. K.

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Zoroastrian Civilization. By Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla. 9×6, xxviii + 395 pp. Oxford University Press. London: Milford.

Among the signs of the times is the increased interest taken by Orientals in the study of their own literature, and this remark applies with special force to the small but

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# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1872—1921

# INDICES

OF THE

# FIRST FIFTY VOLUMES

COMPILED BY

Miss L. M. ANSTEY

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# R.A.S. LIBRARY BOOKS FOR SALE

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| Ahmad | Sams al-Ulum. Gibb Memorial | 1916 |
| Ahn | Dutch Grammar | 1860 |
| Asiatic Researches, reprinted London, vols. i, iii–vi | | 1798–1801 |
| Boer. | Ovide Moralisé. | 1920 |
| Calcutta University, Journal Dept. of Science, vol. iv | | 1922 |
| Cooper | Egyptian Obelisks | 1877 |
| Cosmos | Base de una paz duradera | 1917 |
| Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets | | 1921 |
| Das | Introduction to the grammar of the Tibetan language | 1915 |
| De | History of Bengali Literature | 1919 |
| Dictionnaire Suédois-Français | | |
| Dinkard | Vols. xvi, xvii | 1917–22 |
| Edwards | Catalogue of Persian Books. British Museum | 1922 |
| Ewald | Gram. der T'ai oder Siamesischen Sprache | 1881 |
| ,, | Grammatica Linguae Arabicae, vol. ii | 1833 |
| Gospels in Syriac | | 1829 |
| Grierson | Manual of Kashmiri Language, 2 vols. | 1911 |
| Hassam | Syrian Arabic Self Taught | 1911 |
| Haswell | Grammatical notes, Peguan Language | 1874 |
| Heber | Probleme der Weltwirtschaft | 1912 |
| Hooker | Himalayan Journals | 1891 |
| India Arch. Survey, vol. i, Jaunpur, first plate missing | | 1889 |
| Jastrow | War and the coming peace | 1918 |
| Kallas | Wiederholungslieder der estnischen Volkspoesie | 1901 |
| Kern | Taalvergelijkende Verhandeling over het Aneityumsch | 1906 |
| Latin-Russian Grammar | | 1805 |
| Latin tongue, An introduction to the | | 1815 |
| Malabar Grammar | | 1759 |
| Malleson | Akbar | 1890 |

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| | | |
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| Mariette . . | Ancient Egyptian History. . . | 1890 |
| Milyoukov . | Russian realities and problems . . | 1917 |
| Morris . . | Telegu language . . . . | 1890 |
| Maspero . . | Egyptian Archæology . . . | 1889 |
| Meadows . . | Notes on China . . . . | 1847 |

Musée Guimet, Bib. d'Études, vols. i–iii, v–xxvii, 26 vols. 1822–1914

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pincott . . | Hindi Manual . . . . . | 1882 |
| Poole . . | Bábar . . . . . | 1899 |
| Pope . . | First catechism of Tamil Grammar . | 1895 |
| ,, . . | First Lessons in Tamil, 5th ed. . . | 1891 |
| Portman . . | Languages of the S. Andaman Tribes . | 1898 |
| Powell . . | Land revenue in British India . . | 1894 |
| Radermacher . | Aristophanes' Frösche . . . | 1922 |
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| Shaha . . | Lúsháí Grammar . . . . | 1884 |
| Stein . . | Megasthenes u. Kautilya . . . | 1922 |
| Stephens . . | Albuquerque . . . . . | 1897 |
| Thom . . | Emmanuel . . . . . | 1885 |
| Vagnolini . . | Italian Grammar . . . . | 1866 |
| Venkayya . | South Indian Inscriptions, vol. ii . | 1913 |
| Waley . . | Index of Chinese Artists . . . | 1922 |
| Wensinck . . | Navel of the Earth . . . . | 1916 |
| West . . | Pahlavi Texts, pt. v, S.B.E. . . | 1897 |
| Wilkinson . | Ancient Egyptians, 2 vols. . . | 1854 |
| Willcocks . . | Nile projects . . . . . | 1919 |


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progressive body of the Parsis of Bombay, who still retain the religion founded by Zoroaster.

The author of the present book has studied, and studied deeply, the wonderful literature contained in the Avesta, and reading his work we note how each subject is dealt with under its appropriate heading, so that the reader can readily ascertain the laws of Zoroaster on, for example, the administration of justice. In some cases the punishments were cruel and even fantastic, the life of a dog being held as sacred as that of man, while the murder of a " water-dog " was punished with ten thousand stripes, the highest penalty awarded. The author does not inform us what a " water-dog " is, but it is generally believed to be an otter. To take another subject, sanitation and public health, Zoroastrians were instructed to be extremely clean, to avoid every sort of defilement, and to destroy noxious insects, the fly being rightly execrated as the most evil " source of contagion and death ".

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that dealing with Pahlavi literature. It is not known when Pahlavi script was first written, and the general opinion is that it dates, at any rate, from the period subsequent to the Achæmenian dynasty. It is, however, at least possible that the language may prove to be considerably older than we now believe it to be. From this literature we have the metaphor that the sky encircles the earth as an egg does a bird. Again, the planets are compared to brigands, who rob the caravans of its goods, depriving the good of gifts and bestowing them on the unworthy. This is rather a dark saying.

Yet again, in view of the love of cattle-breeding, good men are referred to as cattle and bad men as wolves ; and, finally, an old friend is likened to old wine which improves with age.

In conclusion, this book has the merit of presenting Zoroastrian civilization through well-selected references and quotations, but the writer has somewhat lessened its value by neglecting to use his critical faculties, and has thereby failed to differentiate between legends with some historical basis and historical facts. P. M. S.

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ROYAL FREDERIK UNIVERSITY, CHRISTIANIA. PUBLICATIONS OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE. I, 1. THE ARYAN GODS OF THE MITANI PEOPLE. By STEN KONOW. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, 39 pp. 1921.

Dr. Sten Konow is a well-known and honoured member of our Society, but this is, as far as we are aware, the first publication which his university has produced on an Oriental subject; it gives us therefore the greatest pleasure to welcome a new collaborator in this ever-fruitful field, the more so since the new collaborator reintroduces us to an old friend.

Dr. Konow's text is the reference in the treaty between the Hittite King Shubbiluliuma and the Mitanian King Mattiuaza, to the Mitanian gods, *ilāni Mitraššil ilāni vruwna-* (*or Aruna-*) *ššil ilu Indar* (*or Indara*) *ilāni Našattianna.*

These names were soon identified as being identical with the Vedic deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, but the question immediately arises whether these gods appearing in a document dating from the early decades of the fourteenth century B.C. are the original Aryan deities or specifically Vedic or Indian deities possessing the characteristics which they assumed after the Aryan tribes had reached and settled down in India and remodelled their religious and cosmogonic ideas in accordance with the conditions which they found there. Most scholars have adopted the former theory; Dr. Konow prefers to follow Professor Jacobi in adopting the latter, and states his case very clearly and strongly.

This is, however, a somewhat retrograde step, for if these gods had by this time, so to speak, definitely put on their Indian clothes and travelled half-way across Asia, then the parting of the Indo-Aryan from the original Aryan tribes and the conquest of India by the former must be put back some centuries before 1400 B.C., the conventional date of the Rig-Veda according to Western views. The general tendency of recent years, on the contrary, has been to bring down the earlier dates in ancient history. The dates now assigned to the earliest periods of Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and

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Cretan history (to mention only a few examples) are hundreds, and even thousands, of years later than those assigned to the same periods a generation ago.

Moreover, to get from India to Syria they must almost necessarily have passed through Mesopotamia, and, if they did, it is curious that they should have left there no traces of their passage.

Prima facie, therefore, the theory is an improbable one, especially as it is based on one single passage, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Konow will examine the other passages bearing on the question in the Boghaz Keui tablets (for instance, the numerical series commencing *ekavartana*, etc.) and publish another paper on this extraordinarily interesting subject.

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L'ARABIE ANTÉISLAMIQUE. By IGN. GUIDI. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 89 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

This little book is a reprint of the text of four lectures, delivered to the Egyptian University of Cairo in 1909, entitled "The Kingdoms of Southern and Central Arabia before Mahomed", "The intellectual progress of the Arabs", "The material progress", and "The Arabs of the South and Abyssinia". The subject-matter is treated in a pleasant style, but the whole is very slight; it might be described as a kind of prolegomenon to the study of the poetry of the Jāhilīyah.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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JOURNAL OF BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

The issue dated August, 1921, and received a year later, includes an entertaining legend of the foundation of the kingdom of Arakan, told by San Shwe Bu. Again it is necessary to point out that in a scientific journal the sources of the legend should be given. If it is a memory of the writer's childhood, that fact itself is worth recording.

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Saya Shan's *History of Lower Burma* is not history, and does not relate to Lower Burma but to the upper province. It is a collection of well-known legends of the Tagaung and Pagan dynasties, treated uncritically and without any reference to authorities. Mr. L. F. Taylor gives us a foretaste of his work on the coming Linguistic Survey of Burma in a sketch of Burmese dialects, of which little is as yet known. Doubtless he will take pains to equip himself for the task, the first requisite of which is a knowledge of the nature of spoken sounds; and it is to be hoped that he will not repeat the statement that "the killed consonants are not really pronounced but constitute only modifications of the preceding vowel. The consonants referred to (which are final *k* and *t* pronounced without explosion) *are* really pronounced, and cannot be omitted without gross error; and they in no way constitute modifications of the preceding vowel, though unexploded *k* cannot be used after certain vowels or unexploded *t* after certain others. They are well known to phoneticians, and symbols are provided for them in the handbook of the International Phonetic Association.

The number for December, 1921, contains a most amusing Arakanese folk-tale related by San Shwe Bu, and an interesting account of Bandula, the famous Burmese general, by Major Enriquez.

R. G. B.

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# OBITUARY NOTICE

## Colonel Rivett-Carnac

Colonel Rivett-Carnac always clung to the first part of his name, which was, in fact, his real name, his grandfather having added the name of Carnac on his marriage. The family were, in fact, Rivetts, of an old Suffolk stock, and it certainly seems rather hard that he should be denied what gave him so much pleasure in order that the modern and unfamiliar "Carnac" should be fastened on. Let it be agreed, therefore, that he was a Rivett, and that the latter half of the name was a mere excrescence. Let him have the happiness of feeling that he remains Harry Rivett-Carnac, who successfully resisted to the last the merging of his real name.

In other respects, too, he was known apart from his official rank. He was a member of an old Indian family, and might have been expected to rise on that account to the highest position in the old service, but no one will pretend that his actual rise was due to his descent, or was even in correspondence with his undoubted talent. To the end of his work in India he held a second-rate appointment—the opium commissionership at Ghazipore, but he held it with complete detachment, and was distinguished for things other than his official work. He was throughout his life the most generous and open-handed of men. He would pick up a broken loafer, and nurse him through untold breakdowns, until he left him in the end an established character. That was what made him so lovable. With a certain amount of brusquerie he never gave up the attempt to help other men.

It was the same with everything. At a time when volunteering was rather looked down upon, he took up the cause and stuck to it through much ridicule and abuse until he became A.D.C. to the Queen and Commander of the

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Volunteer Brigade at Delhi. I shall never forget his coming to see me in Madir, and having an audience of the Queen Regent in his Volunteer uniform, which he informed Her Majesty bore a striking resemblance to that of the 10th Hussars. He saw nothing incongruous in the comparison. The Volunteer uniform was a serious thing in his eyes. The uniform of a body of Light Horse which was raised to serve the Queen.

In his archæological pursuits he was equally bold and fearless. He took up amongst other things the subject of cup markings on rocks, and made himself known by his researches.

The fact was that apart from his work he was original in all things, but above all original in his generosity. That was the essence of his character, and by that he will live in the hearts of many men whom he befriended.

H. M. D.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(May-July, 1923)

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Rt. Hon. Lord Chalmers presided at the Anniversary Meeting held on 8th May. The Secretary read the Report of Council as follows :—

Ten Honorary Members have been elected during the Session, namely :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Prof. Breasted. | Prof. S. d'Oldenburg. |
| Prof. Finot. | Prof. P. Pelliot. |
| Prof. Williams Jackson. | Prof. Rhodokanakis. |
| Prof. von Le Coq. | Prof. J. Sarkar. |
| Prof. C. A. Nallino. | Père V. Scheil, O.P. |

(These include four Supernumerary Honorary Members who were elected in order to mark the Centenary.)

The Society has lost by death two Honorary Members :—

Dr. Clermont-Ganneau, of Paris, and Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin.

Mr. Legge and Mr. Rylands, Members of Council, have passed away, together with the following twelve Members :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rev. Drew Bate. | Sir C. H. Kesteven. |
| Prof. P. Deussen. | Dr. J. Lindsay. |
| Mr. Diósy. | Mr. Lipschztz. |
| Mr. R. E. Graves. | Mr. Mulling. |
| Dr. Buchanan Gray. | Rev. J. Nies. |
| Dr. Hitchcock. | Major E. B. Soane. |

One hundred and one Members have resigned or have otherwise ceased under the Rules to be Members of the Society.

During the past Session seventeen Resident Members have been elected, namely :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. H. F. V. Battle. | Mr. H. A. R. Gibb. |
| Mr. B. P. Denham. | Mme. G. de Hainaut-Amand. |
| Mr. L. C. French. | Lieut.-Col. G. V. Holmes. |

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Mr. J. I. P. Jayasuriya.
Miss H. E. Karnerup.
Mr. W. J. E. Lupton, O.B.E.
Miss Meadowcroft.
Rev. W. S. Page.
Miss E. C. Ridding.
Mr. H. A. Rosskeen.
Dr. G. Elliot Smith, M.A., LL.B., etc.
Mr. E. Templer Tickell.
Mr. H. Valvanne.
Mrs. Winckworth.

The following ninety-one Non-Resident Members have joined the Society :—

Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A.
Mr. P. V. K. Aiyer.
Mr. A. F. A. Ali.
Syed A. Ali, M.A.
Mr. L. H. Raj Anand.
Mr. M. M. Ansari, B.A.
Maulvi Syed N. Ashraf.
Mr. A. Aziz, Mir Munshi.
Babu C. Aurora, M.A., LL.B.
Mr. M. M. H. Beg.
Prof. R. Behari.
Pandit Shri D. Bhargava.
Mr. V. Bijoor, B.Sc.
Mr. F. W. Buckler, M.A.
Dr. C. P. Burger.
Mr. D. Chand.
Mr. T. Chand, B.A., LL.D.
Dr. H. Chatley.
Mr. S. K. R. Chaudhuri, M.A.
Mr. C. C. Clarke.
Mr. T. J. Coomeraswami.
Squadron-Leader A. R. C. Cooper.
Mrs. Longworth Dames.
Mr. B. K. Datta, B.Sc.
Sir P. Dukes.
Mr. D. C. Dutt.
Mr. S. V. Fitzgerald, I.C.S.
Surgeon-Commander J. A. Forrest, R.N.
Rev. Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, M.A.
Mr. U. N. Gaur.
Miss M. S. Gladstone.
Rev. H. H. Gowen, D.D., F.R.G.S.
Mr. R. S. Gupta.
Mr. M. L. Sen Gupta, B.A.
Syed F. H. Hashmi.
Mr. A. T. Holme, I.C.S.
Captain H. N. Hunt.
Mr. C. Z. Husein.
Mr. C. Z. Md. Ismail.
Mr. C. Jain.
Mr. M. Jinavijaya.
Mr. N. W. Kathalay, B.A.
Mr. M. Z. U. Khan.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe, M.A.
Babu K. Kinkar.
Mr. E. Kirkby.
Mr. J. Leveen.
Mr. S. E. Lucas.
Sheikh N. Khwaja Sahib Mahaldar.
Mr. C. Majumdar.
Mrs. C. L'E. Malone.
Mr. S. G. Mawson.
Dr. St. Michalski-Turienski.
Mrs. H. Mirza.

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Pandit R. G. Misra.
Pandit S. N. Misra, B.A.
Mr. A. R. Mohammad.
Mr. C. F. Mohammad, M.A.
Mr. M. G. Muhammad.
Rev. W. Munn.
Pandit D. Nath Shastri, B.A.
Rai Bahadur P. E. Nayuda, M.L.C.
Mr. E. O'Brien-Butler.
Mr. M. K. Pillay.
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D.
Babu B. Nath Prosad, B.A.
Mr. I. Saw Hla Pru.
Maulvi Md. Rahim Shah.
Rai Sahib S. B. Ram.
Mr. T. H. Robinson, M.A., D.D.
Mr. S. C. Roy.
Babu A. C. Sanyal, M.A., B.L.
Babu H. S. Saxena.
Lord Scone.
Major Erik Seidenfoden.
Mr. C. G. Seligman, M.D., F.R.S.
Mr. E. A. Shah.
Pandit R. P. Sharma.
Pandit R. C. Sharma, B.A., LL.B.
Prof. B. D. Sharman, B.A.
Raja N. Singha Deo Bahadur.
Mr. K. A. Taher.
Mr. M. A. Talwar, B.A.
Prof. S. Varma.
Mr. M. L. Varshanai.
Babu B. Bahadur Verma.
Mr. H. L. Vrati, B.A.
Rev. J. Webster.
Mr. L. H. Williams.
Lieut.-Col. Sir A. T. Wilson.
Maulvi M. Md. Yaqub Khan.

The total number of new members now stands at 109, but the members lost to the Society by death, resignation, and removal amount to 125. The total of the Society as a whole is 955 (last year 971). The new rates of subscription came into force in January, 1923.

*Library Subscriptions*

Three Libraries have ceased to subscribe, but their places have been filled by nine new ones.

*Finance*

*Letting of Offices.*—During the Session all the offices on the second floor, save one, have been let.

*The Hon. Treasurer's Report* shows for 1922 an income of £3,136 16*s.* 9*d.* and an expenditure of £3,124 0*s.* 7*d.*, as compared with the income £3,198 10*s.* 10*d.* and expenditure £3,219 6*s.* 3*d.* during 1921.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon. Solicitor,

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# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| SUBSCRIPTIONS— | | |
| Resident Members | 296 2 0 | |
| Non-Resident Members | 928 10 0 | |
| 3 Non-Resident Compounders | 39 0 0 | |
| 1 Resident Compounder | 25 4 0 | |
| | | 1,288 16 0 |
| RENTS RECEIVED | | 662 10 0 |
| GRANTS— | | |
| Government of India | 315 0 0 | |
| ,, Hong-Kong | 25 0 0 | |
| ,, Straits Settlements | 20 0 0 | |
| ,, Federated Malay States | 40 0 0 | |
| | | 400 0 0 |
| SUNDRY GRANTS | | 59 1 0 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT— | | |
| Subscriptions | 428 5 4 | |
| Additional Copies sold | 86 0 6 | |
| Sales of Pamphlets | 40 4 9 | |
| ,, Indexes | 3 6 6 | |
| | | 557 17 1 |
| DIVIDENDS | | 33 0 2 |
| INCOME TAX RETURNED | | 5 5 0 |
| INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT | 3 8 2 | |
| ,, POST OFFICE SAVINGS DEPOSIT ACCOUNT | 5 9 5 | |
| | | 8 17 7 |
| CENTENARY VOLUME (Subscriptions in advance) | | 14 19 0 |
| SUNDRY RECEIPTS | | 8 16 5 |
| BALANCE IN HAND 1ST JANUARY, 1922 | | 266 9 8 |
| | | £3,305 11 11 |

### FUNDS.

£454 16*s.* 9*d.* 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).

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# PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1922

## PAYMENTS.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| HOUSE ACCOUNT— | | |
| Rent, Income Tax, and House Duty | 625 15 11 | |
| Rates, less contributions by Tenants | 40 7 3 | |
| Gas and Electric Light, do. | 20 17 10 | |
| Coals and Coke, do. | 29 18 4 | |
| Telephone | 10 15 0 | |
| Cleaning Windows and Carpets | 7 17 6 | |
| Insurance | 33 19 7 | |
| House Painting and Repairs | 133 4 5 | |
| Other Expenditure | 21 9 6 | |
| | | 924 5 4 |
| LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND | | 20 5 6 |
| SALARIES AND WAGES | | 652 0 0 |
| PRINTING AND STATIONERY | | 119 17 2 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT— | | |
| Printing | 821 1 5 | |
| Postage | 51 5 2 | |
| | | 872 6 7 |
| LIBRARY EXPENDITURE | 273 8 11 | |
| Less receipts from Sale of Books | 72 14 6 | |
| | | 200 14 5 |
| LOAN REPAID TO ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND. | | 100 0 0 |
| AUDITORS' FEE | | 5 5 0 |
| BANK CHARGES | | 1 10 0 |
| POSTAGES | | 61 17 4 |
| SUNDRY PAYMENTS— | | |
| Teas | 20 10 11 | |
| Parcels and fares | 1 14 3 | |
| "S.B.A." and "R.A.S." Journals | 15 17 0 | |
| Lantern Operator | 12 5 0 | |
| Reporters' Fees | 2 2 0 | |
| Centenary Volume Typing | 18 9 | |
| Sundries | 14 16 10 | |
| | | 68 4 9 |
| BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1922— | | |
| Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Deposit Account | 50 0 0 | |
| Savings Bank | 117 19 1 | |
| £ s. d. | | |
| Lloyds Bank, Ltd. Current Account— | | |
| General Fund . . . 123 3 5 | | |
| *Less*—Library Fund overspent 14 4 2 | | |
| | 108 19 3 | |
| Cash in hand, Postage Account | 2 7 6 | |
| | | 279 5 10 |
| | | £3,305 11 11 |

H. B. MORSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS,
For the Council.
E. S. M. PEROWNE,
For the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

JRAS. JULY 1923.



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# SPECIAL FUNDS

## Oriental Translation Fund

| Receipts. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | Payments. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1922. | | | | | | |
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 612 3 11 | Preface to Oriental Translation Fund, Vol. XXVII | 2 0 6 | |
| | Sales and Sundry Receipts | 88 2 9 | | Binding Do. | 33 0 0 | |
| | Repayment of Loan from General Fund | 100 0 0 | | Refund for Book Returned | 10 5 | |
| | Repayment of Loan from Monograph Fund | 75 13 5 | | Storage of Quire Stock | 3 7 10 | |
| | Interest on Deposit | 7 15 11 | | Insurance of Quire Stock | 1 12 6 | |
| | | | 271 12 1 | | | 40 11 3 |
| | | | | 1922. | | |
| | | | | Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary | | 843 4 9 |
| | | | £883 16 0 | | | £883 16 0 |

## Monograph Fund

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 47 17 9 | Refund of Loan from Oriental Translation Fund. | 75 13 5 |
| | Sales and Sundry Receipts | 50 3 5 | 50 3 5 | Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary | 22 7 9 |
| | | | £98 1 2 | | £98 1 2 |

## Leasehold Redemption Fund

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb. 18. | War Loan 5 per cent 1929–47 Purchased | | 20 5 6 | Dec. 31. Balance— Represented by £21 1*s.* 7*d.* 5 per cent War Loan | 21 6 6 |
| Dec. 31. | Dividends Received and Re-Invested | | 1 1 0 | | |
| | | | £21 6 6 | | £21 6 6 |

## Dinner and Hospitality Fund

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 40 10 7 | Dec 31. Balance at Bankers on Deposit | 40 18 4 |
| | Interest on Deposit Account | | 7 9 | | |
| | | | £40 18 4 | | £40 18 4 |

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# TRUST FUNDS

## Prize Publication Fund

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | | | | 224 | 0 | 8 | | Printing and Binding Vol. VI | 143 | 10 | 1 |
| | Sales and Sundry Receipts | 27 | 7 | 11 | | | | | Dec. 31. | Balance Carried to Summary | 200 | 18 | 6 |
| | Subvention from India Office | 75 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | | | |
| | Dividends | 18 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 120 | 7 | 11 | | | | | |
| | | | | | | £344 | 8 | 7 | | | £344 | 8 | 7 |

## Gold Medal Fund

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | | | 71 | 18 | 1 | | Gold Medal | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| | Dividends | | | | 9 | 15 | 0 | | Tea for Reception | 8 | 2 | 3 |
| | | | | | | | | | Report of Meeting | 2 | 17 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 38 | 19 | 9 |
| | | | | | | | | Dec. 31. | Balance Carried to Summary | 42 | 13 | 4 |
| | | | | | £81 | 13 | 1 | | | £81 | 13 | 1 |

## Public Schools' Gold Medal

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | | | 45 | 19 | 9 | | Gold Medals (2 competitions) | 14 | 1 | 6 |
| | Dividends | | | | 20 | 1 | 4 | | Prize Books | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | Tea, Printing, and Postage | 6 | 11 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | Report of Meeting | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | Purchase £40 Conversion $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at $77\frac{3}{4}$ | 31 | 12 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 63 | 5 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | Dec. 31. | Balance Carried to Summary | 2 | 15 | 7 |
| | | | | | £66 | 1 | 1 | | | £66 | 1 | 1 |

## *SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES*

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oriental Translation Fund | | | | 843 | 4 | 9 | | Cash at Bankers— | | | |
| Monograph Fund | | | | 22 | 7 | 9 | | On Current Account | | 165 | 12 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | On Deposit Account | | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | £865 | 12 | 6 | | | | £865 | 12 | 6 |

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## *SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES*

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prize Publication Fund . . . | 200 | 18 | 6 |
| Medal Fund . . . . . | 42 | 13 | 4 |
| Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund . | 2 | 15 | 7 |
| | £246 | 7 | 5 |

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cash at Bankers— | | | |
| On Current Account . . | 246 | 7 | 5 |
| | £246 | 7 | 5 |

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).
£40 Conversion 3½ per cent (Public Schools' Gold Medal).

H. B. MORSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

*April*, 1923.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
E. S. M. PEROWNE, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

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# JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

## ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1922.

### RECEIPTS.

| 1922. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1922— | | |
| | Cash at Bank on Current Account . . . | 269 15 8 | |
| | Cash at Bank on Deposit Account . . . | 452 17 0 | |
| | | | 722 12 8 |
| | NEW SOUTH WALES 4 per cent . | 29 3 4 | |
| | SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 4 per cent . . . | 29 9 2 | |
| | BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY . | 29 5 9 | |
| | 3½ per cent INDIA on £1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* | 29 0 0 | |
| | EAST INDIA RAILWAY CO. . | 32 14 4 | |
| | 5 per cent WAR LOAN 1929–47 . | 12 13 10 | |
| | CONVERSION LOAN 3½ per cent on £700 . . . . | 9 3 9 | |
| | | | 171 10 2 |
| | INTEREST ON DEPOSIT . . | | 3 14 0 |
| | RETURN OF INCOME TAX . | | 81 12 6 |
| | SUBVENTION MERCERS' CO. FOR PRINTING COL. HODSON'S BOOK *Primitive Culture in India* . . . . | | 10 0 0 |
| | | | £989 9 4 |

### PAYMENTS.

| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 31. | GRANT TO ORIENTAL SCHOOL FOR LECTURES | 105 0 0 | |
| | ADVERTISEMENT OF LECTURES . . | 10 0 0 | |
| | PRINTING AND BINDING OF *Primitive Culture in India* . . . . | 73 4 3 | |
| | GRANT PROF. UNVALA FOR RESEARCH . | 15 0 0 | |
| | PURCHASE OF £700 CONVERSION LOAN AT 77¾ . . . . . | 546 2 0 | |
| Dec. 31. | CASH AT BANKERS—CURRENT ACCOUNT . | 240 3 1 | |
| | | | £989 9 4 |

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* India 3½ per cent Stock.
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* War Loan, 5 per cent, 1929–47.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.

H. B. MORSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
E. S. M. PEROWNE, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

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Mr. A. H. Wilson, the Hon. Auditors, Mr. L. C. Hopkins and Mr. Perowne, and the official auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.

*Funds of the Society*

*James Forlong Fund.* — This Fund is allotted under the following heads: Lectures, Bursaries, Research, and Publications.

During the last Session, Council approved that a grant be given to publish *Primitive Culture of India*, by Colonel Hodson, and the fund has been expended as follows :—

Bursaries, £40 ; Research, £160 ; Publications, £50.

*Oriental Translation Fund.—The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* (translation). Edited from the Paris MS. by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., F.B.A., has been published.

*In the Press.—El Asatir*, or The Samaritan Apocalypse of Moses, by Dr. Gaster, and *Tarikh en-Nubah*, A History of the Fungs of Sennar, by Mr. Weld-Blundell.

*Prize Publications Fund.*—In the press: *Vasubandhu on the Fundamental Principles of the Sarvastivadin School of Buddhism*, by Professor Stcherbatsky.

*Lectures*

The following well-attended lectures have been delivered during the past Session, most of them illustrated by slides :—

"The Achæmenian Dynasty," by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes.

"Some Indian Nuns and others," by Lord Chalmers.

"A Persian Library," by Professor E. G. Browne.

"The Malay Peninsula," by Mr. C. Otto Blagden.

"Chinese Idealism in Temple and Bridge," by Miss G. E. Kemp.

"Arabian Alchemy and Chemistry," by Mr. Holmyard.

"Ancient Egyptian Literature," by Dr. Blackman.

"The God Indra and Religious Contests in Ancient India," by Mr. F. E. Pargiter.

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*Gifts Presented to the Society*

Mr. Faulds gave a book of Japanese Pictures of Buddhist images and a collection of Japanese drawings, and Mr. Battle photos. Mr. Beveridge presented the copies of the *Journal* from 1904–21, a large number of the publications of the Bengal Society, and many books on Indian Archæology.

Miss R. Whinfield has given a number of unbound copies of the *Lawa'ih of Jami*, translated by her uncle, the late Mr. E. H. Whinfield; and Dr. Andreas Nell has helped to complete the Society's defective set of the Ceylon Branch *Journal*, while *Gems of Chinese Literature* has been presented by Professor H. A. Giles (Gold Medallist). Madame Gordon has sent rubbings of the Nestorian Monument at Si Au Fu in Shensi, China, and Wayaku Jōdo Sombukyō. Also the three books of the Jōdo sect translated from Chinese into Japanese, 3rd issue, 1922.

Eight delegates attended the double Centenary of the Société Asiatique de Paris, 10th–13th July, 1922. They were as follows :—

Mr. Weld-Blundell, Dr. Cowley, Dr. Hall, Professor Langdon, Dr. Pinches, Professor Rapson, Sir Denison Ross, and Dr. Thomas.

Two delegates attended the Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies at Brussels, 8th–15th April, 1923.

They were Professor Raymond Beazley and Mr. Foster.

*Triennial Gold Medal Presentation*

On 4th July the Triennial Gold Medal of the Society was awarded by the President to Professor H. A. Giles, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Sir Charles Addis, Sir John Jordan, and Mr. Choa-Hsin Chu (Chinese Chargé d'Affaires) spoke on this occasion.

*Presentation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal*

On 5th December the President awarded the Society's Gold Medal for the best essay "on some Indian or other

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Oriental Subject" to Mr. S. de Lotbinière, of Eton, and the book prize to Mr. S. K. Noakes, of Merchant Taylor's School. The subject of the essay was "Tipu Sultan". Sir Denison Ross and the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn, Head Master of Merchant Taylor's, spoke on the occasion.

### *The Journal*

Owing to the cost of printing, the *Journal* is limited in size, but it has been decided to increase it to 168 pages during 1923. During the Session several valuable articles have been printed, many short miscellaneous contributions have been included, and a number of books reviewed. So many important papers are sent to the *Journal* that the lack of space is much to be regretted.

### *Special General Meetings*

Special General Meetings were called on 4th July, 1922, to amend Rules 102–5, and on 14th March, 1923, to suspend temporarily Rule 9.

### *Centenary*

This year is the Centenary of the Society, and its celebration will be combined with a Meeting of the Entente, the dates fixed being 17th–20th July. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Vice-Patron of the Society, has graciously consented to preside at the opening Reception, and there will be a banquet and other entertainments.

A Centenary Volume, giving a succinct history of the Society from 1823–1923, with a list of all the articles and miscellaneous notes published in the *Journal* and an alphabetical List of Authors, will be brought out on this occasion.

### *Recommendations of the Council*

Under Rule 31, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. H. B. Morse, and Mr. A. G. Ellis retire from the offices of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend the re-election of Dr. Thomas and Mr. Ellis, but regret that Dr. Morse feels obliged to resign his post on the ground

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of health. They therefore recommend the election of Mr. Perowne, who has been so good as to express his willingness to undertake the duties of Treasurer.

Last November, Dr. Blackman and Dr. Nicholson were co-opted on the Council in the place of Mr. Grant Brown and the late Mr. Rylands.

Under Rule 32, Mr. Foster, Professor Margoliouth, Mr. Perowne and Mr. Campbell Thompson retire from the Council, who recommend Mr. Enthoven, Mr. Hopkins, Dr. Morse, and Professor Rapson to fill their places.

The Council recommend as Hon. Auditors Mrs. Fraser and Mr. Hopkins, and as Auditors Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.

THE PRESIDENT, in moving the adoption of the report, said he hoped it would commend itself to the members. Dr. Morse, whose retirement from the Hon. Treasurership they greatly regretted, would place before them a pleasant picture of the financial position of the Society. They all felt how much the Society owed to Dr. Morse for his assiduous attention to the financial side of their operations.

DR. MORSE, in seconding the report, gave an interesting survey of the position of the various trust and prize funds, and also of the general fund. The outstanding feature of the latter in recent years had been the inevitable heavy cost of moving to the present premises, which cost altogether close upon £3,000 and exhausted their accumulated funds. But when they compared the present position with that of the last pre-war year they would have no cause for discouragement. In 1913 there were 88 resident and 526 non-resident members. Last year they had 98 resident members, 203 others in the British Isles, and 628 abroad, making an increase from a total of 614 to a total of 929. The subscriptions from members had risen from £877 to £1,289, but the ratio this item bore to total receipts had fallen from 48·2 to 41·1 per cent. On the expenditure side, house rent and maintenance now absorbed 29·1 per cent, as compared with 38·1 in 1913. Salaries and wages were now 25·9 per cent, as against 20 per

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cent. The library had advanced from 2·8 to 4·5 per cent, but they had now provided an assistant librarian who was at the disposal of students for finding books in the library. The *Journal* account now absorbed 27·9 per cent, while in 1913 it accounted for 33·2 per cent. On the revenue side, mention should be made of the generosity of the India Office in increasing the annual grant from 200 guineas to 300 guineas. They also received from the Government of Hong Kong £28, from the Straits Settlements £20, and from the Federated Malay States £40, making altogether a total of £400, or 12·8 per cent of their receipts. The receipts from the sale of the *Journal*, amounting to 17·8 per cent, were not susceptible probably to much expansion, as the libraries which needed the *Journal* were for the most part already subscribers. The *Journal* was the chief attraction for members, and it was most important that they should go back to the utmost extent circumstances permitted to the quantitative standard of pre-war times. In 1913 the *Journal* comprised 1,118 pages. The most restricted period was in 1919, when the total was 580 pages. Last year they advanced to 664 pages. They must not only maintain, but go beyond this increase. During last year the cost per page was reduced by 6 or 7 per cent, and it was decided to increase the size of the *Journal* by a similar percentage.

Sir Edward Gait expressed the general regret of members at the retirement from the Hon. Treasureship of Dr. Morse, to whose efforts the satisfactory financial position was largely due. Those members who had spent many years in India were gratified to notice the election to honorary membership of Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who was a recognized authority on Mogul history. The honour would be greatly appreciated not only by Mr. Sarker, but by other Indian research workers. A gratifying feature of the increased membership since the war was the growing proportion of Indian members. A number of provincial and other research societies had been founded in the last few years, and it might have been thought

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that the effect would be to draw away members from the R.A.S. But experience had shown an exactly reverse effect. The explanation was that the local societies had stimulated interest among many Indians in Oriental research and had made the work of the Society far better known in India. A good deal of encouragement would be given to these young societies if a review of their activities was given periodically in the pages of the *Journal*. It would also be helpful if members of the R.A.S. contributed occasionally, as Sir George Grierson and the late Dr. Vincent Smith had done, to the journals of the societies. This friendly help would stimulate research and tend to increase their membership.

Dr. Pinches said that the more members they had the more they would be able to increase the size of the *Journal*, and that must be their constant aim. Amid hearty laughter, he humorously compared the advantages of membership of the Society with "listening-in", remarking that the latter entertainment had been described as the most unsociable form of relaxation. Many people might think that they could not afford to devote a subscription to anything so unnecessary as Oriental research, but there were other things just as unnecessary, and among these he classed "listening-in".

The report was unanimously adopted, and on the motion of Lady Holmwood and Colonel Phillott the recommendations of the Council as to the election of honorary officers and members of Council were adopted.

The President said that the year under review at that meeting closed the first century of the Society's life, but a survey of the achievements of the past hundred years would more fittingly come at the Centenary celebrations in July; so he would restrict himself to indicating in outline some aspects of their activities in the octave covering the war and the scarcely less devastating years of peace which had followed. The Society had not only weathered the storm, but might congratulate itself on having made fruitful progress in enlarging the bounds of Oriental knowledge, and he wished par-

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ticularly to indicate in this connexion the work of their officers and members of the Council. The luminous survey of the field which followed began with reference to the contributions made to Sinology of late by their Gold Medallist, Professor Giles, and by Professor Parker, Dr. Morse, Mr. Perceval Yetts, and Mr. Hopkins. Their Vice-President, Sir Henry Howorth (happily recovered from a serious illness in the past winter), was preparing a new and much amplified edition of his great *History of the Mongols*, long since out of print.

After remarking that they hailed with enthusiasm the ever-growing work being carried on by Sir Denison Ross at the School of Oriental Studies, the President congratulated Sir George Grierson on the completion of the 11th volume of his great *Linguistic Survey of India*. They looked forward wistfully to the arrival of the second of the six volumes of the *Cambridge History of India*, which was under the editorship of a member of their Council, Professor Rapson, who had among his contributors Dr. Thomas and Dr. Barnett.

Mr. Pargiter had brought out his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, in which he sought to establish synchronism in the legendary history of India. The particular thanks of the Society were due to Mr. Pargiter for the great pains he had taken in compiling their Centenary volume. The works of Professor Macdonell, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sir Charles Eliot, and Sir Aurel Stein were briefly noted, together with those of Mr. Dames and Professor Keith.

In Semitic studies it was reassuring to find the Encyclopædia of Islam resuming after the war its march to completion. The work of the late Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. Macartney, Professor Browne, and Dr. Nicholson in Arabic and Persian fields was mentioned. Dr. Gaster was congratulated on his Hebraic researches, and reference was made to the work of Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge and to the appearance of Professor Margoliouth's translation of *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*. In Egypt, in addition to the great discovery of King Tutankh-amen's tomb, good work had been done by

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Dr. Flinders Petrie, and Messrs. Gardiner, Weigall and Blackman. Dr. Hali, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Campbell Thompson had contributed to the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

While great difficulties had been imposed on the Society's activities by the war, there was a silver lining to the cloud, for the new political conditions in Mesopotamia and Palestine were now markedly favourable to archæological undertakings on a large and comprehensive scale. A great scheme, framed by the foremost archæologists of the country, was afoot to establish in Jerusalem an archæological school which, as time went on would, it was hoped, extend its operations to the Tigris Valley. Meantime, important excavations were going on in Mesopotamia and furnished evidence of the great migration westward in pre-historic ages. At first, archæology of the Near East was rudely disturbed, for many archæologists volunteered for active service. Fortunately, however, many of these volunteers were able to use their special knowledge to good effect. They might well hope that a bright future lay before workers in the Near Eastern field, and that their fruitful labours with spade and pen, whether on the site of Babylon or of Ur of the Chaldees or in Egypt, might enrich their knowledge by rediscovering forgotten civilizations and by illuminating the dim origins of European civilization which derives from them.

From this breathless scamper over many fields, it would seem that in the domain of Oriental Science, in spite of the war, there had been progress—unequal it was true, but everywhere progress. They were amply justified in looking forward with confident hope to further progress in the years immediately ahead as they entered on the second century of the life and work of the Society. Success must continue to rest on sound scholarship and on that helpful spirit of goodwill and co-operation which united their officers, Council, and staff.

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The Secretary will be obliged if any member could supply the addresses of the following :—

NON-RESIDENT COMPOUNDERS

Mr. J. Fargues.
Lieut.-Col. Dempster Heming.
Mr. C. H. Lepper.
Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee.
Pandit Mohanlal Visnulal.
Mr. H. E. Phya Rajanattayanuhar.
Mr. Iyengar B. Ramasvami.
Mr. C. Rustomji.

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Mr. S. M. Brown, D.F.C.
Rev. E. Osborn Martin.
Lieut. W. R. Patterson.
Mr. K. N. Sitaram, B.A.
Mrs. K. Satthianadhan, M.A.
Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar.

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The following were elected at the General Meeting in June:—

Babu D. C. Dutta, M.A.
Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. M. H. Hosain, Ph.D.
Mr. Wasiullah Khan.
Mr. J. H. M. Moorhead.
Mr. Brij Mohan Sharma, B.Sc., M.A.

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On 12th June Major Owen Rutter read a paper on British North Borneo, of which this is the summary :—

Forty-five years ago North Borneo, then a tropical wilderness inhabited by pirates and headhunters, was acquired from the native Sultans by a handful of pioneers, at the suggestion of a Scots engineer from Glasgow. Since that day, under the administration of the British North Borneo

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Chartered Company, the country has been transformed. The natives live peaceful lives as fishermen or farmers; the Company safeguards their interests and respects their customs, the most interesting of the latter being the worship of sacred jars, which are tended by aged priestesses with elaborate ceremonial. The hill country has been opened up by means of bridle paths; rubber, tobacco, and coconut estates have been made; there are over 100 miles of railway, and although the country has suffered in the past from the lack of roads, these are in the making now. The climate is healthy, and living not expensive, yet only one per cent of the territory, the size of Ireland, has so far been developed.

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# PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

## Books

Aikat, A., On the poetry of Matthew Arnold, Robert Browning, and Rabindranath Tagore. University Extension Lectures. Calcutta, 1921. *From Publishers.*

Aka. Wissens. Wien. Anzeiger, 1922, No. 1–27. Wien, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Archæological Dept., Jammu and Kashmir State, Annual Report, 1919. *From Superintendent.*

Bhanu Rai, C., Narasinha-Nayana. Narsinghpur, 1922. *From Author.*

Brown, C. J., The coins of India. Heritage of India Series. Calcutta, London, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Buddhaghosa, Visuddhimagga, The path of purity. Pt. i. Translated by Pe Maung Tin. Pali Text Soc., Translation Ser. No. xi. London, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Caland, W., The Jaiminigṛhyasūtra belonging to the Sāmaveda with extracts from the Commentary, edited with an introduction and translated for the first time into English. Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. 2. Lahore, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Cambridge Ancient History, The Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. Vol. i. Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C. Cambridge, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Chauvin, V., Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes. Fasc. 12, Le Mahométisme. Ed. by L. Polani. Liége, 1913–22. *Bought.*

Cordier, H., Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. T. 4. Paris, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Davids, Mrs. Rhys, Tikapaṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Pt. iii (concluded), with a digest of the five other Paṭṭhānas and the Commentary (concluded), edited by London, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Davids, T. W. R., and Stede, W., The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary, ed. by Pt. iv, Cit.-No. Chipstead, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Dhanapāla, Bhavisayattakaha. Partly ed. by C. D. Dalal and completed with introduction, etc., by P. D. Gune. Gaekwad's Or. Ser., No. 20. Baroda, 1923. *From Central Library Dept.*

Dumont, P. E., Histoire de Nala épisode du Mahâbhârata. Traduction nouvelle. Bruxelles, 1923. *From Author.*

Eisenberg, I., Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammed ben 'Abdallah al-Kisa'i ex codicibus, qui in Monaco, Bonna, Lugd. Batav., Lipsia et Gothana asservantur editit. Pars prior et secundus. Lugd. Batav., 1922, 1923. *Bought.*



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Fort St. George, Records, Diary, and Consultation Book, 1700–1. Madras, 1922–3. *From High Commissioner.*

Gauthiot, R., Essai de grammaire Sogdienne, préface de A. Meillet. 1re partie Phonétique. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale. Paris, 1914–23. *Bought.*

Hopfner, T., Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae. Bonnae, 1923. *From Publishers.*

Imperial Record Department. List of the heads of administrations in India and of the India Office. Calcutta, 1923. *From High Commissioner.*

India, Linguistic Survey. Vol. xi. Gipsy languages, compiled and ed. by Sir G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, 1922. *From High Commissioner.*

Isaac of Nineveh, Mystic treatises, translated from Bedjan's Syriac text with introduction and registers by A. J. Wensinck. Verh. K. Aka. van Wetenschappen Letterkunde, D. 23, No. 1. Amsterdam, 1923. *From Translator.*

Jung, S., Life of Haji Moulvi M. Sameeullah Khan Bahadur. *From Author.*

Junker, H., Das Kloster am Isisberg. Grabungen bei El-Kubanieh 1910–11. Dritter Theil. Aka. Wissens. Wien, 1922. *From Publishers.*

Karlgren, B., Sound and symbol in Chinese. London, 1923. *From Publishers.*

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**The following Report of the Committee on Transliteration, appointed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society on 17th January, 1922, was adopted by the Council at its meeting held on 8th May, 1923, and is published for general information.**

As sanctioned by the Council, the Committee's recommendation that its report should be circulated for criticisms to selected Oriental scholars in this country, has been carried out. Replies have been received from Mr. W. Doderet, Mr. R. Guest, The Rev. Professor A. Guillaume, Colonel D. C. Phillott, Professor E. J. Rapson, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Professor R. L. Turner.

A meeting of the Committee was held on the 20th February, 1923. There were present :—

Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.
Dr. F. W. Thomas.
Mr. A. G. Ellis.
Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

All those gentlemen who had offered criticisms on the preliminary report had been invited to attend, and of these there were also present :—

Mr. W. Doderet,
Colonel D. C. Phillott, and
Professor R. L. Turner.

The Committee carefully considered the criticisms received, and accepted several of the suggestions made in them. On the other hand, it was unable to adopt certain other suggestions, as these referred to the Geneva system of transliteration which the Committee had no authority to alter.

The Committee now agrees unanimously in submitting the following revised and final report :—

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This Committee was formed in consequence of a letter received from a member of the Society pointing out certain discrepancies in the system of transliteration published in the Society's *Journal*.

We observe that this system is not laid down as to be used compulsorily in all articles published in the *Journal*, and we recognize the fact that, in minor particulars, many writers in the *Journal* habitually depart from it. By the Resolution of Council dated October, 1896, the Council does not do more than "earnestly recommend its adoption (so far as is possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, 'that the very great benefit of a uniform system' may be gradually obtained".

This system is almost identical with that approved of by the INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS held at Geneva in 1894. Where the system of the Royal Asiatic Society has departed from the Geneva system it has been either in very insignificant alterations in diacritical marks, or in the addition of characters which may be optionally substituted for those approved of at Geneva. In the latter case the Geneva forms were also retained, so that in certain cases there were two or more alternative methods of representing an Oriental character in Roman letters.

We are of opinion that in any revised system the same principle should be followed,—namely, that, for the sake of uniformity with the systems employed in other countries, the Geneva system should be retained in its entirety; but that, as in some cases particular Geneva characters are not in general use in this country or in India, optional forms should also, as hitherto in certain cases, be admitted, so as to adapt the Society's system more nearly to the requirements of Indian and English scholars. The necessity for the admission of these optional characters to our system will be apparent when it is

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recognized that types for some of the Geneva characters are found in only one or two presses in this country and not at all in India. Furthermore, in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars certain signs in the Roman alphabet have long been established, are found in most good presses, and can hardly be changed without causing considerable expense, great inconvenience, and great opposition. Having arisen independently, these last-named characters occasionally clash with those fixed at Geneva for Sanskrit and Arabic, and to avoid this it has been found necessary to add a few optional characters to the Geneva list.

While allowing most of the optional signs in the existing list to stand, we have found ourselves unable to recommend that all of them should be retained. Some of these have fallen into almost complete disuse, and one or two are signs to the use of which, for one reason or another, we are unable to assent. On the other hand, we have provided some new optional signs which will, we hope, be found acceptable to scholars and which will not give rise to difficulties in printing. In the suggestion of these new signs we have borne in mind the recommendation made to the Geneva Congress by our Society [1] that we should prefer characters of such a kind that, when the diacritical marks are either necessarily or inadvertently omitted, "la prononciation n'en soit pas trop défigurée pour des oreilles européennes."

In the following tables we give in each case two columns of transliteration. The first of these gives the transliteration as approved of at the Geneva Congress. These, as before, in the interests of uniformity we recommend for adoption as a whole. In the second column are shown those optional signs which we recommend for adoption by those scholars who for any reason are unable to employ the signs recommended at Geneva.

[1] See page 12 of the Congress Report.

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## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| | Geneva Transliteration. | Signs recommended as optional substitutes. |
|---|---|---|
| अ | *a* | |
| आ | *ā* | |
| इ | *i* | |
| ई | *ī* | |
| उ | *u* | |
| ऊ | *ū* | |
| ऋ | *ṛ* | *r̥* |
| ॠ | *ṝ* | *r̥̄* |
| ऌ | *ḷ* | *l̥* |
| ॡ | *ḹ* | *l̥̄* |
| ए | *e* | *ē* |
| ऐ | *ai* | |
| ओ | *o* | *ō* |
| औ | *au* | |
| क | *ka* | |
| ख | *kha* | |
| ग | *ga* | |
| घ | *gha* | |
| ङ | *ṅa* | |
| च | *ca* | *ch*a [1] |
| छ | *cha* | *ch*ha [1] |
| ज | *ja* | |
| झ | *jha* | |
| ञ | *ña* | |
| ट | *ṭa* | |
| ठ | *ṭha* | |
| ड | *ḍa* | |
| ढ | *ḍha* | |
| ण | *ṇa* | |
| त | *ta* | |
| थ | *tha* | |

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

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| | Geneva. | Options. |
|---|---|---|
| द . . . | *da* | |
| ध . . . | *dha* | |
| न . . . | *na* | |
| प . . . | *pa* | |
| फ . . . | *pha* | |
| व . . . | *ba* | |
| भ . . . | *bha* | |
| म . . . | *ma* | |
| य . . . | *ya* | |
| र . . . | *ra* | |
| ल . . . | *la* | |
| व . . . | *va* | |
| श . . . | *śa* | |
| ष . . . | *ṣa* | |
| स . . . | *sa* | |
| ह . . . | *ha* | |
| ळ . . . | *l̤a* | *ḷa* |
| ं (*Anusvāra*) . | *ṁ* | ,, |
| ँ (*Anunāsika*) . | *m̐* | |
| : (*visarga*) . . | *ḥ* | |
| × (*jihvāmūlīya*) . | *ḫ* | |
| ઃ (*upadhmānīya*) | *ḭ* | |
| ऽ (*avagraha*) . | ' | |
| *Udātta* . . | ´ | |
| *Svarita* . . | ^ | |
| *Anudātta* . . | ` | |

## Additional for Modern Vernaculars

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ड़ . . . | — | *ṛa* |
| ढ़ . . . | — | *ṛha* |



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Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

As usual, in the above, the fact that a vowel is long is indicated by a macron, as in *āsīt*. We have carried this further even than in the Geneva system, in which the vowel ॡ is indicated by *l̤*. To this we have added *ḹ* as an optional substitute. We also note that, when a long vowel is the result of crasis, some scholars (e.g. Professor Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary) prefer to indicate the length by a circumflex, as in *uktvâpagacchati*. We recommend that this also be allowed as an optional method of indicating length under such circumstances. It is true that this will clash with the same mark when used to indicate the *svarita* accent, but we think that the class of scholars who would use the circumflex as suggested would be competent to prevent confusion ensuing from the double use of the sign.

For the *r*- and *l*-vowels we suggest a circle, instead of a dot, below the letter as an optional diacritical mark. This device has long been used by some scholars (e.g. by Professor Brugmann in his comparative grammar), and is necessary in dealing with the modern Indian vernaculars, in which *ṛ* with a dot has an altogether different value as a very common consonant. For instance, if we transliterate the Hindī दृढ़ according to the Geneva system, we should have to write *dṛṛh*, in which the first *ṛ* represents the *r*-vowel, and the second *ṛ* (aspirated) represents the commonly occurring cerebral consonant. To avoid this confusion, we suggest the optional substitution of a circle for the dot in order to indicate the vowel sounds, so that it would be possible to transliterate दृढ़ by *dr̥ṛh*.

In Prakrit and in the modern Indian languages *e* and *o* may each be either long or short, and in some cases provision is made for this in the modern alphabets,

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while the Sanskrit convention is that they are always long. The Geneva system suggests the pairs *ĕ, e*; *ŏ, o* for Sanskrit and Prakrit to indicate the short and the long forms respectively of these vowels, but for the modern vernaculars it suggests that *ē* and *ō* should be employed for the long vowels. We suggest a uniform optional system, in which the short vowels, as in other cases, would have no mark, and the long vowels would be marked with a macron. Such would, for example, be necessary for Sanskrit in a work comparing Sanskrit with the modern vernaculars. In dealing with languages in which there can be no doubt as to the quantities of these vowels the option, of course, need not be exercised, and, if the occurrence of short *e* or short *o* is altogether exceptional, there can be no objection in that case to indicating them by *ĕ* and *ŏ* respectively. As examples of these vowels in the modern vernaculars, we may quote the Hindī *beṭiyā* or *bēṭī*, a daughter, and *ghoṛiyā* or *ghōṛī*, a mare.

As we have given *l̥̄* as an optional transliteration of the *l*-vowel, we are able to give *l̤* as an optional transliteration of the cerebral ळ, which is, on the face of it, more appropriate than the Geneva *l̲* (or, in Pāli, *ḷ*). In other words, we have made the Pāli sign optional for all languages.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars. Thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ã*, and so on. We see no reason why what is now an almost universal practice should not be permitted as an optional use.

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## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| | Geneva Transliteration. | Signs recommended as optional substitutes. |
|---|---|---|
| ا | at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere' | Hamza ʼ or ◦ |
| ب | *b* | |
| ت | *t* | |
| ث | *t̲*: permissible *th* | |
| ج | *j*: permissible *dj*[1] | |
| ح | *ḥ* | |
| خ | *ḫ*: permissible *kh* | |
| د | *d* | |
| ذ | *ḏ*: permissible *dh* | |
| ر | *r* | |
| ز | *z* | |
| س | *s* | |
| ش | *ṣ*: permissible *sh* | |
| ص | *ṣ* | |
| ض | *ḍ* | |
| ط | *t̲* or *ṭ*[1] | |
| ظ | *z̲* or *ẓ*[1] | |
| ع | ʻ | |
| غ | *ġ*: permissible *gh* | |
| ف | *f* | |
| ق | *q* | |
| ک | *k* | |

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, we do not recommend the use of *dj* for ج in England or India; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

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| Geneva. | | Options. |
|---|---|---|
| ل | *l* | |
| م | *m* | |
| ن | *n* | |
| و | *w* | |
| ه | *h* | |
| [ ۂ | — | |
| ي | *y* | |
| vowels ـَ *a*, ـِ *i*, ـُ *u* | | |
| lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, ـُو *ū* | | |
| [ | — | *Alif-i-maqṣūra* may be represented by *ā̤*] |
| diphthongs يَ *ay* and وَ *aw* | | يَ *ai* and وَ *au* |
| *e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū* | | |
| also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—ل of article ال to be always *l* | | |
| Also in India will be recognized *s̱* for ث, *ẕ* for ذ, and *z̤* for ض. | | The same are also optionally allowed for Persian |

[We recommend that, in the last paragraph, after the words "in India" there should be added between square brackets the words "and in transliterating Indian dialects". This is probably what was intended, but, as it stands, the wording is not clear.]

[*waṣla* — ']

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

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## ADDITIONAL LETTERS

| | Geneva. | Options. |
|---|---|---|
| Persian, Hindī, [Urdū], and Paṣḥtō. | | |
| پ | *p* | |
| چ | *ç*: permissible *ch* | *c* |
| ژ | *ʒ*: permissible *zh* | |
| گ | *g* | |
| Turkish letters. | | |
| ک | when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted | |
| ڭ | *ñ* | |
| Hindī, [Urdū], and Paṣḥtō. | | |
| ټ or ټ | *ṭ* | |
| ډ or ډ | *ḍ* | |
| ړ or ړ | *ṛ* | |
| [ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) | — | ~ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*.] |
| Paṣḥtō letters. | | |
| څ | *ts* | *ʦ* |
| ږ | *ġ* | *ʒh* (according to dialect) |
| ڼ | *ṇ* | |
| ښ | *ksh* | *ṣh* or *ḳh* (according to dialect) |
| [ځ or ځ | — | *ʤ* or *ʤ*] |

We have added one new sign which is required for Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō, but which is not mentioned in the Geneva list. Also, for Paṣḥtō alone, we have added optional signs, viz. *ʦ* and *ʤ*, for the two sounds of the

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letter څ. It should be noted that this letter has two distinct sounds, one resembling *ts* and the other resembling *dz*, and in dictionaries is given twice over—once before چ and once before ځ, as if the sign represented two different letters. When it has the *dz*-sound, it sometimes appears in manuscripts as ځ, and is thus distinguished from the character with the *ts*-sound. We have accepted these facts, and have put the character twice in our list, each time with a different transliteration.

The Paṣhtō letter ښ has two sounds. In the south-west dialect it has a sound something like that of ش, and in the north-east its sound is more like that of خ. The Geneva list attempts to show both these sounds by the compound letter *ksh*. We think that it is more simple to acknowledge the dialectic difference and to give a double transliteration, one form to be employed for one dialect and the other for the other. This is the method employed in the Linguistic Survey of India. Exactly similar remarks apply to the south-western pronunciation (*ẓh*) and the north-eastern pronunciation (*g*) of the letter ږ. Here the Geneva list indicates only the pronunciation as *g*. We have therefore added *ẓh* as an optional form. This also is the sign adopted in the Linguistic Survey.

In other respects we accept the Geneva transliteration of the Arabic alphabet. We remark, however, that the numerous letters with a subscribed ˛ (*ṯ*, *ḥ*, *ḏ*, *ṣ*, *ġ*, *ç*, and *ẓ*) do not appear to have been widely adopted, and in this country and in India they would certainly give rise to difficulties in printing. We have therefore in each case been careful to see that an optional form is available. For *ṯ*, *ḥ*, *ḏ*, and *ġ* some scholars employ the Greek letters *θ*, *χ*, *δ*, and *γ* respectively, and for *ṣ*, *ç*, and *ẓ* the signs *š*, *č*, and *ž* respectively. Our only reason for not recommending them is that they too will cause difficulties in printing.

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Finally, whatever scheme is adopted, we recommend that great care be taken to see that it is accurately printed in our *Journal*. Our present scheme, as published in the *Journal*, contains several unfortunate misprints.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.
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T. GRAHAME BAILEY.
F. W. THOMAS.
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1918 *GHOSE, Nagendra Nath, B.A., 27 *Baldeopara Road, Calcutta.*
1920 *GHOSH, Susil Kumar, B.A., 7 *Ragendra Dutt Lane, Calcutta.*
1908 *GHOSH, Wopendranath, *Rai Bahadur, 13 Madhal Lane, Bhawanipur P.O., Calcutta.*
1921 *GIBANI, Sayid Aulad Ali, B.A., *Oak Grove, Jharipani P.O., Dehra Dun, U.P.*
1923 GIBB, H. A. R., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
1921 GILBERTSON, Maj. G. W., 373 *Holmesdale Rd., S.E. 25.*
1921 *GILDER, Framroz N., 12*th Lane, Khetwadi, Bombay, India.*
1919 *§GILES, Lionel, M.A., D.Litt., *Dept. of Oriental Books, British Museum, W.C. 1.*
1912 *GIPPERICH, H., *German Legation, Peking, China.*
1923 *GLADSTONE, Miss M. S., *The Briary, Freshwater, I. of W.*

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1921 *Goodier, Most Rev. A., S.J., *Archbishop of Bombay, Archbishop's House, Wodehouse Road, Fort, Bombay.*

300 1920 *Gopinath, Pandit P., M.A., C.I.E., *Rai Bahadur, Member of State Council, Jaipur, Rajputana.*

1884 *†Gorparshad, Thakur, *Talukdar of Baiswar, Aligarh.*

1922 *Gourlay, W. R., *Sec. to Governor of Bengal, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.* 1.

1922 *Gowen, Rev. H. H., D.D., *Univ. of Washington, 5,005, 22nd Avenue N.E., Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.*

1910 *Graham, W. A., *Adviser to Ministry of Agriculture, Bangkok, Siam.*

1918 Greenshields, Robert S., I.C.S. (ret.), 35 *Clarges St., W.* 1.

1893 *Greenup, Rev. Albert W., D.D., *The Principal's Lodge, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N.* 5.

1884 §Grierson, Sir George A., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S. (ret.), Vice-President, *Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.*

1919 Griffith, F. Ll., 11 *Norham Gdns., Oxford.*

1919 Gry, M. L., *Recteur à l'Université,* 10 *Rue La Fontaine, Angers, N. et L. France.*

310 1897 §Guest, A. Rhuvon, 1*a Thornton Hill, S.W.* 19.

Hon. 1898 Guidi, Prof. Ignace, 24 *Botteghe Oscure, Roma.*

1921 *Guillaume, Rev. Prof. A., 43 *North Bailey, Durham.*

1910 *Gunawardhana, W. F., *Dept. of Public Instruction, Rose Villa, Mt. Lavinia, Ceylon.*

1921 *Gupta, B. L. Sen, B.A., 13–4 *Ram Kanta Bose's Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.*

1920 *Gupta, Babu Kshetro M., M.B., *Chief Med. Off., Mohishadal Raj, Bengal.*

1923 *Gupta, M. L. Sen, B.A., "*Uma Villa,*" *Araria, Purnea, B. & O., India.*

1921 *Gupta, Pitam Lal, M.Sc., LL.B., *Prof. of Mathematics, Raja Ram College, Kolhapur.*

1923 *Gupta, R. Swarupa, H. M. B., *Managing Proptr. "Janm Ghutti Karyalaya", Aligarh City, U.P., India.*

1919 *Gupta, Babu Shiva Prasad, *Sevaupavana, Benares.*

320 1894 *Gurdon, Lt.-Col. Philip R. T., C.S.I., I.A., *c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1921 *Gurner, Cyril W., I.C.S., *c/o King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.*

1918 *Gurú, Kanhaya Lal, M.A., *Ret. Inspector of Schools, Sangor, C.P., India.*

1920 *Guru, Kamta P., *Garha Phatak, Jubbulpore, C.P.*

1921 *Gwynn, R. M., M.A., *Prof. of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin.*

1910 *Gyi, Maung Maung, *Inspector of Excise, Opium Shop, Mandalay.*

1921 *Habib, M., B.A., *Muslim University, Aligarh.*

1902 *Hagopian, Prof. G., 25 *Chesilton Rd., S.W.* 6.

1920 *Haidari, M. A. Khan, *Akbar Manzil, Delhi.*

1898 *Haig, Lt.-Col. Sir T. Wolseley, C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *No.* 37 *Trinity College, Dublin.*

330 1923 Hainaut-Amand, Mme. G. de.

1922 *Haldae, Babu Satya Charan, *c/o Lale Babu K. Lal Haldae, Sub-Dy. Magistrate, Sandip, Noakali, Bengal.*

1919 Hall, H. R., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., *British Museum, W.C.* 1.

1909 *Halliday, Robert, *Mount Pleasant, Moulmein, Burma.*

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1904 *HANSON, Rev. O., Litt.D., *Kachin Mission, Namkham, via Bhamo, Up. Burma.*
1920 *HAQ, Prof. A., 116 *Southmoor Rd., Oxford.*
1920 *HAQQ, Prof. Qazi Fazl-i-, M.A., *Govt. College, Lahore.*
HON. 1921 HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, Mahamahopadhyaya, C.I.E., M.A., *Prof. Univ. of Dacca.*
1921 *HARDEN, Rev. T. M., LL.D., *The Hostel, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N.* 5.
340 1915 *HARGREAVES, H., *Supt. of Archæology, Lahore.*
1910 *HARLEY, A. H., M.A., *Principal, Madrasah College, Calcutta.*
1913 *HARPER, Rev. Robert, M.D., *N. Shan States, Namkham, via Bhamo, Up. Burma.*
1921 *HARRIS, Rev. E. N., *American Baptist Paku Karen Mission, Toungoo, Burma.*
1919 HARRIS, Dr. Rendel, 172 *Withington Road, Whalley Range, Manchester.*
1919 HARRISON, Edgar, E., 12 *Leopold Rd., W.* 5.
1919 HARTLAND, Ernest, *Hardwick Court, Chepstow.*
1919 *HASAN, Majid-ul-, *c/o Y. H. Khan, Dep. Insp. Gen. of Police, Gosha Mahal, Hyderabad.*
1922 *HASHMI, Syed F. Husain, *Supt. Publishing Dept. "Newal Kishore Press", Lucknow, India.*
1920 *†HASSAN-KHAN, Haji M. Ghulam, 4 *Sadar Bazar Lines, Camp, Karachi,*
350 1921 HAY, George E., 96 *Olive Rd., N.W.* 2.
1921 HAYASHI, H. E. Baron, *Japanese Ambassador,* 10 *Grosvenor Sq., W.* 1.
1918 *HAYES, Rev. Herbert E. E., *Missionary, C.M.S. House, Menouf, Egypt.*
*†HEMING, Lieut.-Col. Dempster.
1911 *HERTEL, Prof. Johannes, *Leisnigerstr.* 24, *Grossbauchlitz bei Döbeln, Saxony.*
1912 *HILDITCH, John, *Minglands, Crumpsall Lane, Crumpsall, Manchester.*
1901 *HILL, Rev. J. R., *S.P.G. Mission, Banda, U.P.*
1913 HILL, S. C., *Ind. Educ. Serv.* (ret.), 36 *West Heath Drive, N.W.* 3.
1885 †HIPPISLEY, Alfred E., *late Commissioner Chinese Customs,* 8 *Herbert Crescent, S.W.* 1.
1891 *HIRSCHFELD, H., Ph.D., *Lecturer on Semitics at Jews' Univ. Colleges,* 14 *Randolph Gdns., N.W.* 6.
360 1921 HOBSON, R. L., *British Museum, W.C.* 1.
1919 *HOCART, A. M., *Anuradhapura, Ceylon.*
1919 HODGKINSON, Rev. J. P., 13 *Swinley Rd., Wigan, Lancs.*
1918 *HOGG, J. Drummond, *H.B.M. Consulate General, Saigon, Cochin China.*
1919 HOLLINGWORTH, E. W., *Rearsby, St. Peter's Road, Broadstairs.*
1922 *HOLME, Alan T., I.C.S. (ret.), *Bearsdene, Camberley, Surrey.*
1922 *HOLMES, Lieut.-Col. G. V., *East India United Service Club, c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd.,* 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
1915 HOLMWOOD, Lady, 21 *Courtfield Road, S.W.* 7.
1919 *HOLMYARD, E. J., B.A., *The Brow, Clevedon, Somerset.*
1911 *HOPKINS, E. Washburn, *Prof. of Sanskrit, Yale University,* 299 *Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.*
370 1889 §HOPKINS, Lionel Charles, I.S.O., *The Garth, Haslemere.*

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1908 HORNELL, Wm. Woodward, *Ind. Educ. Serv., Office of Director of Public Instruction Bengal, Writers' Bldgs., Calcutta.*

1923 *HOSAIN, Shams-ul-'Ulama M. Hidayat, Ph.D. Khan Bahadur, *Prof. of Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta.*

HON. 1902 HOUTSMA, Prof. M. T., *Mahistraat 6, Utrecht, Holland.*

1917 *HOWARTH, Major L. A., *Political Agent, Muscat, Persian Gulf.*

1919 §HOWORTH, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., VICE-PRESIDENT, 45 *Lexham Gdns., W.* 8.

1919 *HOYTEMA, D. van, *Malakkastraat 99, The Hague, Holland.*

1922 *HUNT, Capt. H. North, *Malayan C.S., Batu Pahat, Johore, via Singapore.*

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1923 *HUSEIN, C. Zafar, *Union Society, Oxford.*

380 1921 *HUTTON, J. H., C.I.E., I.C.S., *Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.*

1908 *†HYDE, James H., *Pavillon de l'Ermitage, 7 rue de l'Ermitage, Versailles, Seine et Oise, France.*

1922 *IKEDA, Chotatsu, 21 *Yamabushi-chō, Shitaya-ku, Tokyo, Japan.*

1921 *INGRAMS, Capt. Wm. H., *Chake Chake, Pemba, Zanzibar.*

1921 *IRWELL, Mrs. H., 8*f Bickenhall Mans., W.* 1.

1923 *ISMAIL, Chowdhury Md., M.A., *Asst. Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*

1920 *IVANOW, W., c/o *Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park St., Calcutta.*

1921 *IVES, C. St. John, *Mailoor Estate, Kullakamby, Nilgiri Hills, S. India.*

1920 *IYENGAR, M. H. Krishna, *Educ. Dept., Mysore.*

1919 *IYENGAR, Prof. T. R. Sesha, 65 *Coral Merchant St., Madras.*

390 1916 *IYER, K. Ramaswami, "*New Home*," *Brahmins Club Road, Trivandrum, Travancore.*

1906 HON. 1923 *JACKSON, A. V. Williams, L.H.D., LL.D., Litt.D., *Prof. Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.*

HON. 1912 JACOBI, Dr. Hermann, *Geb. Regierungsrat, Sanskrit Prof., 59 Niebuhrstr., Bonn, Germany.*

1920 *JAGOE, Lt. H. E., K.A.

1922 *†JAIN, Chhotelall, 53/1, *Burtolla St., Calcutta.*

1922 *JAIN, Prof. S. P., M.A., *Kayastha St., Panipat, Panjab, India.*

1916 *JAINI, Jagmandir Lal, M.A., *Barr.-at-Law, Saharanpur, U.P.*

1901 *JARDINE, W. E., C.I.E., *The Residency, Gwalior.*

1920 *JASHPUR, Jubraj Deo S. Singh, Deo of, *P.O. Jashpur, via Ranchi, C.P.*

1883 *†JAYAMOHUN, Thakor Singh, *Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, C.P.*

400 1922 JAYASURIYA, Philip C. R., *Indian Students' Union, Keppel St., W.C.* 1.

1922 *JAYASWAL, K. P., M.A., *Mirzapur, U.P.*

1918 *JAYATILAKA, Don B., B.A., *Advocate of Supreme Court, Ceylon, Law Library, Colombo, Ceylon.*

1920 *JEFFERY, Rev. Arthur, M.A., *American University, 113 Sharia Kasr-el-Aini, Cairo, Egypt.*

1911 *†JHALAWAR, H.H. Maharaj-Rana Sir Bhawani Singh, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of, *Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.*

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1923 *Jinavijayji, Muni, *Principal Gujrat Puratatva Mandir, Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad, India.*
1921 *John, Miss C. M., 3 *Taviton St., W.C.*
1909 *Johnston, Edw. Hamilton, *c/o Grindlay & Co., Calcutta.*
1904 *Johnston, Reginald F., C.B.E., *The Forbidden City, Peking.*
410 Hon. 1904 Jolly, Prof. Julius, *The University, Wurzburg, Bavaria.*
1921 *Jones, Kenneth C., *King Kothi Road, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1908 *Jopp, Chas. H. Keith, M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Reader in Marathi*, 16 *Linton Rd., Oxford.*
1922 *Joshi, Pandit Ram Datta, B.A., *Cheena Khan, Almora, U.P.*
1911 *Jowett, Rev. Hardy, *Govt. Offices, Weihaiwei, N. China.*
1919 Judd, George H., F.R.C.S., 48 *Chesnut Rd., S.E.* 27.
1919 *Jung, Rabbi Dr. Leo, 131 *West* 86*th St., New York City.*

1918 *Kak, Ram Chandra, *c/o Arch. Supt., Srinagar, Kashmir.*
1917 *Kalia, D. R., M.B.E., *Ferozpore, Panjab.*
1923 Karnerup, Miss H. E., *School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.* 2.
420 1923 *Kathalay, N. W., B.A., *Craddock Town, Nagpur.*
1922 *Kaul, Pandit V. Nath, B.A., *Naya Bazar, Gwalior, C. India.*
1909 *Keith, Alan Davidson, *Prof. of English, Rangoon College, Burma.*
1919 †Keith, C. P., 308 *Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
1921 Kemp, Miss G. E., 26 *Harley House, N.W.* 1.
1895 *Kennedy, Miss Louise, *Fairacre, Concord, Mass., U.S.A.*
1909 *Kennedy, Pringle, M.A., *c/o Grindlay & Co.*, 54 *Parliament St., S.W.* 1.
1922 *Kennedy, Mrs. Wallace, 3 *Florence Terrace, Londonderry.*
1914 *Kent, A. S., *c/o Chinese Post Office, Mukden, Manchuria.*
1907 *Keonjhar, Raja Gopinath, Narayan Bhunj, Deo of, *Orissa.*
430 1921 *†Khairpur, H.H. Ali Namoz Khan Talpur, Mir of, G.C.I.E., *Mirs Sind, India.*
1916 *Khan, Hon. Chaudhuri Moh. Ismail, *Zamindar of Barisal, Bengal.*
1922 *Khan, Debendra Lal, M.L.C., *Kumar of Naringole, Gope Palace, Midnapore, Bengal.*
1921 *Khan, J. S. Shahbaz, M.B.E., *Bombay House*, 2393 *East Street, Poona.*
1911 *Khan, Mahomed Hasan, Khan Bahadur, *Asst. Acct. General*, 11*b Clive Rd., Allahabad, U.P.*
1922 *Khan, M. Zafar Ullah, *Akbari Manzil, Delhi, India.*
1921 *Khan, Haji Malik S. Wali, Khan Bahadur, *Rais & Hon. Magistrate, Old City, Bareilly, U.P.*
1921 *Khan, The Iman Mustapha, *The Mosque, Woking.*
1923 *Khan, Wasi Ullah, *Supt. Agriculture College, Bulandshahar, U.P., India.*
1923 *Kibe, Rao Bahadur Sirdar, M.V., M.A., *Ministry of Commerce, Indore, C. India.*
440 1909 *Kincaid, C. A., C.V.O., I.C.S., *Sec. to Govt. Bombay, Political & Judicial Depts.*; *c/o Grindlay & Co.*, 54 *Parliament St., S.W.* 1.
1884 *King, Sir L. W., Kt., C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Craig Keigh, Aboyne, Aberdeenshire.*

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1922 *KINKAR, Babu Kali, Mukhopadhyaya, B.A., Vidyabinode, 7 *Swallow Lane, Calcutta.*
1923 *KIRKBY, E., 71 *Lambert Rd., Berea, Durban, Natal, S. Africa.*
1921 *KISHORE, Pandit C. B., *Astrologer and Astronomer, Alwar, Rajputana.*
1884 *†KITTS, Eustace John, *Dudley Hotel, Hove, Sussex.*
1919 KNOX-SHAW, C., *East Hill Lodge, Oxted, Surrey.*
1916 *KONOW, Prof. Dr. Sten, *Ethnographic Museum, Kristiania, Norway.*
1906 *KRENKOW, Fritz, 50 *Kingshall Rd., Beckenham.*
1921 *KRISHNA RAO BHONSLÈ, R., Rao Sahib, *Stone Gift, Vepery, Madras.*
450 1921 *KRISHNAGAR, H.H. Maharaja Ksharrnish Chanda Roy Bahadur of, *The Palace, Krishnagar, Nadia.*
1919 *KRISHNAMACHARIAR, K., B.A., *Head Master, Mission High School, Vani Vihar, Tirupati, Madras.*
1913 *KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M., M.A., M.L., Ph.D., *Bapalla, Guntur, Madras.*
1922 *KRISHNASWAMI, K., B.A., H.E.H. the Nizam's P. W. D., 750 *Kanniyalal Bagh, Residency Road, Hyderabad.*
1911 *KROM, N. J., Ph.D., *Prof. of Javanese Archæology at the University, Groenhovenstraatz, Leiden, Holland.*
1909 *KULANDAISWAMI, R. P., *Head Master, St. Joseph's High School, Trivandrum, Travancore.*
1921 *KUNIHAR, Rana Hardeo Singh, Saheb Bahadur, Chief of, *Kunihar State, Simla Hills.*
1913 *KUNWAR, Har Pratap Singh, B.Sc., 1 *Turkoganj Road, Indore.*

1912 *†LABBERTON, Dr. D. van Hinloopen, *The Manor, Mosman, Sydney, N.S. Wales.*
1920 *LADDU, Pandit D. K., 833 *Sadashiva Peth, Poona.*
460 1919 *LAL, Brij B., B.A., LL.B., *Munsif, Phaphund, Etawah, U.P.*
1904 *LAL, Hira, Rai Bahadur, B.A., *Dep. Commissioner, Wardha, C.P.*
1904 *LAL, Raja Madho, C.S.I., *Chowkhumba, Benares.*
1910 *LAL, Shyam, M.A., LL.B., *Dep. Collector, Nawabanj, Cawnpore.*
1915 *LAMB, Miss M. Antonia, 212 *South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
1902 *LANDBERG, Count C., 2 *Av. Désambrois, Nice, France.*
1917 *§LANGDON, S., Ph.D., *Prof. of Assyriology, 17 Northmoor Rd., Oxford.*
1880 HON. 1902 LANMAN, Chas. R., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
1911 *LAUFER, Dr. Berthold, *Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
1914 *LAW, Bimala C., M.A., B.A., *Zamindar, 24 Sukeas St., Calcutta.*
470 1901 *LEADBEATER, Rt. Rev. C. W., *The Manor, Mosman, Sydney, Australia.*
1900 *LECHMERE-OERTEL, F.O., 258 *Kingston Road, Hampton Wick, Middx.*
HON. 1923 LE COQ, Prof. Dr. Albert von, *Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; Koniggrätzer Strasse* 120, *Berlin, S.W.* 11.
1896 *LEIGH, Col. H. P. P., C.I.E., *Grosvenor House, Bath.*
1878 *†LEPPER, C. H.
1910 *LESNÝ, Dr. V., *Lecturer in Sanskrit, Prag University, Smichov, Zborovská,* 66, *Prague, Czechoslovakia.*
1880 †LE STRANGE, Guy, 63 *Panton St., Cambridge.*
1923 *LEVEEN, J., *Dept. Oriental Books and MSS., British Museum, W.C.* 1.
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Hon. 1917 Lévi, Sylvain, 9 *Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris.*
1912 *Levonian, Prof. Lootfy, *c/o Miss Mills, American Consulate, Athens, Greece.*
1885 †Lewis, Mrs. A. S., LL.D., *Castlebrae, Cambridge.*
1921 *Lewis, Rev. J. Vernon, M.A., B.D., *The Manse, Brynamman, Caermarthenshire.*
1879 *Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G., *c/o The Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch St., E.C.* 3.
1919 Longdon, Miss C. M., 124 *Osmaston Rd., Derby.*
1914 *†Lorimer, Col. D. L. R., C.I.E., I.A., *Political Agency, Gilgit, via Kashmir.*
1915 *Lorimer, Miss F. M. G., *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd.*, 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
1919 Loxton, S. E., *Icknield, Little Aston, nr. Sutton Coldfield, Staffs.*
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1922 *Lucas, S. E., *c/o The Bank of China, Peking, N. China.*
1909 *Lüders, Prof. Dr. H., 20 *Sybelstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin.*
1914 Lumsden, Miss Mary, *c/o The Librarian, Girton College, Cambridge.*
1923 Lupton, W. J. E., O.B.E., 9 *Norham Rd., Oxford.*
1918 *Lusy, Marino M., *Architect, Hotel Suisse, Montreux, Switzerland.*

1910 *Macartney, C. H. H., *Foxhold, Crookham, nr. Newbury, Berks.*
1919 McClure, Rev. Canon Edmund, 80 *Eccleston Sq., S.W.* 1.
1900 *Macdonald, Duncan B., *Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.*
1921 *Macdonald, Rev. John I., *Berhampore, Ganjam, India.*
1882 *§Macdonell, Arthur A., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., Vice-President, *Boden Prof. of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol*, 20 *Bardwell Rd., Oxford.*
1887 *McDouall, Wm., *Palmers Moor House, Iver, Bucks.*
1919 MacGregor, Rev. W., *Bolehall Manor House, Tamworth.*
1922 *Mahaldar, Shaikh N. Khwaja Sahib, B.A., LL.B., *High Court Vakil, Anjuman-i-Islam, Hornby Road, Bombay.*
1919 *MacIver, Capt. David R., M.A., *c/o Brown, Shipley & Co.*, 123 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
1894 *Maclagan, Hon. Sir E. D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Governor of Panjab, Jahore.*
1917 *Mahajan, Suryya Prasad, *Rais, Banker & Zamindar, Murarpore, Gaya, Bihar.*
1921 *Maitra, Jogendra Nath, B.Sc., 58*a Colootola St., Calcutta.*
1921 *Maitra, Babu Ramesh C., *Zamindar, Natore, Rajshahi, Bengal.*
1916 *Majid, Abdul, B.A., F.O.U., *P.O. Daryabad, Bara Banki.*
1922 *Majumdar, Chunilal, N.R.E.C. *High School, Khurja, U.P., India.*
1921 *Majumdar, N. G., 70 *Russa Rd., N. Bhawanipore, Calcutta.*
1913 *Majumdar, Prof. Ramesh Chandra, M.A., *Dacca University, P.O., Ramna, Bengal.*
1922 *Mal, Babu Chunni, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court, Sikanderabad, U.P.*
1922 Malone, Mrs. C. l'Estrange, 6 *Phené St., S.W.* 3.
1921 *Mangalik, Murari Saran, B.A., *Editor of "Lalita", Sevā Sadan, Meerut.*
1906 *Mann, Fairman Rackham, *Staff Surgeon, R.N., Greenlands, Nelson Rd., Sheringham, Norfolk.*

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1914 *†Marielle, Madame, 252 *Thorne St., Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*
1921 *Marmorstein, Dr. A., 36 *Goldhurst Terrace, N.W.* 6.
1904 *Marsden, E., *Ind. Educ. Serv.*, 12 *Ellerdale Rd., N.W.* 3.
520 1917 *Marshall, Rev. H. I., M.A., *President Karen Theological Seminary, Insein, Burma.*
1901 *§Marshall, Sir John, C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director-Gen. of Archæology, Benmore, Simla.*
1914 *Martin, Rev. E. Osborn.
1920 *Martin, Rev. John, "*Eden Mount*," *Moor Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire.*
1921 *Masterton-Smith, Capt. P. F., M.C., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
1920 *Mathur, Lakshmi N., B.A., *Head Master J.A.S. High Sch., Khurja, U.P.*
1920 *Mathur, Omrao Behari, B.Sc., *Naib Suba, Bhilsa, Gwalior State.*
1904 *†Mawjee, Purshotam Vishram.
1923 *Mawson, S. G., *Langholme Lodge, Petersham Rd., Richmond, Surrey.*
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530 1921 *Maydell, Baron Gérard de, *Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales, 2 rue de Lille, Paris.*
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760 1919 Sefton-Jones, H., 10 *Wilton Place, S.W.* 1.
1923 *Seligman, C. G., M.D., F.R.S., *Court Leys, Toot Baldon, Oxford.*
1923 *Seidenfoden, Major Erik, *Bangkok, Siam.*
1887 *Sell, Rev. Canon E., K.-i-H., *Church Mission House, Vepery, Madras.*
Hon. 1892 Senart, Émile, 18 *Rue François* 1*er, Paris.*
1923 *Senior, Col. H. W. R., C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O. (I.A.), "*Deloraine*," *Camberley, Surrey.*
Hon. 1913 Sermoneta, Leone Caetani, Duca di, *Villino Caetani,* 13 *via Giacomo Medici* 13, *Roma* 29.
1921 *Seth, M. J., 12 *Wellesley Sq., E. Calcutta.*
1916 *Seth, Madan Mohun, M.A., LL.B., *Munsif, Jhansi, U.P.*
1920 *Sewell, Cecil A. S., *The Royal Page's College, Bangkok, Siam.*
770 1877 §Sewell, R., I.C.S. (ret.), *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., King's Branch,* 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
1920 *Shah, Rev. Ahmad, K.-i-H., 15/131 *Civil Lines, Cawnpore, U.P.*
1922 *Shah, E. Ahmad, *Minu Manzil, Warris Road, Lahore.*
1918 *Shah, Sirdar Ikbal Ali, *c/o Grindlay & Co.,* 54 *Parliament Street. S.W.* 1.
1920 *Shah, Sahibzada Sadiq A., *Asst. to Chief Sec. to Govt. of Panjab, Lahore, India.*
1909 *Shamasastry, R., B.A., *Curator, Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore.*
1921 *Shankar, Ganga, B.A., LL.B., *Munsif, Rae Barelie, Oudh.*
1921 *Sharma, A. K., *Mohindra College, Patiala.*
1920 *Sharma, Chaturvedi D. Prasad, Sahityabhushana, *Ed. Vaiditi Sarvasva, Daraganj, Allahabad, U.P.*
1917 *Sharma, Pandit Kedar Nath, *Editor "Kavya-Mala", Sanghi Road, Jaipur.*
780 1923 *Sharma, Brij Mohan, B.Sc., M.A., *Asst. Hd. Master D.A.V. High School, Lucknow.*
1922 *Sharma, Pandit Ram C., B.A., LL.D., *Verafirozpur, P.O. Siana, Dist. Bulandshahr, U.P., India.*
1922 *Sharma, Pandit Rivati Prasad, *Gen. Sec. to "All India Nayee Conference", Loha Mandi, P.O. Agra, U.P.*
1919 *Sharman, Dr. B. D., B.A., *P. Box No.* 7894, *Calcutta.*
1923 *Sharman, Prof. B. D., B.A., *Saddharam Pracharak Press, Esplanade Road, Delhi, India.*
1920 *Shastri, Mangal D., M.A., *Chaube, Mohalla, Budaun City, U.P.*
Hon. 1923 Scheil, Père Vincent, O.P., *Prof. d'Assyriologie à l'Ecole des Hautes Études,* 4 *bis, rue du Cherche Midi, Paris.*
1922 *Shelley-Thompson, A. J., 8d *Change Alley, Singapore.*
1921 *Sherman, Mangi Lall, B.A., LL.B., *Foreign Sec. to Orchha Durbar, Tikamgarh, Orchha State, C. India.*
1912 *Sherratt, Rev. W., *Brit. & Foreign Bible Society, Rangoon, Burma.*
790 1921 *Sherwani, Haroon Khan, B.A., *Barr.-at-Law, Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan.*

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1914 *Shuttleworth, H. L., I.C.S., *c/o Postmaster, Kulu, Kangra Dist., Panjab, India.*
1919 Sibree, Ernest, 48 *Manor Park, Redland, Bristol.*
1921 *Siddiqi, A., M.A., Ph.D., *Prof. of Arabic, Principal's Office, Osmania Univ. Coll., Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1921 *Siddiqi, Abdur R., 9 *Chester Street, Oxford.*
1920 *Sidersky, Michel, B.A., *Queen's College, Oxford.*
1910 *Simpson, Mrs. Alicia Hall.
1914 *Simpson, Rev. D. C., M.A., *Manchester College, Oxford.*
1922 *Singh, Hargian, *Head Master D.A.V.School, Bulandshahr, U.P.*
1907 *Singh, Kahan, Sirdar of Nabha, *P.O. Mandi Phul, via Bhatinda, N.W. Railway.*
800 1914 *Singh, Lala Gulbahar, M.A., LL.B., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Govt. College, Lahore, Panjab.*
1902 *†Singh, Raja Pertab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., *of Tiraul, Partabgarh, U.P.*
1917 *Singh, Sahibzada Bhagat Lakshman, *Dist. Inspector of Schools, Ludhiana, India.*
1923 *Singh, Raja Bahadur Naba Kishore Chandra, *Ruling Chief of Hindol State, P.O. Hindol, Orissa, India.*
1895 *†Sinha, Kunwar K. Pal, *Raio Kotla, P.O. Narki, Agra, U.P.*
1921 *Sinha, Prof. M., B.A., 30 *Park St., Calcutta.*
1920 *Sinha, Babu Manoranjan, *Asst. Settlement Officer, Chupra, B. & O.*
1913 *Sinha, Babu Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court, Lucknow, U.P.*
1921 *Sinha, Kumar Gangananda, B.A., M.A., *Srinagar P.O., Purnea., B. & O.*
1920 *Sircar, Babu Ganopati, Vidyaratna, 69 *Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta.*
810 1920 *Sitaram, K. N., B.A.
1921 *Sitaraman, Kadayam R., B.A., B.L., *High Court Vakil, 8/2 Badriah Garden Street, Park Town, Madras.*
1900 *Skeat, W. W., 17 *Coombe Rd., Croydon.*
1921 *Smart, J. E., B.A., M.C., C.M.G., 34 *Albemarle Av., High West Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
1922 *Smith, F. Trednell, M.A., B.D., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
1923 Smith, Dr. G. Elliot, M.A., Litt.D., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., *University College,* 31 *Belsize Cres., Hampstead, N.W.* 3.
Hon. 1909 Snouck Hurgronje, Prof. C., *Rapenburg* 61, *Leiden, Holland.*
1915 *Som, Atul Chandra, B.A., *Land Acquisition Officer, Chaibasa P.O., Singbhum.*
1920 *Sonpur, H.H. Maharaja Sri Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Deo, Dharmanidhi, K.C.I.E., of, *Sonpur Feudatory State, Sonpur Raj P.O., via Sambalpur.*
1912 *Sood, Babu Hira Lal, *Sub-Judge, Kotah, Rajputana.*
820 1920 *Soothill, W. E., M.A., *Prof. of Chinese,* 11 *Norham Rd., Oxford.*
1922 Spink, Capt. Harold H. M., A.M.I.C.E., *Slaney Cottage, Speldhurst, Kent.*
1910 *Spooner, D. B., Ph.D., *Asst. Director Gen. Arch. Survey, Benmore, Simla.*
1908 *Spooner, Mrs. D. B., *Elysium Hotel, Simla.*
1918 *Srikantaiya, S., B.A., B.L., *Bangalore, Madras.*

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1920 *Srinivasachari, C. S., M.A., *Prof. of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.*
1910 *Staël-Holstein, Baron A. von, *c/o Peking Club, Peking, China.*
1907 *Stapleton, H. E., I.E.S., *Ramna, Dacca, Bengal, India.*
1921 *Stavrides, G. Paniotes, *Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W.* 1.
1887 *§Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., *Supt. Ind. Arch. Survey, c/o Postmaster, Srinagar, Kashmir.*
830 1905 *Stevens, George F. A., *Sultanabad, Persia.*
1921 *Stevenson, W. B., D.Litt., *Prof. of Hebrew & Semitic Languages, 7 College Court, The University, Glasgow.*
1912 *Stewart, J. A., I.C.S., *c/o T. Cook & Son, Rangoon, Burma.*
1915 Storey, C. A., *The Library, India Office, S.W.* 1.
1921 *Stowell, E. de la M., *Malay Educational Service, The Malay Coll., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.*
1912 *Strauss, Dr. Otto, *Die Universität, Kiel, Germany.*
1921 *Subramanyam, M., M.B., *Health Officer, Ootacamund, Madras.*
1917 *Suryanarayana, Satalur S., *Lalagraharam, Madura.*
1893 *†Svasti Sobhana, H.R.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
1895*†§Sykes, Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., 26 *St. George's Court, S.W.* 7.

840 1910 *Tabard, Rev. Father A. M., M.A., M.B.E., K.-i.-H., *The Cathedral, Shoolay, Bangalore.*
1921 *Taggart, W. Q., I.C.S., *c/o The Secretariat, Rangoon, Burma.*
1915 *Tagore, Babu Kshitendra Nath, B.A., 6/1 *Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, E. Gate, Jorasanko, Calcutta.*
1922 *Tagore, Kshitish Chandra, M.V.R.S., *Hon. Magistrate and Zemindar, P.O. Pakuria, Rajshahi, Bengal.*
1922 *Taher, Khondkar Ali, *Sub. Dy. Collector and Magistrate, Ranaghat Court, Bengal, India.*
1912 *Tahoor, Gholam, *Interpreter, High Court,* 62/1, *Benia, Pukur Rd., Entally P.O., Calcutta.*
1896 *Takakusu, Jyan, Ph.D., 902 *Sendagaya, Tokyo, Japan.*
1897 *Talbot, Walter Stanley, C.I.E., *c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd.,* 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
Hon. 1910 Tallqvist, K. L., *Prof. of Oriental Literatures, Fabriksgasse* 21, *Helsingfors, Finland.*
1923 *Talwar, M. Ananda, B.A., *Gollerkeery, Mangalore, India.*
850 1921 *Tambe, G. C., B.A., LL.B., *Sec. to Maharashtrya Manakosh M. Ltd., Council Hall, Nagpur, C.P.*
1913 *Tambyah, T. Isaac, *Barr.-at-Law,* 18 *Beach St., Penang, Malay Peninsula.*
1921 *Tampi, A. Parameswaran, *Indian Students' Hostel, Keppel Street, W.C.*1.
1914 *†Tampi, Vatasseri Sri Velayudhan, son of H.H. Maharaja of Travancore, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*
1921 *Tangri, Rustom H., *c/o Gt. Central Ry. Engineers' Office, Grimsby Docks.*
1912 *Tannan, Mohan Lall, *Barr.-at-Law, Sydenham College Hostel, Chami Rd., Bombay,* 4.

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1897 *†Tate, George P., *Ind. Survey Dept., St. Quentin, Naini Tal, U.P.*
1893 *Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., K.-i.H., I.S.O., *Peking Lodge, West Moat Rd., Mandalay, Burma.*
1911 *†Teape, Rev. Wm. Marshall, M.A., "*Astraea*", 18 *Storey's Way, Cambridge.*
1879 *§Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard C., Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., Hon. Vice-President, c/o Lloyd's Bank Ltd., King's Branch, 9 Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
860 1922 *Tennant, Hon. Mrs. Ruth, *St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.*
1898 *Thatcher, Rev. G. W., M.A., *Camden College, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.*
1921 *Thirtle, Rev. David G., 23 *Borthwick Rd., E.* 15.
1905 *Thirtle, James Wm., LL.D., 23 *Borthwick Rd., E.* 15.
1917 †*Thomas, E. J., M.A., *Under Librarian, University Library, Cambridge.*
1898 §Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., Hon. Secretary, *Librarian, India Office, S.W.* 1.
1923 *Thompson, Rev. E. J., B.A., *Lecturer in Bengali,* 18 *Parks Road, Oxford.*
1918 Thompson, Sir Herbert, Bart., *The Old House, Aspley Guise, Beds.*
1907 *Thompson, J. Perronet, I.C.S., *c/o Grindlay & Co.,* 54 *Parliament St., S.W.* 1.
1919 *§Thompson, R. Campell, M.A., F.S.A., *Milburn Lodge, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
870 Hon. 1909 Thomsen, Prof. Dr. Vilhelm, *St. Knuds Vej* 36, *Copenhagen, Denmark.*
1899 †§Thomson, H. Lyon, F.S.A., 34 *St. James's Street, S.W.* 1.
1880 *†Thorburn, S. S., *Bracknell House, Bracknell, Berks.*
1912 *Thornton, H. A., *Supt. N. Shan States, Lashio, Burma.*
1922 *Tickell, G. Templer, A.M.I.C.E., 1 *Jaffray Rd., Bromley, Kent.*
1903 *Tilbe, Rev. H. H., Ph.D., *Amer. Baptist Mission, Riverview, Ahlone, Burma.*
1921 *Tin, Pè Maung, *Exeter College, Oxford.*
1921 *Tolkowsky, S., 3 *Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv, Jaffa, Palestine.*
1895 *†Travancore, H.H. Sri Padmanabha Sir Rama Varma Maharaja Raja Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of.
1921 *Trench, C. G. C., I.C.S., *Nagpur, C.P.*
880 1917 *Tripathi, Prof. Deva Datta, Sahityacharya, Patna College, Bankipore, *B. & O.*
1918 *Tripathi, Pandit Ram P., *Reader in Modern Ind. Hist., The University, Allahabad, U.P.*
1921 *Trollope, Rt. Rev. Mark N., *Bishop in Corea, Eng. Ch. Mission, Seoul, Corea, via Japan.*
1921 *Trott, A. C., *H.B.M.'s Legation, Tehran, c/o The Foreign Office, S.W.* 1.
1912 *Troup, James, "*Woolescote*," *Spring Hill, Ventnor, I.W.*
1919 *Trumper, Lt.-Commander V. L., R.N.R. (ret.), *Hon. Sec. Palestine Exp. Fund, Maison Perrin, Port Said.*
1902 *Tsain, Moung, *Pegu, Lower Burma.*
1900 *Tuckwell, Rev. John, 1 *Onslow Gdns., N.* 10.
1912 *Turner, Prof. R. L., 63 *Bateman St., Cambridge.*
1919 *Turner, Capt. Vere E., *c/o Thomson, Lehzen & Co., Ltd., Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta.*

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890 1882 *Udaipur-Mewar, H.H. Maharajdhiraja Maharana Sir Fateh Singh, Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., Maharana of, *Rajputana.*

1919 *Ui, Prof. H., *Seminary of Indology, The Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan.*

1920 *Urdhwareshe, Waman Gopalrao, M.A., *Kāvya-Tirtha*, 35 *Krishnapura, Indore City, Cent. India.*

1921 *Vadnerkar, V. V.,

1919 *Vaishya, Ramji D., F.R.S.A., *Sweet Cottage, Gwalior.*

1922 Valvanne, Hugo, *Sec. to the Finnish Legation, R. Societies' Club*, 63 *St. James's Street, S.W.* 1.

1921 *Varesi Sahib, Ma'sud Ali, *Asst. Director of Public Instruction, Bhopal State, C. India.*

1922 *Varma, B. Brij, ML., B.A., L.T., *Headmaster Jât Vedic High School, Baraut, Meerut, U.P., India.*

1920 *Varma, Gopi N. S., *Zamindar, Mohalla Quanungoyam, Bereilly, U.P.*

1921 *Varma, Kunwar G. Suryabhan, *Editor "Kshtriyamali Saini Mittra" P.O. Kuram, Akola, C.P.*

900 1921 *Varma, L. A. Ravi, *Ophthalmic Hospital, Trivandrum.*

1921 *Varma, Prem Mohan Lal, B.Sc., *of "Gokul Nivas", Budaun, U.P.*

1921 *Varma, Sheo Prasad, M.A., *Prof. of English, Robertson Coll., Jubbulpore.*

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1922 *Varshanai, M. L., *c/o B. R. Edward & Co., Kucha Natwan, Delhi.*

1884 *†Vasudev, Mādhav Samarth, R. R., B.A.

1921 *Viran, S. S. Gnana, *c/o Nat. Bank of India, Rangoon, Burma.*

1922 *Vivekananda, S., *Indian Telegraphs, Madras.*

1905 *Vogel, Prof. J. Ph., Ph.D., *The University, Leiden, Holland.*

910 1899 Vost, Lt.-Col. W., I.M.S., 26 *Crystal Palace Pk. Rd., S.E.* 26.

1923 *Vrati, H. Lal, B.A., L.T., *Headmaster Anglo Vedic High School, Anupshahr, U.P., India.*

1908 *Wackernagel, Prof. Dr. Jakob, *University of Basle, Switzerland.*

1892 *†Waddell, Lt.-Col. L. A., C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., I.M.S., *c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd.*, 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1912 *Wahshat, Raza Ali, Sahib-i-Diwan, 2/1/2 *Dilkusha St., P.O. Ballygunge, Calcutta.*

1919 Waite, Mrs. A. R., 8 *Mount Park Crescent, W.* 5.

1912 *†Walker, Rev. C. T. Harley, M.A., *The Vicarage, West Hendred, Steventon, Berks.*

1921 Wallace, G. Malcolm, 31 *Holmwood Rd., Bromley, Kent.*

1907 *Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Member Bd. of Revenue, Bankipur, c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., King's Branch*, 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.

1912 *War Office. *Officer in Charge, Far Eastern Sub-section, Whitehall, S.W.* 1.

920 1919 Warburton, Rev. B. A., 90 *Billinge Rd., Spring Bank, Wigan.*

1916 *Wardrop, Oliver, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., *Brit. Consulate Gen.*, 27 *Rue Erckmann-Chatrian, Strasbourg, France.*

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1914 *Warming, Gen. P. L. E., *Bangkok, Siam.*
1907 *Watson, H. D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Upper Gates, Ryder Hill, Guildford.*
1923 *Webster, Rev. Jas., 173 *Rolleston Drive, Lenton, Nottingham.*
1900 *Weir, T. H., B.D., *Rockcliff, Bowling, Dumbartonshire.*
1921 Weld-Blundell, H., *Ovington House, Ovington Sq., S.W. 3.*
1921 *Welingkar, Ramchandra N., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
1921 *Westlake, A. R. C., I.C.S., *c/o Chief Sec. to Govt. of Madras.*
1906 *Whitehead, R. B., *Bootle Rectory, Cumberland.*
930 1921 Whymant, A. N. J., 90 *Thornton Av., W. 4.*
1919 *Wickham, H. T., *Ind. Police, Peshawar, N.W.F.P.*
1899 *Wickremasinghe, Don M. de Zilva, *Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
1916 *Wilberforce-Bell, Maj. H., *Asst. Resident, Aden, Arabia.*
1913 *Wilder, Rev. G. A., M.A., D.D., *Chicore Mission Sta., Chipinga P.O., Melsetter Dt., Rhodesia, S. Africa.*
1921 *Williams, Capt. B. T., 8 *Fields Rd., Newport, Monmouth.*
1921 *Williams, Eric T., *Colonial Secretariat, Singapore, Straits Settlement.*
1915 *Williams, L. F. Rushbrook, B.A., B.Litt., O.B.E., *c/o Home Dept., Govt. of India, Simla.*
1922 *Williams, L. H., *Radnor House, Malden Rd., Old Malden, Surrey.*
1919 Willis, G. de L., *Leconfield Estate Off., Ennis, Co. Clare.*
940 1921 Willoughby-Meade, G., *c/o N. Brit. & Mercantile Ins. Co., Ltd., 60 Watling St., E.C. 4.*
1923 *Wilson, Lt.-Col. Sir A. T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.S., D.S.O., *c/o Anglo Persian Oil Co., Mohammerah, Basra, Persian Gulf.*
1919 *Winckworth, Chauncey, 21 *Chedworth St., Cambridge.*
1923 Winckworth, Mrs., 13 *Craven Hill Gardens, W. 2.*
1912 *Winstedt, R. O., D.Litt., *Education Office, Singapore, Straits Settlement.*
1896 *Wood, J. Elmsley, 4 *Glenisla Gdns., Edinburgh.*
1907 *Woodley, Rev. Edward C., 216 *Girouard Av., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.*
1919 *Woolley, Capt. C. Leonard, R.F.A., *Uplands, Bathwick Hill, Bath.*
1909 *Woods, Prof. Jas. H., Ph.D., *Harvard University, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
1906 *Woolner, A. C., M.A., 11 *Racecourse Rd., Lahore.*
950 1900 *Workman, Mrs. Bullock, *c/o Amer. Exp. Co., 6 Haymarket, S.W. 1.*
1894 *Wright, H. Nelson, I.C.S., *Judges' House, Bareilly, U.P.*
1920 *Wynch, Lionel M., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Pine Hill, Camberley, Surrey.*
1919 *Wynter, A. E., M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 26 *Oakfield Rd., Clifton, Bristol.*

1919 *Yahuda, Dr. A. S., 45 *Brondesbury Rd., N.W. 6.*
1922 *Yaqub-Khan, Maulvi Md., *Munshi Fazil, near Royal Hotel, Lucknow, India.*
1911 *Yazdani Mas'udi, Ghulam, *Supt. of Arch., Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1921 *Yellin, David, M.B.E., *Sicron Moste, Jerusalem.*
1921 *Yetts, Maj. L. M., M.C., *c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.*

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1910 §Yetts, W. Perceval, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., *Jr. United Service Club, Charles St., S.W.* 1.

960 1913 *Yusoof, S. Azhar, *Yusoof Manzil* 53/82 *Pitar Kunda, Benares City.*

1921 *Yusuf, Md., M.A., *Head Master, Calcutta Madrasah, Calcutta.*

1895 Yusuf-Ali, Abdullah ibn, C.B.E., I.C.S., M.A., LL.M., *c/o King, King & Co., Bombay.*

1913 *Zimmermann, Rev. Robert, S.J., *St. Xavier's Coll., Cruickshank Rd., Bombay.*

1920 *Zutshi, Pandit Chand N., *Happy Cottage, Morar, Gwalior State.*

1922 *Zutshi, Lambodhar, 21 *Cromwell Road, S.W.* 7.

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1910 H.E. Sir Abul Kasim Khan, G.C.M.G., *Nasir-ul-Mulk*.

*Note*.—The number of Honorary Members is limited by Rule 9 to thirty.

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N.B.—The Gold Medal was founded in 1897.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1897 | Professor E. B. Cowell. |
| 1900 | E. W. West. |
| 1903 | Sir William Muir. |
| 1906 | G. U. Pope. |
| 1909 | G. A. Grierson. |
| 1912 | J. F. Fleet. |
| 1915 | Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.<br>Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson. |
| 1918 | V. A. Smith. |
| 1922 | Professor H. A. Giles. |

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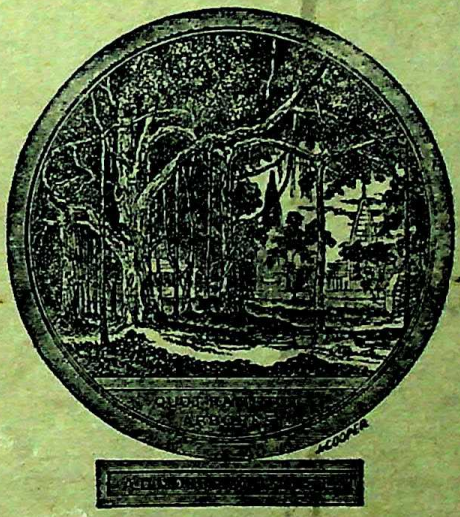

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1923

PART IV.—OCTOBER

# The Agni-Purana and Bhoja

BY SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.LITT. (London), Premchand Roychand Research Student and Lecturer, Calcutta University.

THE school of opinion, represented in Poetics by the *alaṁkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* apparently follows a tradition which departs in many respects from the orthodox systems, and which is further developed in later literature by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa*.

We need not discuss here the date of the apocryphal and ambitiously cyclopædic *Agni-purāṇa*; but it is necessary for our purpose to settle approximately, if we can, the date of the *alaṁkāra*-chapters of this work, with which we are directly concerned. That this part of the *purāṇa* is chiefly a compilation, in a somewhat eclectic fashion, by a writer who was himself no theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular orthodox school, but gathering its materials from all sources, is apparent not only from its independent but somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and probably from other unknown old writers.[1] Bharata is cited by name in

[1] Thus the verse *abhidheyena sambandhāt* (*Agni*. 344, 11, ed. Bibl. Ind.), which is also cited anonymously by Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*, p. 8) and in the *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana, iv, 3, 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmitra by Mukula (*Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*, p. 17).



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*Agni*. 339, 6 ; and a large part of the *Agni-purāṇa's* treatment of *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, and *abhinaya* follows Bharata's exposition, even to literal copying and paraphrase of some of the latter's well-known verses. Thus *Agni*. 338, 12 = *Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Grosset, vi, 36 ; *Agni*. 338, 7–8 = *Nāṭya-śāstra*, vi, 39, etc. The definitions of poetry (*Agni*. 336, 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni*. 341, 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin, i, 10, and ii, 1, respectively. Cf. also *Agni*. 336, 13 = Daṇḍin, i, 29 ; *Agni*. 336, 23, 25, 26 = Daṇḍin, i, 12, 15, 17, etc. It is needless to cite any more instances, for this will be enough to indicate that these chapters of the *Purāṇa* were in all probability later than Daṇḍin, and therefore enable us to fix one terminus of its date at the first half of the eighth century A.D.[1] The other terminus is given by the citation of *Agni*. 338, 10–11, by Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the ninth century. We cannot draw any definite conclusion from the *Agni-purāṇa's* omission of all references to Vāmana or his theory, although Rudraṭa's idea of *vakrôkti* (ii, 14–16), of which there is no trace in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, or Vāmana, is apparently accepted with a slight modification (341, 33). On the other hand, the *Agni-purāṇa* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropriation) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha. But what is said above will justify us, in the absence of other evidences, in placing the *alaṁkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* roughly in the beginning of the ninth century.

The date of Bhoja, the reputed author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa* is much easier to settle. Bhoja is often cited in later literature as Bhojarāja, and not infrequently with the simple designation of *rājan*, which seems to mark him out *par excellence*, just as the term *muni* in later authors

[1] On the date of Daṇḍin, see my *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (1923), vol. i, pp. 59–70. The reader will also find there a detailed discussion of the dates of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja at pp. 102–4, 144–47.

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invariably refers to Bharata. This has led to his usual identification with the Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā; and there are indications in the text itself which would make our author contemporaneous with this king and thus justify the identification. The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja as an authority appears to be Hemacandra (p. 295 Comm.), who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century; while Vardhamāna, who, however, did not write till A.D. 1140, mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇa-ratna-mahôdadhi*, the *vṛtti* of which explains that this Bhoja was the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa*. That Bhoja was already a widely recognized writer in the middle of the thirteenth century is clear from the fact that Jalhaṇa, who lived in the time of Kṛṣṇa of Devagiri (about A.D. 1247–60), gives profuse quotations from Bhoja in his anthology. Bhoja himself quotes pretty extensively but anonymously from earlier writers on Poetics, including Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, and the *Dhvanyâloka*. The latest writer he quotes seems to be Rājaśekhara[1] whose date is the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. There is also a reference in one verse (ed. Borooah, 1884, p. 22) to Muñja, apparently Muñja Vākpati-rāja, his uncle and one of his predecessors on the throne of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava. Col. Jacob is inaccurate and misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu, who did not write his commentary on Rudraṭa till A.D. 1069, in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja; for the verses in question, though found in Nami's commentary, are not Nami's own, but quoted by him from previous authors. For instance, the verse *ayaṁ padmâsanâsīna* (p. 15), given as one of the cases where Bhoja quotes Nami, is found no doubt in Nami on xi, 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, by Nami himself from Bhāmaha, ii, 55.

[1] See Jacob, in *JRAS.* 1897, pp. 304 ff., and Sten Konow's edition of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, pp. 198 ff., for all the quotations by Bhoja from Rājaśekhara.

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Similarly the two verses *sa marutâkampitâ* and *sa pîtavāsāḥ*, quoted by Bhāmaha himself (ii, 41 and 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarman), occur in Bhoja, pp. 43 and 44, but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's commentary instead of going directly to Bhāmaha; on the other hand, Bhoja elsewhere quotes Bhāmaha directly several times (e.g. *ākrośannāhvayan*, p. 144=Bhāmaha, ii, 94; *kiṁśuka-vyapadeśena*, p. 226–7 = Bhāmaha, ii, 92 = *Subhāṣitâvalī*, No. 1645, attributed to Bhāmaha). The limits, therefore, given by Bhoja's quotations from Rājaśekhara on the one hand, and Hemacandra's citation of Bhoja himself on the other, would place our author approximately in the period between the beginning of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century; and as this date fits in quite easily with the date of the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, who is assigned to the first half of the eleventh century, it may not be wrong to identify the two Bhojarājas.

Taking the *alaṁkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa* side by side, one is struck at once by some fundamental characteristics which are common to both. The most peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa* theory is the absence of the doctrine of *dhvani*, although the concept of *dhvani* is included casually, after the manner of ancient authors, in the figure *ākṣepa* (*sa ākṣepo dhvaniḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyajyate yataḥ*, 344, 14). The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse (336, 1= Bhoja i, 1), which says generally that speech consists of *dhvani*, *varṇa*, *pada*, and *vākya* (*dhvanir varṇāḥ padaṁ vakyam ityetad vāṁmayam matam*); but apparently this alludes to the grammatical word which reveals the *sphoṭa*, and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadīya*. The work, however, recognizes *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, the ideas of which were already elaborated by philosophers and philosophical grammarians. At the same time, apart from obvious borrowings or copyings from

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Bharata, Bhāmaha, and Daṇḍin, this work cannot be taken as substantially following the views of any one of the schools represented by these names.

There is no doubt that in one verse, which is conveniently cited by Viśvanātha in support of his own extreme view, the *Agni-purāṇa* speaks of *rasa* as the "soul" of poesy in contrast with mere verbal ingenuity (*vāg-vaidagdhya-pradhāne 'pi rasa evâtra jīvitam*, 336, 33), and devotes somewhat lengthy chapters to the description, after Bharata, of the *rasas* and *bhāvas*; yet there is nowhere any central theory of *rasa* or any elaboration of a system of Poetics on its basis. As to the origin of *rasa*, it propounds a peculiar view that from infinite bliss (*ānanda*) proceeds self-consciousness (*alaṁkāra*), from self-consciousness proceeds conceit (*abhimāna*), from conceit pleasure (*rati*), of which *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsya* (laughter), and other *rasas* are modifications (338, 2–4). It admits with Bharata four fundamental *rasas*, from which are derived five others. Although partiality is thus shown to *rasa* in poetry and drama, the *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be relegated entirely to the Rasa School; for it does not make any attempts to correlate with this central principle the other factors of poetry, viz. *rīti*, *guṇa*, and *alaṁkāra*, which are also recognized as of great, if not of equal, importance. One fact, however, worth noticing in connexion is that although the *Agni-purāṇa* recognizes nine *rasas*, adding *śānta* to the orthodox eight, it extols and gives prominence to *śṛṅgāra*, a trait which is unique and which is further developed by Bhoja, who, as we shall see presently, accepts no other *rasa* than *śṛṅgāra* in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and gives almost exclusive attention to this important *rasa* in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa*.

On the other hand, although treatment is accorded to *rīti* (ch. 339) and *guṇa* (ch. 345), the *Agni-purāṇa* does not follow the tenets of the Rīti School, as represented by Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Daṇḍin classifies *rīti*, which he calls *mārga*, into two extreme types, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, to which

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Vāmana adds Pāñcālī as an intermediate type; but the classification, according to both, depends upon the presence or absence of certain fixed excellences of diction, known as *guṇas*. To this enumeration Rudraṭa adds Lāṭī, but by *rīti* he means a definite arrangement of sentences with reference to the use of compound words of variable length. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this four-fold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of compound words, but also in the qualities of softness or smoothness, as well as in the prominence or otherwise of metaphorical expression (*upacāra*). The *guṇas*, again, are regarded as fundamental characteristics both by Daṇḍin (i, 42) and Vāmana (i, 2, 6–8), who take them as forming the essence of *rīti*, and distinguish them carefully from *alaṁkāras*, which, in Vāmana's opinion, are merely accidental characteristics enhancing the charm of poetry already brought out by the *guṇas*.[1] The *Agni-purāṇa*, however, defines the *guṇas*, which are nowhere connected directly with *rīti*, simply as those characteristics which reflect great beauty on poetry (*yaḥ kāvye mahatīṁ chāyām anugṛhṇātyasau guṇaḥ*, 345, 3), a definition which hardly distinguishes them from *alaṁkāras*, the definition of which is here almost the same, *kāvya-śobhākarān dharmān alaṁkārān pracakṣate* (341, 17), and is, strangely enough, merely copied uncritically from Daṇḍin, ii, 1. The classification of *guṇas* themselves, again, in this work is peculiar to itself. Ordinarily, the *guṇas* are classified as either *śabda-guṇas* or *artha-guṇas*, and this procedure is sanctioned by Vāmana. The *Agni-*

[1] Vāmana III, 1, 1-2, although in I, 1, 2 he uses the term *alaṁkāra* in the broad sense of "beauty" in a composition. Strictly speaking, Daṇḍin does not appear to make a fundamental theoretic distinction between *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* as such, to which the term *alaṁkāra* or *alaṁkriyā* is indiscriminately applied. He implies, however, in ii, 3 (with commentary thereon) that a poetic figure (or *alaṁkāra* properly so-called by other writers) is an *alaṁkāra* or embellishment common to both the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa *mārgas*; but a *guṇa* is an *alaṁkāra* belonging exclusively to the Vaidarbha. But Daṇḍin defines and treats them separately in a manner which foreshadows the rigid theoretic differentiation implied by Vāmana.

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*purāṇa* brings in finer distinctions (345, 3 ff.). The *guṇas* are here said to be of two kinds, specific (*vaiśeṣika*) and general (*sāmānya*), the former apparently confining itself to any specific part or feature of a composition, the latter existing as common to its several component parts. The *sāmānya guṇa*, again, in its turn is classified into three subdivisions, according as it appertains to *śabda*, *artha*, or both; the *Agni-purāṇa* admitting for the first time, so far as we know, this three-fold classification. An altogether different scheme of enumeration of these *guṇas* then follows. Vāmana mentions in all ten *guṇas*, viz. *ojas*, *prasāda*, *śleṣa*, *samatā*, *samādhi*, *mādhurya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, *artha-vyakti*, and *kānti*, making each of these a *śabda-guṇa* as well as an *artha-guṇa*. The *śabda-guṇas*, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, are seven in number, viz. *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, *satyā*, and *yaugikī*; the *artha-guṇas* are six, viz. *mādhurya*, *saṁvidhāna*, *komalatva*, *udāratā* (?), *prauḍhī*, and *sāmayikatā*; the *śabdârtha-guṇas* are again, six, viz. *prasāda*, *saubhāgya*, *yathā-saṁkhya*, *praśastatā*, *pāka*, and *rāga*. The characteristics of some of these *guṇas* are not very clearly marked, and in *guṇas* like *saṁvidhāna* and *yathāsaṁkhya* are included ideas which are credited by other writers to the *alaṁkāras*. It is curious, also, that although not enumerated as such, Daṇḍin's *ojas* is reproduced (345, 10=Daṇḍin i, 80) in the course of the definition of individual *śabda-guṇas*.

In the same way, it can be easily shown that the influence of the Alaṁkāra School, as represented by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, is not very marked in this work. The *śabdâlaṁkāras* are, with some modification, developed, no doubt, on the general lines of Daṇḍin's treatment, but the *arthâlaṁkāras* do not strictly conform to the orthodox classification or definition. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives eight varieties of the latter, viz. *svarūpa* (or *svabhāva*), *sādṛśya*, *utprekṣā*, *atiśaya*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha*, *hetu*, and *sama* (343, 2–3), the figures *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *sahokti*, and *arthântara-nyāsa* being included

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separately under *sādṛśya* (343, 5), and the eighteen kinds of *upamā* embracing most of Daṇḍin's numerous sub-varieties of that figure (343, 9 ff.). The *Agni-purāṇa* is also one of the earliest known works which add a separate chapter on the *ubhayâlaṁkāras* (not recognized by earlier writers), including six varieties, viz. *praśasti*, *kānti*, *aucitya*, *saṁkṣepa*, *yāvad-arthatā* and *abhivyakti* (344, 2), some of which would come under *guṇas* of other writers.[1] Indeed, the classification and definition of the *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, which are not differentiated very clearly, would appear crude and unsystematic, when compared to the elaborate critical treatment of the Rīti and the Alaṁkāra Schools.

From this brief outline, it will be clear enough that the *Agni-purāṇa* follows, in its general standpoint, none of the orthodox schools of poetics, so far as they are known to us, although with regard to its material, it attempts to cull, in its encyclopædic spirit, notions, expressions, and even whole verses from the authors of the different schools, without, however, connecting them with a central theory. It borrows, for instance, Daṇḍin's definition of the *kāvya-śarīra* (*iṣṭârtha-vyavacchinnā padâvalī*), but the attempt to supplement it by adding *kāvyam sphuṭad-alaṁkāraṁ guṇavad doṣa-varjitam* (336, 6–7), is merely eclectic and hardly constitutes an improvement. The same remarks apply to its definitions of fundamental notions like *guṇa or alaṁkāra*, which are merely copied or paraphrased uncritically from earlier writers. At the same time mere eclecticism is not enough to explain certain features of this work, the peculiar treatment and arrangement, for instance, of the *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* which depart very strikingly from the orthodox views of the matter. In order to explain this novelty, we should, having regard to the essentially derivative nature of the work itself, admit the probable existence of an altogether

[1] It is noteworthy in this connexion that Daṇḍin's *samādhi-guṇa* is treated here under the context of *lakṣaṇā* with the hint apparently of identifying them.

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different line of speculation, of which, unfortunately, no other early traces are preserved.

This tradition of opinion is followed and further developed by Bhoja. The prominence given to *rasa* and the absence of the *dhvani*-theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us; nor should the peculiar arrangement of the *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* appear unintelligible. The same reverence to Bharata and Daṇḍin is shown throughout; and, in fact, Daṇḍin is estimated to have supplied Bhoja with more than two hundred unacknowledged quotations. At the same time, Bhoja very freely incorporates definitive verses and illustrative stanzas from most of his well-known predecessors, especially from Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, and Dhanika. He even appropriates *kārikās* from the *Dhvanyâloka*, although he does not accept its theory. His huge compilation, like its prototype the *Agni-purāṇa*, is more or less cyclopædic in scope and eclectic in spirit, and represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with the exception of ignoring the *dhvani*-theory) of earlier schools in the light of a different tradition, of which another form is perhaps preserved, to a certain extent, in the two Jaina Vāgbhaṭas. But in some of the main points, his indebtedness to the *Agni-purāṇa* is obvious, and here the teachings of the orthodox schools are of no avail. The verbal borrowings are numerous. Thus *Agni.* 341, 18 ff., has much in common with *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, ii, some verses of the former being literally adopted by the latter. The *Agni.* 341, 18–19, says :—

*Ye vyutpattyâdinā śabdam alaṁkartum iha kṣamāḥ*
*Sabdâlaṁkāram āhus tān kāvya-mīmāṁsa-kovidāḥ.*[1]

This definition of a *śabdâlaṁkāra* is adopted by Bhoja, with the only verbal change of the last line into *śabdâlaṁkāra-saṁjñās te jñeyā jātyâdayo budhaiḥ* (ii, 2). Such instances can be easily multiplied, and we may cite for comparison *Agni.*

[1] Instead of *kāvya-mīmāṁsakā vidaḥ* in the text.

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341, 21, and Bhoja, ii, 39 ; *Agni.* 342, 10, and Bhoja, ii, 79 ; *Agni.* 338, 11, and Bhoja, v, 3, etc. Apart from this fact of literal borrowing, which being a common trait in Bhoja is not conclusive, there is a striking coincidence, as we shall see presently, of treatment as well as agreement of views on fundamental points which is more than merely accidental. It is not suggested that Bhoja is directly copying from the *Agni-purāṇa* ; it is quite possible that they exploit in common an unknown source. But there is hardly any doubt that they follow a common tradition which is different in many respects from that of the Kashmirian writers, although Bhoja is more open to the influence of the latter.

Bhoja develops the definition of poetry given by the *Agni-purāṇa* by adding expressly *rasa* among its essential characteristics, which, as the commentator Ratneśvara points out, indicates the influence of the " Kāśmīrakas " :—

*Nirdoṣaṁ guṇavat kāvyam alaṁkārair alaṁkṛtam*
*Rasânvitam.* . . . (i, 2).

In conformity to this definition, which mentions rather uncritically all the requisite elements, Bhoja deals in the first chapter with the *doṣas* and *guṇas* and devotes the next three chapters respectively to the consideration of poetic figures (*alaṁkāras*) of *śabda*, of *artha*, and of both *śabda* and *artha*. In the last chapter is given a detailed treatment of *rasa*, for Bhoja thinks that *rasôkti* is essential in poetry (v, 8). But like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not explicit with regard to the question of correlating this æsthetic element with other elements of poetry, and his conception of *rasa* bears resemblance to that of the *utpattivādins*, whose causal theory, as Abhinavagupta points out, is accepted by earlier authors like Daṇḍin. No doubt, in one verse (i, 158), Bhoja is apparently of opinion that a poem is relished only if it contains the *guṇas*, even though it may possess various kinds of poetic figures ; for even excellent poetic figures in a composition without the *guṇas* present an ugly aspect, as the form of a woman, destitute of youth, looks ugly even

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though she wears excellent ornaments. But this verse is only an unacknowledged quotation from Vāmana (iii, 1, 2, *vṛtti*), and must be taken as an instance of eulogistic statements, not unusual in Sanskrit writers, made for the purpose of simply emphasizing a point, or as a characteristic of the uncritical and confused nature of the work itself; for otherwise we cannot reconcile this dictum with others of a similar nature made in connexion with *rasa* or *alaṁkāra*.

Although Bhoja puts a great deal of emphasis on *rasa*, probably in accordance with the views of the new school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, as well as of his own school, he cannot yet be taken as an adherent of this school or of the older Rasa School. Bhoja mentions here as many as ten *rasas*, adding the *śānta* and the *preyas* (the last occurring also in Rudraṭa) to the eight orthodox *rasas* mentioned by Bharata (vi, 15); but in his treatment he follows the *Agni-purāṇa* tradition in singling out the *śṛṅgāra* for almost exclusive attention. This trait is also noticeable in his other work, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, in which he accepts only one *rasa*, the Erotic,[1] thus justifying its title.

Bhoja modifies the *Agni-purāṇa's* classification of the *guṇas* by dividing them, according as they relate to *śabda* and *artha*, into external (*bāhya*) and internal (*ābhyantara*), on the one hand, and specific (*vaiśeṣika*) *guṇas* on the other. By the last he understands those which are *guṇas* in spite of their being essentially *doṣas* or faults (i, 60 ff.). He carries the differentiation and multiplication of *guṇas* still further, and enumerates twenty-four *śabda-guṇas* and as many *artha-guṇas*,

[1] So says Vidyādhara, p. 98; *rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva Śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam urarīcakāra*; also Kumārasvāmin, p. 221, *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa-kāraḥ*. A MS. of this work, also referred to in Rāyamukuṭa on Amara, Hemādri on *Raghu*, and Sarvānanda in his *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on Amara, has been recently acquired by the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library; and from its report it appears that the work, in the usual encyclopædic spirit of the author, discusses and profusely illustrates all the phases of the amorous sentiment in no less than twenty chapters. An account of this work will be found in my *Hist. of Sansk. Poetics*, vol. i, pp. 147–8.

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again, of identical names. Like the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not very precise or critical in his definitions of individual *guṇas*, and he assigns to some *guṇas* properties which are ascribed to *alaṁkāras* by other writers. It is curious to note that the *artha-guṇa kānti* is defined, after Vāmana, as *dīpta-rasatvam* (i, 81), including *rasa* therein; and in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīrya* (i, 73) is incorporated the concept of *dhvani*. At the same time, *rasa* is taken elsewhere as a fundamental æsthetic concept, and the idea of *dhvani* is omitted from his treatment. Bhoja, however, does not pay any homage to Vāmana's classification of *rīti*, the elaboration of which he carries still further. He adds two more types of *rītis*, viz. *āvantikā* and *māgadhī* (ii, 32), to the four mentioned by the *Agni-purāṇa*, the former of these being an intermediate kind between Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī, and the latter forming only a *khaṇḍa-rīti*, i.e. defective or incomplete type. It is also noteworthy that some of the *upamā-doṣas*, such as *hīnatva* and *adhikatva*, are included in the general discussion of *doṣas* as *hīnôpamā* and *adhikôpamā*, and not mentioned, in the usual manner, in connexion with the figure *upamā* itself.

In the treatment of *alaṁkāras*, Bhoja is one of the earliest writers to follow the *Agni-purāṇa's* classification into three groups, viz. *śabdâlaṁkāra*, *arthâlaṁkāra*, and *ubhayâlaṁkāra*. Without entering into details here, we may state that Bhoja's treatment is much fuller. He enumerates, for instance, and defines the largest number of *śabdâlaṁkāras* mentioned by any author, namely twenty-four, and develops further the treatments of Daṇḍin, the *Agni-purāṇa* and Rudraṭa. The number of *arthâlaṁkāras*, however, is surprisingly limited, and a love of symmetry probably leads him to enumerate them also as twenty-four in number, which is also the number of the *ubhayâlaṁkāras*. The most curious chapter is that which deals with the last-named class of poetic figures, which includes figures like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *dīpaka*, *atiśaya*, and other well-recognized *arthâlaṁkāras*. Mammaṭa later on admits this three-fold classification of poetic figures, which

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is not recognized by all, but unlike Bhoja, he includes a very limited number in the mixed third class, such as *punaruktavadâbhāsa*, in which stress is laid equally on *śabda* and *artha*.

This novel and somewhat unorthodox standpoint, which follows a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from the accepted views of the various established schools, makes Bhoja's work an interesting study; but its theoretic importance has been exaggerated. The work, no doubt, possesses a certain importance for this unique treatment in the history of Sanskrit Poetics; but its value consists, not in its theories, or in its discussion of general principles, but in its being a very elaborate, if somewhat diffuse, manual and an exhaustive store-house of definitions and illustrations, for which not only the works of Ālaṁkārikas but also of almost all the well-known poets have been laid under contribution. The later writers, in spite of the fascination which the magic name of Bhojarāja carries with it, cite this work chiefly for its abundant wealth of illustration, or for the purpose of supporting some unorthodox view to which Bhoja might have lent the authority of his name. The learning which this work parades, though extensive, is ill-assorted and uncritical, its ideas lacking in system and its expression in preciseness. The school of opinion which Bhoja represents does not appear to have received any support or following in later times.

*November*, 1922.

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# Dr. Hoernle's MS. Papers

By F. E. PARGITER

## I (IV, 1)

"Rough list of Dr. Stein's MSS. sent by Dr. Barnett"—with brief descriptions.

1. (1) "9, 1 Brāhmī fol. C.A.," unknown language, probably a *Prajñā-pāramitā*.
   (2) Inner cover marked C xlvi (Suppl.) Large C.A. leaf 6.vi.07; outer cover marked Ch. Large C.A. Brāhmī frgt.; part of the former.
2. *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* (Ch. xlvi, 0015) [now No. 4 in my (i.e. Dr. Hoernle's) Register]. In Stein's parcel marked "C xlvi, 0015 C.A." Pothi, 20 fol. Brāhmī, unknown language, 18 leaves, with extracts from the folios.
3. *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* (Ch. xlvi, 0015) [now No. 4 in the Register]. Only 2 leaves survive. Brāhmī, with extracts from folios.
4. *Vajracchedikā* (Ch. xlvi, 1012A) [now No. 5 in the Register]. 20 fol. Brāhmī, unknown: 8 leaves surviving; with extracts.
5. *Vajracchedikā* (Ch. xlvi, 0012A) [belongs to No. 5 in the Register]. 34 fol. Brāhmī, unknown, 3 leaves: is really portion of No. 4; with copious extracts.
6. Medical (Ch. ii, 003) [No. 12 in the Register]. 34 fol. Brāhmī, unknown: 34 surviving leaves; with extracts.
7. (Ch. ii, 003.) Missing leaves of No. 6 [No. 12 in the Register].
8. Stein's mark "C.A. Br. Pothi, 11 foll." Brāhmī, unknown.

No. I. Stein's mark "Ch. ii, C.A. Brāhmī Pothi". Brāhmī, unknown, with Dr. Hoernle's brief list of medical terms in unknown language and Sanskrit.

— *Siddha-sāra-śāstra* [No. 1 in the Register]. Copious extracts, fol. 1–4, 10, 103, 104, 106, 107, 121, 123, etc.;

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with note on *bhūta-kalyāṇaka-ghṛta* and 10 other *ghṛtas*, and lists of terms and words; copious extracts from fol. 47*b* to 116*b*.

In separate covers. Medical vocabulary to *Siddha-sāra-śāstra* by Dr. Hoernle.

II (IV, 2)

One book. Discussion (following on consideration of the systems of Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa I) about Mādhava, author of *Nidāna* or *Rug-viniścaya*; discussion of his system and of Vṛnda-Mādhava and Bhāva-Miśra, i.e. Suśruta's school. Then a consideration of the school of Vāgbhaṭa I, i.e. Dṛḍhabala, Vāgbhaṭa II. 14 fol.

(1) One cover, containing extracts from Graf & Jaemisch, *Handbuch der Ges. An.*, in German, about the eye; 5 fol.; also extracts from *Geschichte d. grauen Staures*, von Dr. Hugo Magnus, Leipzig, 1876, in German, about the eye; 6 fol.

(2) Relation of Mādhava to Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II: extracts and comparisons; 1 fol.

(3) On *kālakāsthi*. MSS. of Suśruta and Mādhava. Commentaries on the same. Printed editions of the same. With extracts from MSS.; 9 fol.

(4) Article: *On the ancient Indian theory of the structure of the Eye and the Cataract*; 28 fol.; lists comparative of works, 12 fol.

Letters from Jolly and Fuchs. Various miscellaneous notes and extracts.

*Indische Medizin* von Dr. Iwan Bloch—a separate paper from the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*; and 2 other papers by him.

Chap. I. Anatomy: the structure of the eye; merely the beginning, 1 page.

References to the Eye in Caraka, 5 fol.

I. Anatomy: the structure of the Eye, 71 fol. Introduction, 1 fol.

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Further notes, extracts about medicine, 6 fol.; and 2 envelopes with small light red seeds. Chronology, 3 fol. Caraka's *Cikitsā-sthāna* and chronological notes, 6 fol.

Book with extracts from medical works and commentaries, Caraka and anonymous.

III (IV, 3)

A portfolio containing miscellaneous papers relating to eye-diseases, etc.

(1) Extracts from Prof. Dr. H. Magnus' *Die Augenheilkunde der Alten.*

(2) Correspondence with Dr. P. Cordier, 21 letters and post-cards.

(3) Letter and annexure from Col. Waddell about enteric fever in Baghdad.

(4) Pamphlet by Dr. P. Cordier, *Quelques données nouvelles à propos des Traités Medicaux sanscrits*, 1899.

(5) Letter from Mr. Pargiter about medical passages in the *Śiva Purāṇa.*

(6) Letter from Miss C. M. Ridding with list of medical MSS.

(7) Letter from Prof. Jolly about Kalpa works.

(8) Pamphlet by Dr. P. Cordier, *Nāgārjuna et l'Uttaratantra de la Suçruta saṃhitā*, 1896.

(9) Notes by Dr. Hoernle about *rasas*; and books to consult.

(10) Letter from Birajācharan Gupta Kabibhūṣaṇ with his pamphlet *Banauṣadhi-darpaṇa.*

(11) Cutting from *Daily Mail*, letter by Robert Bell about cancer.

(12) Letter from A. R. L. Anderson about medical researches.

(13) Note about dimensions of the eye, with a diagram.

(14) Letter from Asiatic Society of Bengal about loan of 3 Medical MSS.

(15) Letter from Dr. M. A. Stein dated 1st March, 1905.

(16) Letter from the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, about certain medical works.



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(17) Cutting from *Times Weekly Edition* of 11th October, 1907, reviewing Dr. J. S. Milne's *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times.*

(18) Pamphlet by E. C. van Leersum, *Preparation du calomel chez les anciens Hindous.*

(19) Quotations from *Bheḍa-saṁhitā* and *Kalyāṇa*, supplied by Dr. P. Cordier.

(20) Packet marked "Correspondence and Papers, etc., referring to Surgical Instruments of India".

(21) Extracts from *Cikitsā-kalikā* and other medical works.

(22) 10 folios containing an alphabetical list of well-known ancient Indian medical men.

(23) 1 folio, extract from *The Book of Quinte Essence*, etc.

(24) Folio note, extracts from Lanfranck's *Science of Chirurgie.*

(25) 1½ folio miscellaneous notes of chapter numbers.

(26) File of letters from and to Col. Waddell, Mr. Walsh, and Dr. Thomas, with 17 folios containing extracts from the *Tanjur*, apparently by Dr. Thomas.

IV (iv, 4)

Three red-backed folio books containing a vocabulary of the *Caraka-saṁhitā.* Vol. I is marked "Sthānas: sūtra, Nidāna, Vimāna portion—*Vimāna* up to *pānīya*". Vol. II "Sthānas: Vimāna, Śarīra, Indriya, Cikitsita portion—*Cikitsita* up to *praśamaya*; Vimāna from *pāpīyas*". Vol. III "Sthānas: Cikitsita portion, Kalpa, Siddhi—Cikitsita portion from *praśasta*".

Also a square cardboard box containing many slips (or cards) of words in the *Siddhi-sthāna* of the *Caraka-saṁhitā.* These apparently complete the vocabulary.

V (iv, 5)

Book. Index of Words in Suśruta's *Saṁhitā*, with MS. pages of more words not yet entered therein. At the end: reversed—Copy of the *Nidāna-sthāna* from the Sauśrutīya *Āyur-veda-śāstra* MS. in the India Office.

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VI (IV, 6)

Roll Ch. 73 XV 001 and Poth Ch. 83 VI 001. Descriptions and transcripts.

VII (IV, 7)

A copy-book, "Stein MSS. Sanskrit." Transcripts of plates, X (D III 8), and XI (D III 7); XII (D III 2 and 3); XI (D III 4); XVII (D VI 1); XV (D IV 1 and 2).

A copy-book, "Stein MSS. non-Sanskrit." Transcripts of plates XVI (D III 1); XIV (E. c. Roll). Transcripts of Brāhmī documents, plates XVI (D IV 6); XIII (D III 12); XVII (D V 8); XVII (D VI 6); XVIII (D VIII 2). Transcripts of wooden tablets, Rawak 5 I 1901; D 54; D V 3; N XX, 1.

VIII (IV, 8)

Description of MS. frgt. Miran 31, from Dr. Stein's collection, with transcripts; 1 fol.

IX (IV, 9)

Tracings of inscriptions on frescoes and pottery.

Kha i, 312, note and cast of inscription on rim of a jar.

Kha i, 0055, tracing of inscription on fresco (part unbroken); with Miss Lorimer's letter of 25th Jan., 1913.

Kha i, C 0074, do. (4 fragments); with letter do.

Kh i, 3.

Ta i, 1. Inscription on small grotesque-headed figure; a handmade copy.

X (IV, 11 (*a*))

A large envelope marked "Dr. Watanabe's Reading of two Chinese fragments, Nos. 150[52] and 151"; containing the two fragments of paper with Chinese characters and the readings.

XI (IV, 11 (*b*))

Envelope marked "Dr. Watanabe's contribution, also my readings"; but inside is a copybook marked "Transcript of Dr. Stein's Brāhmī MSS., Plates I–V", with a note

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"Sent to Prof. Leumann on 28 Sept., 1907. Returned by him, 13 January, 1911"; with 23 folios containing revised transliterations of the same.

XII (IV, 11 (*c*))

Dr. Watanabe's Paper on I Hīnayāna, II Mahāyāna, etc. [but only a rough title-page; with transliteration of one fragment in an odd folio].

Preliminary Report of the studies on Khotan Fragments collected by Dr. Stein and Dr. Hoernle, by K. Watanabe, Ph.D. 57 pages (revised thoroughly by Hoernle).

XIII (IV, 12)

Large long envelope, containing 3 photographs marked 118*a* and 118*c* (of MSS.) and 118*b* (of painting), and marked "3 photographs belonging to 'Gigantic Roll' (No. 56)".

XIV (IV, 13)

Envelope marked "Papers on Central Asian Antiquities, Nos. 87 and 121–139"; containing miscellaneous correspondence with the India Office, Sir M. A. Stein, Sir C. J. Lyall, Professor Rapson, etc.

XV (IV, 14)

Envelope marked "Papers on Central Asian Antiquities, Nos. 140–160"; containing miscellaneous correspondence with the Archæological Department of India, the Government of India, and the India Office.

XVI (IV, 15)

Stein Collection. Two folios of a Palm-leaf MS. found in the walled-up cave, Tun-huang; described and transliterated fol. 140, 465 [not in the volume published].

Big Roll from the Temple Library, described; in upright Gupta characters, about 1110–2 lines; transliteration of lines 1–774, 840–860.

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XVII (IV, 16)

Cover marked "Classified List [rough] of Block prints and MSS." But contents are—Register of Correspondence on Central Asia. Chronological, in the form of a table thus--

No. | Date. | Communication. | Remarks.

containing from No. 1 of 28th March, 1895, D.O. letter from Sir A. C. Talbot, sends scraps of MSS.; to No. 160 of 8th Oct., 1914, a D.O. letter No. 2375 from Mr. Marshall inquiring about progress as above, with draft report in reply attached.

Register of Correspondence: alphabetical, of the foregoing.

Register of antiquities in table thus, 3 pages—

Name. | Reg. No. | Contents.

XVIII (IV, 18)

Large quarto reproduction of specimens of palm-leaf and other MSS.; first proofs of ten plates numbered 119 to 124, 137 to 139, and 152; with 5 other plates unspecified, 4 reproducing MSS., and one reproducing paintings.

XIX (IV, 19)

Register of Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Niya site, found in Sir A. Stein's first expedition; from "Ancient Khotan", vol. i, pp. 385 ff., giving in 5 columns, serial No., class No., site-mark, shape, and condition, type-written. Nos. 1 to 473 on 20 folios.

XX (IV, 22)

Book. Index (to Dr. Stein's Brāhmī MSS.) of Sanskrit words with the MS. (Plates) and places where they occur.

Other end. Index of words, not Sanskrit, with MS. (Plates) and places where they occur.

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## XXI (IV, 23)

Copybook. Transcriptions of a number of folios, but book not stated. Non-Sanskrit (apparently unknown language)

Copybook. Notes on non-Sanskrit language signs, letters, numerals, dates, etc.

Copybook. Notes to Stein MSS. Non-Sanskrit. Sanskrit words used, language, inflexions, new symbols, forms of letters.

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# The Hittite version of the Epic of Gilgames

By A. H. SAYCE

THE Assyrian and Babylonian copies of the Seventh book of the Epic of Gilgames, which recorded the destruction of the demoniac Khumbaba and the death of Engidu, the companion of Gilgames, have not yet been recovered. It is, therefore, interesting to find that among the Hittite tablets from Boghaz Keui, now in Berlin, there are fragments of two or three different copies of it, not only in Hittite, but also in "Kharrian", that is to say, Mitannian. There was, however, a reason for this. The home of Khumbaba was "the Cedar forest" of the Amanus region, and the story of the struggle between him and the Babylonian hero possessed a special interest for the people of Asia Minor.

Four of the fragments have now been published by Professor Hrozny in the sixth part of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Nos. 1, 30, 31, 32, and 33. No. 32 is too small a fragment to be worth reproducing here, while No. 33 is in the Kharrian language, which is only partially deciphered. Of the other fragments, the following are my translations:—

*No.* 1

1. [nu]-lu-uk-ki-is-ta . . .
   *So on the morrow . . .*
2. AN UD sa-me-e . . .
   *the Sun-god of heaven . . .*
3. na-as u-i-is-ki-iz-zi . . .
   *he bade come . . .*
4. sa AN UD sa-me-e an-da . . .
   *to the Sun-god of heaven . . .*
5. nu-us-si-gan is-kha-akh-ru nakr-e . . .
   *Now of him let shed the blood the enemy . . .*

---

6. nu AN Gil-gim-mas-as a-na AN UD sa-me-e . . .
   *The divine Gilgames to the Sun-god of heaven [says]:*

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7. ka-a-as-wa a-pa-a-s UD-KAM-za i-na
*verily* *he*[1] *from to-day* *in*
ALU-ri . . .
*the city* [*will remain*]
8. ku-it ALU-ri makh-khat a-se-sa-nu-ut
*since to the city* *back* *he is restored.*

---

9. am-mu-uk-ma-za-gan a-na AN UD . . .
*When therefore I* *to* *the Sun-god* [*went ?*]
10. nu-[sa ?]-an e-ip-pu-un na-an . . .
*him (?)* *I took ;* *him I . . .*
11. [AN UD sa-] me-e [a-na] AN Gil-gim-mas
[*The Sun-god of*] *heaven* *to* *Gilgames*
ar-ku-wa-[an-zi]
*sent a message ;*
12. is-ta-ma-as-ta nu a-na AN Khu-wa-wa
*he heard.* *Then* *against* *Khumbaba*
SARU-[MES]
*the winds*
13. GAL-MES-is a-ra-iz-zi SARU GAL SARU el-ta-nu
*great* *raged,* *the great wind,* *the north wind*
. . .
. . .
14. SARU zi-ik-zi-ki SARU su-ru-up-pu-u
*the hurricane,* *the simoom,*
SARU a-sa[-an-nas ?]
*the continuous (?) wind,*
15. SARU an-khu-ul-lu VII SARU-MES a-ra-a-ir
*the devil's wind,* *7* *winds* *raged ;*
nu-gan . . .
*so . . .*
16. SI-ZUN-wa makh-khar wa-al-khi-[is]-gan-zi
*before* *and behind* *they assaulted* (*him*).
17. nu-us-si u-ul khat-ra . . . an-ni-ya-u-wa[-ar]
*For him* *no* *escape*

[1] Apparently Engidu is referred to.

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18. ki-sa-ri u-ul-ma-as-si makh-khat ti-[ya-u-wa-ar]
*will be, nor for him retreat*
19. ki-sa-ri nu-za AN Khu-wa-wa-is ar-kha da-[i-is]
*will be. Henceforth was Khumbaba driven away.*

---

20. nu AN Khu-wa-wa-is a-na AN Gil-gim-mas
*Then Khumbaba to Gilgames*
makh-khat me-mi-[is-ta]
*replied :*
21. ar-kha-ma-mu-da-a-li AN Gil-gim-mas
*Depart from me, O Gilgames,*
nu-mu-za-zi-ik . . .
*and from me do thou [go].*
22. am-mu-uk-ma-ad-du-za ARAD-is e-es-lu-ut
*Since against (?) me the master the servant has rebelled (?),*
nu . . .
*so . . .*
23. ku-i-e-es sal-la-nu-us-ki-nu-un
*These people I have magnified ;*
nu . . .
*now [they have turned against me].*
24. nassa-us bu-ul-li-ya-[an-zi] . . .
*They have . . .*
25. ta-a-as-mi nu-za Ê-MES kha . . .
*I have stolen. Then the houses . . .*
26. nu AN En-ki-tû-us a-na . . .
*So Engidu to . . .*
27. AN Khu-wa-wa-is ku-in . . .
*Khumbaba whom . . .*
28. na-an li-e is-ta-[masta] . . .
*Him he did not hear . . .*

The next two lines begin with "Khumbaba" and "mountains".

*No.* 30

1. . . . sum-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an SU-az e-ip-[ta]
. . . *the . . .* *with the hand* *he took.*

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2. . . . [AN Gil-]gim-mas-ma GIM-an
. . . *Gilgames also similarly*
3. . . . a-bu-us-sa kha-az-in-nu
. . . *and they the axe*
4. . . . e-ip-ta
. . . *took.*
5. . . . [GIS ERIN] ta-a-as-ta
. . . *[the cedar] he felled (?)*
6. . . . ta-kha-ra-an is-ta-ma-as-ta
. . . *the . . . he heard.*
7. . . . kar-tim-mi-ya-za ki-sa-at ku-is-wa u-[it ?]
. . . *a judge was he who ca[me ?]*
8. . . . am-me-el sal-la-nu-wa-an-ta-tar
. . . *my greatness*
KHAR-SAG-MES . . .
*the mountains . . .*
9. . . . nu-ut nu-gan GIS ERIN ta-a-as-ta
. . . . . -*d Thereupon the cedar-tree he felled (?).*

---

10. [nu]-wa-as-ma-ma-as-gan ne-bi-sa-az kat-ta . . .
*Thereupon one from heaven down [came].*
11. AN UD sa-me-e me-mi-is-ki-iz-[zi] ti-ya-at . . .
*The Sun-god of heaven drew near to speak . . .*
12. li-e-ya na-akh-te-e-ni nu . . .
*and you are not loyal. So . . .*
13. i-ya-an-ni-ya-at-tin ku-it . . .
*you do. What . . .*
14. BIT-ri an-da na-a-wi pa-u . . .
*to the house not yet they have given. . . .*
15. nu-wa-za GAL pa-ri-wa-at na[n] . . .
*So then the chief of the pair (?) him . . .*
16. is-ta-ma-as-ta AN En-ki-tû-us . . .
*heard. The divine Engidu . . .*
17. ki-sa-at nu-us-si-gan AN En-[lil ?] . . .
*it was. Then to him the god En-[lil ?] . . .*

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18. AN Gil-gim-us-sa an-da i-ya-[zi] . . .
*and Gilgames to (him) made . . .*
19. nu AN Khu-wa-wa-ni khal-lu-wa-[an-zi].
*So to Khumbaba the dawn came.*[1]

---

*No.* 31. *Obv. Col.* 1

1. . . . ta-ti nu-lu-uk-ki-is-ta . . .
. . . *thou . . . Then on the morrow . . .*
2. . . . [AN] Gil-gim-mas makh-khat me-mi-is-ta . . .
. . . *Gilgames back replied . . .*
3. . . . mi-an-ti ku-in û . . .
. . . *it was night* (?) *being, and . . .*
4. . . . AN E-a-as AN UD AN-E-ya a . . .
. . . *the god Ea and the Sun-god of heaven . . .*
5. . . . [AN En-]lil IGI-an-da me-mi-is-ta . . .
. . . [*the god En*]-*lil primarily spoke . . .*
6. . . . [i-da]-lu]-u-un ku-en-nir
. . . [*the wic*]*ked one they have killed*
AN Khu-wa-[wa-in]
*even Khumbaba*
7. . . . is-tu GIS ERIN wa-ar [-nuwanzi ?]
. . . *from the cedar they* [*carried away ?*]
8. . . . [tu-e-]ta-as-sa-wa-gan is-tar-na . . .
. . . *And then . . . in front . . .*
9. . . . [AN] En-ki-tû-us-wa ak-du
*let* [*Gilgames ?*] *and Engidu die ;*
10. . . . li-e a-ki
[*but Gilgames ?*] *is not dead.*

---

11. . . . nu AN En-lil UR-SAG
. . . *So En-lil the hero*
li makh-khat me-mi-[is-ta]
*did not reply.*
12. . . . tu-e-ta-za me-mi-ya-na-az ku-en-nir . . .
. . . . . . *the famous one they killed . . .*

[1] This is the end of the 7th book.

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13. [i-da-]lu-u-un AN Khu-wa-wa-in-na ki-nu-un-ma
*and the [wic]ked one* *Khuwawa.* *And now*
NUMUN wa-al-akh-[kha-an-zi] . . .
*the seed* *[they have] destroyed* . . .

14. kar-tim-mi e-es-ta zi-ik-wa-as-ma-as ku-it
*adjudged* *he was.* *But you,* *while*
i-wa-ar . . .
*with [him you were]*

15. AN En-ki-tû-us a-ki AN En-lil-as-ma-gan a-na
*the divine Engidu* *dies.* *Then Ellil* *to*
AN UD AN-E . . .
*the Sun-god* *of heaven [said:]* . . .

16. AMEL tab-bi-su UD-KAM-ti-li kat-ta-an i-ya-at-ta-ti
*his companion* *all day long* *thou didst depress*
AN En-[gi-tû-us]
*the divine En[gidu]*

17. a-na AN Gil-gim-mas bi-ra-an kat-ta e-es-ta
*to* *the divine Gilgames* *was a* *helper.*

18. nu-us-si-gan is-kha-akh-ru khat-ra-[a]
*But of him* *will pour the blood* *forth*
[nakr-]e-ZUN-us ma-a-an . . .
*the [enemy]* *If* . . .

19. akhu-ya na-ak-ki-is-mu-za akhu a-na
*my brother;* *when friendly to me* *(is) a brother,* *to*
akhu-ya-mu-[nakkimi]
*my brother then [I am friendly].*

20. bar-ki-ya-nu-wa-an-zi nam-ma nu-za-gan
*He is guiltless* *accordingly.* *So now*
a-na TUK-is . . .
*against* . . .

21. e-es-kha-kha-ri GIS-KAK ta-lu-uz-zi-ya-wa-gan sa
*he will shed the blood.* *So the spear (?)* . . . *of*
TUK-is . . .
. . . . . .

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22. nu-wa akhu-ya na-ak-ki-in SI-ZUN-wa-za u-ul
*Now my brother friendly openly has not*
nam-ma . . .
*accordingly [shown himself?].*

---

*No.* 1

1. Literally "when it was light". In the Code of Laws *lukkizzi* signifies "he sets on fire".

5. In No. 31 *iskhakhru* is written *eskhakhru* and *eeskhakhru*. It must therefore be derived from *eeskhar* or *eskhar*, also written *iskhar* "blood". In *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, i, pp. 37, 38, ll. 6, 6, the Hittite *ûl iskhakhruwattat* is translated by the Babylonian [*da*]*mâti ûl isbuk* "he has not shed blood".

8. The syllabaries render *kuit* by *adi* "until".

11. The signification of *arkuwar* is fixed by the passages in the historical inscriptions in which it is found.

24. We find *bûl-tianzi* in the "War with the Great Serpent": *JRAS.*, April, 1922, p. 183.

*No.* 30

7. In *KUB.*, iii, 119. 9, 14. 7, the Hittite (*lê*) *kuez-qa kartimmi* . . . is translated by the Assyrian *meimma* (*ûl*) *usarkhîp* "he pronounced upon, worried over, nothing". Hence in *KB.*, v, 1, 18, 19, we find *nussi mân ilum kuiski kartimi-yauwanza nan-za sipanti* "if any god pronounces judgment on him, he must sacrifice to him".

15. *Parias* seems to signify "a pair" in the Code of Laws. There was another *parias*, however, meaning "boundary", and we might read *khatriwat* "writings".

*No.* 31

3. *Miyandas* in the Code of Laws signifies "additional". But it is possible that we should read MI here as the ideograph of "night": MI-*an-ti* "thy night".

8, 12. I have no clue to the meaning of *tuetas*. It can hardly be connected with the 2nd personal pronoun from which we

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have *tuel* "of thee" and *tuesas* "thine". The significance of *memiyannas* "famous" (line 12) is fixed by *BK.* iii, 6; iv, 11.

14. *Iwar* is rendered by the Assyrian *itti* "with". *Iwaras* signified "endowment" (Bab. *siriqtu*).

17. *Biran katta* "under the house" or "interior" is the common idiom in the historical texts for going "to the help of" a person.

19. The legal texts have settled the signification of the verb *nakkiuwar*. The verb is also found frequently in the historical texts, e.g. *BK.* v, 3, i, 19, 20: *nutta mân tuel makhkhan* SAG-DU-*ka nakkis nutta mân* SAG-DU AN UD-*si qatamma ûl nakkis* "If afterwards thou thyself are friendly, but if the Sun-god (the Hittite king) as aforesaid is not friendly". Hence in the YUZGAT tablet *Rev.* 9, AN *Telibinusa kuedanikki nakkeszi* must be translated "and Telibinus was friendly thereto".

20. *Barkiyanuwanzi* is usually written *barkunuwanzi*.

I have no idea what TUK-*is* signifies. The ideograph generally denotes "possession", but that would have no sense here. Another signification given to it was *asaridu* "chieftain", which may possibly be what is intended.

21. GIS-KAK is "a peg", which makes no sense, and the verb *taluzzi* is unknown to me. Perhaps we ought to read *gis-kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*.

In the fragment No. 32, "the temple of El-lil" appears to be described as being "behind the cedar".

In the Kharrian or Murrian tablet (No. 33) the name of Gilgames is written Galgamis. Many of the words are recognizable from their occurrence in the Mitannian letter of Dusratta in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. The goddess Siduri—"the barmaid" (*śabitu*)—is mentioned, and called "the wife of . . ." (*Sidurri-wâ aste-ni-wâ* . . .), the word "brother" coming in the next line (*sênip-wâ*). The Mitannian words *inudda pali-u-sseni-wâ* "according to my demand", *eti-da* "aforesaid", *katî-ya*, *katî-u* "I have described" or

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"uttered",[1] *urunni* "a mission", are also found. One of the paragraphs begins: AN *Galgamiss-ul tiwî-na* . . . "the divine Gilgames [made] words", i.e. "spoke"; the subject of another is AN *Nakhmamâl-el* "the divine Nakhmamâl", whose name does not occur in the extant texts of the Epic, and a colophon states that the whole tablet is concerned with "[the conquest] of Khumbaba" ( . . . *sa* AN *Khuwawa*).

## Khumbaba

Many years ago Oppert suggested that Khumbaba was the Kombabos of Lucian, and since then I have connected it with the deity whose name I have read Khalmis, Khalwis in the Kasko-Hittite hieroglyphic texts, and from whom the people of Carchemish derived their title of Khalwi-wis. The cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui now inform us that the deity in question was of Proto-Hittite origin and was known at Boghaz Keui as Khalma-suittas and Khalwa-suittas.[2] Khalwi-wis I have further identified with the Khalbaba of the Ordek-burun inscription, which is written in the language of the hieroglyphic texts, though in Aramaic letters; Khalbaba is there the name of the kingdom over which the priest-king commemorated in the inscription held rule. The Asianic *l* was a sound which other peoples found it difficult to reproduce; it interchanges not only with *n* (as in the cuneiform Khali and Khani)[3] but also with *d* and *t* (as in

[1] We do not know whether *qatikhi* and *qatikhu*, which are interpreted "at thy feet" in a Tel el-Amarna letter (*Knudtzon*, 53. 64, 65), were Mitannian words or belonged to some other language.

[2] *KBK.* iv, p. 48, l. 17. It is uncertain whether we should connect this *Khalua* with the words *khalwassis* and *khalwannas* (*KBK.* ii, p. 40, 1, and p. 60, 4), since *khal* may here be the ideographic KHAL "divination". *Khalwannas* is the name of a well of holy water, and *khalwassis* may possibly interchange with *ibarwassis* (ii, p. 40, 3). In Proto-Hittite the deity Khalwâsuit appears as Khanwâsuit. The name Khalmanu is found in one of the contracts published by Johns (*Assyrian Deeds and Documents* 261, *Rev.* 4), but the individual bearing it seems to belong to Nineveh or Armenia rather than to the Hittite region, so it may be derived from the name of the Akhlami.

[3] Weidner instances also the Hittite Sulupassis and Sunupassis, *irmani* and *irmali* "sick", Nur-Daggal and Nur-Dagan, Laplani and Niplani, Lulakhi and Nulakhkhi, לעש and Nukhasse.

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the Proto-Hittite *tabarna* and *labarna* "our lord", Lygdamis and Tugdamme, Λάφνη and δάφνη, Derbe and Lorbe, or the Hesychian *sidê*, *sibdai* "pomegranates" and *silbai*). Before a labial the *-n* became *-m* or *w* or else disappeared altogether.

Kombabos thus corresponds with Κύβεβις, which according to Hesychius signified the Gallos or eunuch priest of the great Asianic goddess Κόμβη,[1] better known as Kybelê. Another form of Kubebis was Κύβηβος. They are both varying attempts to reproduce the cuneiform Khumbaba, Khuwawa, the Khalwiwis of the hieroglyphic texts. A wooden implement called *Khalmassuittan* in the (Boghaz Keui) Hittite translation is *wâsuittun* in a Proto-Hittite text (*KUB.* ii, p. 9, ll. 16, 18). The bird which ideographically represents the goddess Khalmis or Khalwis in the hieroglyphic inscriptions was also Khumbis or Kumwis; the inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at the entrance to "the Midas-city"—the Metropolis or "City of the Mother-goddess" of Stephanus Byzantinus—reads according to the photograph "priest-king (arm with dagger) of Khumbis-country" (two mountain cones). The same country is mentioned in the inscription attached to the figure of the Pseudo-Sesostris in Karabel.[2]

Weidner has pointed out that in the lexical lists *khumbibittu* is defined as *sikin Khuwawa* "creature of Khuwawa" and *wazallaru sa tseri*, which he suggests means "wasp"; it is, however, rather "mosquito". Khumbaba, in fact, "the (attendant) of the goddess Khumba," was, like the Kubebis, or Gallos-priest in classical times, the representative of the cults of Asia Minor and consequently the enemy of the Semitic neighbours and invaders of the country. He thus became synonymous with the evil demon who had his abode in the

[1] Hesychius defines Kombê as "mother of the Kurêtes".

[2] The cast in the Art Institute at Chicago reads: (1) "Image of Tua-te king (2) of the country of Khumwis, (3) the High-priest". The name of the king is uncertain as the first character is injured and may be either *mi* or *tua*, two characters which closely resemble one another. The name, therefore, will be either Mita or Midas, or else Tuate(s). The second character is *ta*, *ti*.

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depth of the cedar-forest and, like Baal Zebub, launched swarms of insects against his adversaries, which were blown away by the winds.

## Nimrod

That Gilgames was not the Biblical Nimrod I have maintained from the outset, and my brother Assyriologists have now come round to the same conclusion. Kraeling[1] has lately identified Nimrod with Lugal-banda, the third king of the first dynasty of Erech, and though his arguments are not very convincing there are other arguments which induce me to believe that the identification is right. (1) Nimrod, we are told, was the son of Cush, whose eldest son was Seba (Gen. x, 7). Seba is the cuneiform Śabu, and "the mountain of Śabu" was the place where Lugal-banda found the storm-bird Zu. (2) Nimrod was "a mighty hunter before the Lord". Lugal-banda hunted the storm-bird and recovered the tablets of destiny, which had been stolen from Ellil, when the gods of heaven were afraid to do so. The Assyrian phrase "to march before" an army or a king is a common one and denotes a champion-leader. In the expedition against Zu, Lugal-banda was the champion of Ellil, the Babylonian equivalent of the Amorite Yahu, the Hebrew Yah'veh. (3) "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh." Babel here takes the first place, as it does in other documents which are later than the establishment of Babylonian primacy under Khammurabi; a parallel case is the list of antediluvian kings given by Berossus where two local heroes of Babylon are inserted before Amelon, i.e. Amelu "Man" (or Adam), with which the list originally began. So, too, the list of Nimrod's cities must have begun originally with Erech. And Lugal-banda was king of Erech. A Nippur text published by Poebel,[2] however, shows that legend

[1] *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1922, pp. 214 sqq.

[2] *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (University Museum, Philadelphia), v, pl. xi, 20.



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also connected him with Babylon, as it refers to Asari-lu-dugga, the later Merodach, and to "the building" by Lugal-banda of E-Saggila, the temple of Merodach at Babylon. The foundation of Akkad must go back to a very early period in Babylonian history, since it gave its name to the whole of northern Babylonia. Calneh is Kul-unu, near Erech, called Kul-ab by the Semites, owing to a similarity of forms between the two characters *unu* and *ab* and the fact that they both signified "abode". Calneh is stated to be in Shinar or Sumir in order to distinguish it from another Calneh, called Kullania by the Assyrians, in northern Syria. (4) Nimrod invaded the north and founded Nineveh; hence Micah (v, 6) entitles Assyria "the land of Nimrod". According to the Nippur tablets Lugal-banda invaded Elam "in the south", Khalma or Aleppo "in the north", and Tidanum or Syria "in the west". His road would therefore have lain through Assyria. Nineveh, in fact, commanded the highway to the north and west.

As for the name of the hero, the theological lists found by the Germans in the library of Assur inform us that the Semites read *banda* as *marda*, perhaps identifying it with the name of the Babylonian city Marad. How *lugal* came to be read *n-*, however, is not clear; the *n-* cannot be identified with *en* as that is represented by אֵן in Semitic transcriptions. *Nin* becomes not only *In* (as in Inguriśa for Nin-Girśu) but also *Ni* (as in Nigizida for Nin-gis-zida), but I do not see how *Nin* could have been substituted for *lugal*. Delitzsch has suggested the Sumerian *na*, *nu* "man", but this, again, is without support. In the Nippur text Lugal-banda has the title PA-*banda*, to be read *nu-banda* or *mu-marda*, the Sumerian equivalent of the Hebrew *gibbor*, and it is just possible that *mu-marda* became Nimrod as the early Babylonian Mardawan, the modern Mardin, became Nirdun in Assyrian.

An early Babylonian seal-cylinder of black stone, now in private hands in Edinburgh, has a representation of a royal hunter, who may possibly be Nimrod. He wears a fringed

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kilt, his only garment, and grasps a lion, while *lugal* "king" is written below him. On one side of him is a man similarly dressed and with head turned back, who is grasping a goat, and on the other side is another man, also clad in the fringed kilt with an upraised dart in his hand. Behind him is a bull-headed man who grasps a goat, and pictures of the sun and a star are in the field. The same royal figure with the epithet *lugal*, grasping an ibex reversed, occurs on a seal from Nippur (Legrain, in the Philadelphia *Museum Journal*, June, 1923, p. 141), and the same hero is represented as fighting a lion on a seal from Tello.

NOTE.—Light may be thrown upon the enigmatical words in ll. 20, 21 of No. 31 above by one of the lexical tablets (KTBK. i, p. 79), where I am inclined to think explanations are given of words contained in the Hittite version of the Gilgames Epic. Here the ideograph TUK is explained by the Babylonian *sarû* "vicegerent", *labnu* "worshipper", and *ras ili* "inspired one", while the Hittite *gattaluskiuwar* is interpreted *bedû*, that is *pidû* "to free" or "save", as Delitzsch pointed out. It is also stated to be a synonyme of GUD-*i makhkhat tarnuwar* "to turn back (from labour?), said of an ox". The Hittite scribes often confound the two similar characters KAK and KAT or GAT, and I would therefore suggest that GIS-KAK is a mistake for GAT. The translation of the lines would then be: "as regards the inspired one (TUK-*issan*, i.e. Engidu) he will shed blood, but [the companion] of the inspired one is saved."

*September, 1922.*

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**Salient at western corner of mosque, from *ṣaḥn*.**

*To face p. 573.*]

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# The Great Salients of the Mosque of al-Hakim at Cairo

By K. A. C. CRESWELL, Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

THE mosque named after the eccentric Khalif al-Ḥākim was commenced, according to Maqrīzī,[1] by the Khalif al-'Azīz in Ramaḍān 380 (November–December, 990), and opened for worship in 381 (991–2) before being finished. Al-Ḥākim recommenced the construction in 393 (1002–3), and was still engaged thereon in 401 (1010–11). In 403 (1012–13) he had it furnished and decorated.

It possesses many peculiarities: a transept (rare in Cairo), a monumental gateway, two domes at the back corners of the sanctuary in addition to the dome over the *miḥrāb*, a feature almost unique,[2] and two square salients, the subject of this memoir, at opposite corners of the north-western façade.[3] Out of these salients rise the two minarets.

Each salient is composed of two cubes, the upper one being set back on the lower (which is exactly the same height as the enclosing wall of the mosque), about 1·60 m. in the case of the western, but a great deal more in the case of the northern cube, the construction of which shows marked differences. For example, the walls of the two western cubes

[1] *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 277.

[2] The other exception is the mosque of al-Azhar, which appears to have been distinguished by the same anomaly. Maqrīzī (op. cit., ii, p. 273), speaking of the dating inscription, says that it was written round the rim of the dome, which was in the first aisle (*riwāq*) of the sanctuary, and to the right of the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar*. It was therefore probably in the back corner, as the first aisle must, of course, be taken to mean the one next the *qibla* wall. If it was balanced by a second in the left-hand corner, the arrangement would be the same as in the mosque of al-Ḥākim. Rivoira (*Moslem Architecture*, p. 163) is the only author who appears to have realized that the sanctuary of al-Ḥākim's mosque must have had three domes. As for al-Azhar, the significance of the above-quoted passage in Maqrîzî has escaped notice entirely.

[3] In Cairo the direction of Mekka is almost exactly south-east.

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are slightly battered, a truncated pyramid being thus formed, the ideal summit of which is placed at a considerable height (Plate VII), whereas in the case of the northern cubes the walls of the lower (visible in photograph through gap in wall) are vertical, only those of the upper being battered (Plates VIII and XI). Out of the top of each rises an octagonal minaret, surmounted by three tiers of stalactites and a fluted cap.

These salients are entered by a door in their south-east faces, on passing through which one observes that the cubes are hollow, and merely form, as it were, pits in which the original stone minarets of the mosque are still preserved. Bracing arches at the summit of the cubes hold each minaret in position. It is at this point that the construction changes to the brick upper portions, which alone are visible from the exterior. Internally, the northern cube is circular, with big recesses, the western is square and without recesses, and one ascends the interior in each case first by an iron staircase which runs round the inner face of the cubes, but after reaching a level corresponding with the level of the lower storey we mount by stone steps. From the description of van Berchem, who visited this mosque *c.* 1888, it would appear that the interior at that time was less free than it is at present, as he ascended by a helicoidal ramp, of which the inner edge rested against the face of the minaret.[1] This ramp must have been cleared away during the administration of Herz Pasha, and replaced by the present iron staircase, with the result that the minarets are left much freer than they can have been at the time of van Berchem's visit. To this ramp must be attributed a great part of the damage which they have suffered.[2]

Both minarets are constructed of smooth, finely dressed lime-

[1] "Notes d'archéologie arabe," in the *Journal Asiatique*, viii[e] série, tome xvii, pp. 439–41.

[2] He expressly says that the ramp cut diagonally across the windows and that a great part of the Kufic inscriptions were hidden by it.

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stone, with well-made joints. The northern minaret is a circular shaft resting on a cubic base, but the western is of square section for at least half its height, after which it becomes octagonal in a series of receding storeys. On reaching the summit of the upper cubes, to which each minaret is attached by a couple of flying buttresses, the material changes to brick, the transition being consolidated by a number of palm-trunks which are built into the brickwork. The brick portion consists of an octagonal shaft with openings in each face, capped by a fluted dome, keel-arched in section, the transition from shaft to dome being marked by tiers of stalactites. The contrast is extreme between the fine masonry of the lower part, with its beautiful, crisply carved ornament, and the rough brickwork of the upper part with its coarse plaster decoration—a contrast which clearly indicates a difference in date. The earliest minaret with a finial in the least resembling these is that at the side of the Mausoleum of Abū-l-Ghadanfar, built 552 (1157),[1] but this is merely the prototype ; we must come down to the Madrasa of Sultan aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb, built 639–41 (1242–3/4),[2] before we find anything approaching it in development. Here, however, we only find two tiers of stalactites, which is the case also with the Mabkhara of the Zāwiyat al-Henūd, built *c.* A.D. 1250.[3]

On the other hand, the minaret of the Madrasa-Mausoleum of the Amīr Sunqur Sa'dy, built 715 (1315),[4] provides an example almost identical but somewhat richer.[5] The stone part of each minaret is, as already stated, of beautifully dressed stone, pierced at intervals with rectangular windows, which originally gave light to the spiral staircase within. The windows of the northern minaret are set in frames

[1] See the *Comptes rendus du Comité de Conservation*, 1913, p. 106.

[2] van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 103–4.

[3] See my "Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt": *Bull. de l'Inst. français d'Archéo. orientale*, t. xvi, pp. 77–8.

[4] van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 733–6.

[5] These finials, on account of their resemblance to censers, are known locally by the name of *mabkhāra*.

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decorated with crisply carved tendrils, and some still retain their stone grilles, formed of a geometrical interlacing pattern based on the six pointed star (the so-called Shield of David) [1]; those of the western minaret are more nearly square, and by their decoration are clearly the prototypes of those in the north-eastern façade of the mosque of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Telāye', built 555 (1160). But all doubt as to the date is set at rest by the superb Kufic inscriptions cut in strong relief, which form bands of decoration at intervals from top to bottom of the minarets.[2] It follows that their lower parts are undoubtedly the work of al-Ḥākim, whereas the summits must be placed between the middle of the seventh (thirteenth) century and 715 (1315).

Now Maqrīzī says that "this mosque was restored in 703, because on Thursday, 13 Dhu l-higga, 702 (17th July, 1303), there was at Miṣr, Cairo, and in the neighbourhood of these towns, an earthquake which made terrible ravages . . . The mosque of al-Ḥākim was amongst its victims. A great number of piers (*badāna*) in the interior were destroyed; the summits of the two minarets fell down, the roofs and the walls cracked. The Amīr Rukn ad-Dīn Bibars al-Gāshankīr, much distressed by this accident, came to the mosque, accompanied by the Qādys and Amīrs. He himself examined the edifice and decided to restore the parts destroyed and to re-erect the piers, which was done . . ." [3] The present upper portions must therefore have been built after 702 (1302) and may safely be attributed to the restoration by Beybars II in

[1] The earliest example of this motive that I have seen occurs at Tabga (Capernaum) on the fallen lintel of a second century synagogue, a fact which tends to confirm its traditional Jewish origin. The Tabga example, according to the *Jewish Encyclopœdia*, is the earliest example known. The earliest example of its use as a decorative motive in Islam is that referred to above.

[2] The ornament of these minarets, and of the rest of the mosque also, has been admirably treated by Flury in his *Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*, Heidelburg, 1912.

[3] *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 278, l. 9 f. (translated by van Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe," loc. cit., pp. 435–6).

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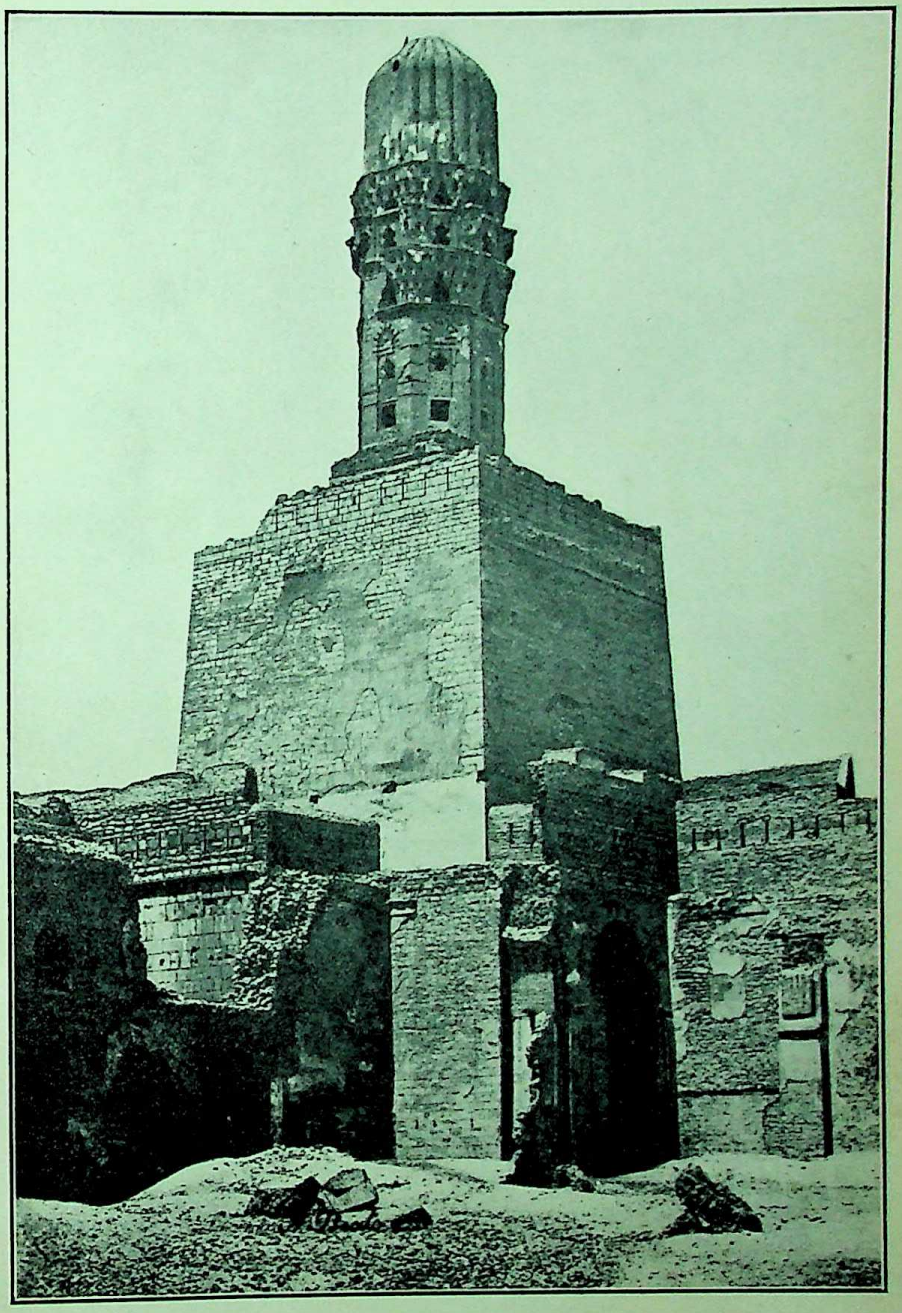

**Salient at northern corner of mosque, from *ṣaḥn*.**

[*To face p. 576.*

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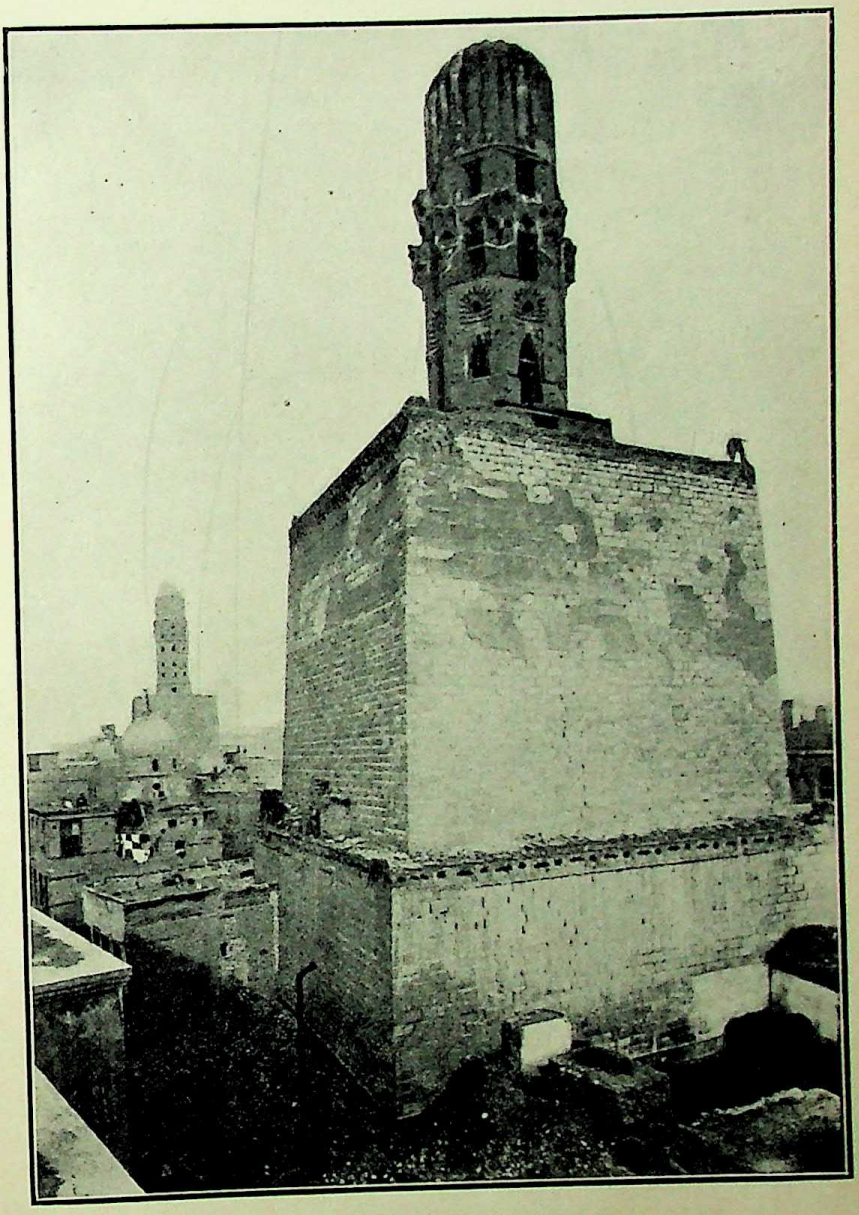

**Salient at west corner of mosque, showing band of inscription above roof of shops.**

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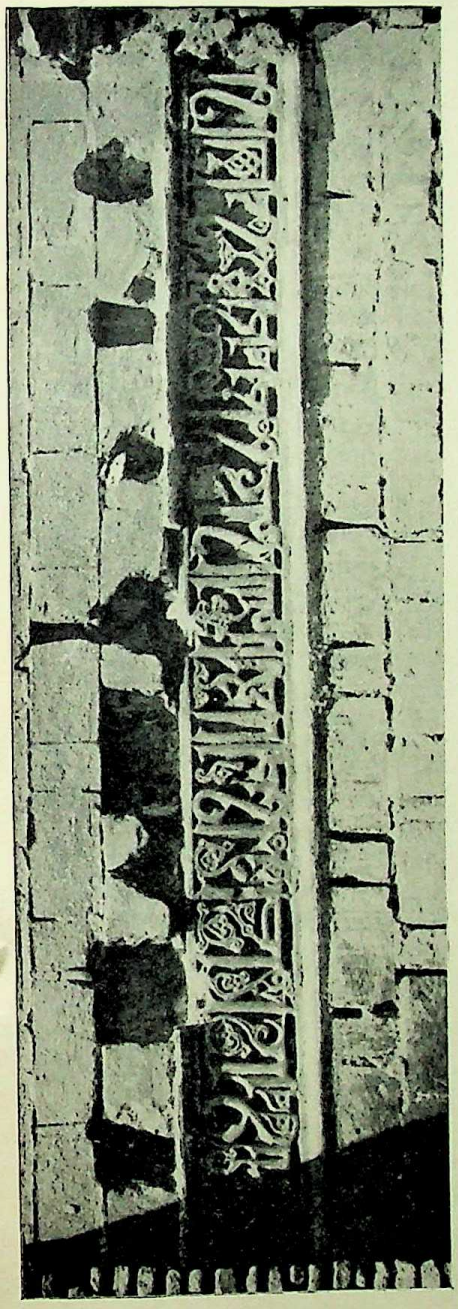
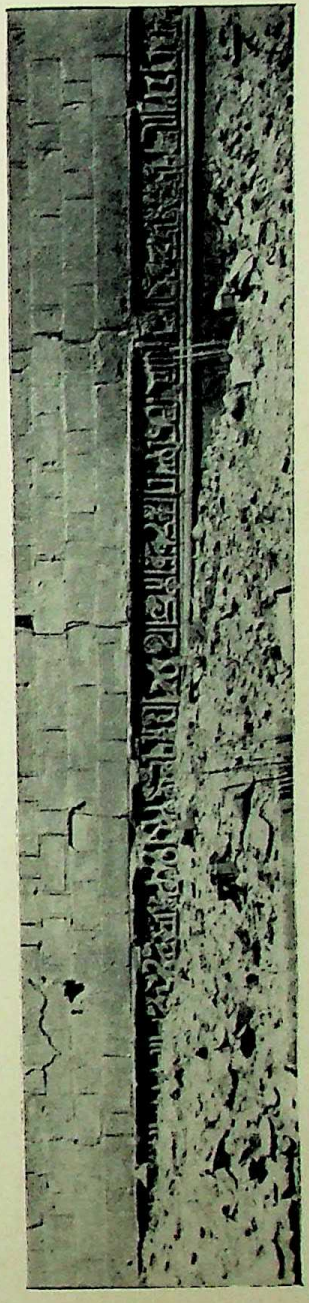


A. INSCRIPTION ON S.E. SIDE. QURAN.



B. INSCRIPTION ON N.W. SIDE. QURAN.

**Inscriptions on salient at west corner of mosque.**

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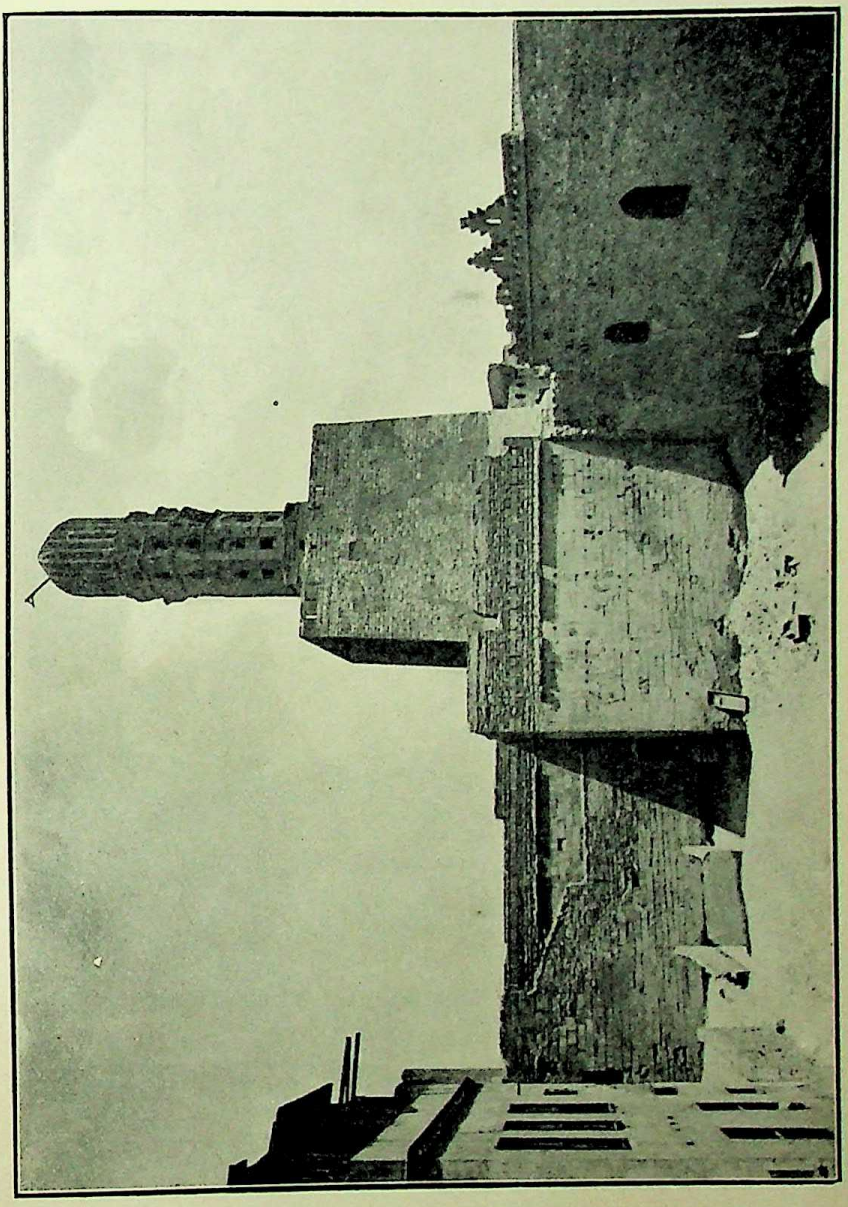

**Salient at northern corner of mosque, from the west.**
(North wall of Cairo to left; mosque to right.)

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703. Maqrīzī's account is confirmed by an inscription dated Dhu l-higga, 703 (July, 1304), which occupies the place of the cornice over the vault of the main entrance.

Van Berchem, whose analysis is similar to that given above, concludes that the architect of Beybars II, in raising his brick finials on what remained of the old minarets, sought to brace the whole construction by an outer cube of masonry. He adds: "It may also be that these great massifs had a military purpose, at this epoch of the Bahrite Mamlūks, when the very mosques served as fortresses. In any case, one can only admit with M. Prisse that the cubes are the work of Badr; to convince oneself of it, it suffices to compare in the northern minaret the dressing of the cube with that of the great salient of the enclosure of Badr on which it rests."[1] He continues in a footnote: "The dressing of the salient is identical with that of the enclosure of Badr which we shall study farther on: large facing blocks, perfectly dressed without a plaster coating. The cube which rises above is composed of stones much smaller, more coarsely quarried, with much thicker mortar joints. It is a simple masonry, covered with a coating of plaster which has been preserved in places, and which ends above in a frieze of Qurānic inscriptions in the style of the first dynasty of Mamlūks . . . As for the arrow slits which crown the cube, they are modern, like those of the curtain walls and salients of Badr." He sums up as follows: "Be it as it may, this examination permits one to fix the following points:—

"(1) The two minarets [finials] of brick are the work of Beybars II.

"(2) The cubes of the base, whatever their exact date, do not go back to the original construction, since they hide the ancient minarets. They are probably contemporary with the minarets of brick, like the helicoidal ramp, which cuts diagonally across the four faces of the primitive minarets, without any regard to their architecture."

[1] Ibid., pp. 444–5.

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With (1) I fully concur, but the problem of the cubes is more complex than Prisse or van Berchem imagined, since the northern and western cubes differ in size, construction, and in the dressing of their masonry. The northern is much larger than the western and is not completely square, but consists of an inner square, which we will call imaginary for the moment, round which an addition has been wrapped (Fig. 1). This addition commences where the wall of Cairo strikes the inner square, passes round its north-eastern and north-western faces, and ends against the north-western curtain wall of the mosque, leaving the angle of the inner square to project into the interior of the latter. This inner salient is of exactly the same size as the inner projection of the western cube (Fig. 2), but the outer faces of the northern cube are vertical, whereas those of the western are battered. That the masonry of the lower northern cube is to be attributed to Badr al-Gamāly, as Prisse [1] and van Berchem suggest, is not to be denied. It is clearly the work of the same hand that built the north wall, and it bears all the hall-marks of Badr's military architecture,[2] viz. smooth blocks with slightly bevelled edges, stone which has weathered extremely well, and, low down, a row of large stone circles, which are the ends of columns let in as a bond between the well-dressed facing and the rubble core, a combination of features found nowhere else in Egypt. The lower cube of the western minaret, however, is executed in totally different masonry ; the blocks are much smaller, the surfaces indifferently dressed, the joints very thick, and there is no trace of columns having been let in as a bond. It is similar to that of the upper northern cube, but not identical. The masonry of both upper cubes is, however, clearly identical.

We are faced with further problems if we consider the cubes

[1] Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe*, texte, p. 98.

[2] I say " military architecture " as this type of masonry is only found in the three gates and part of the wall of Cairo, but it is not found in the mosque of al-Juyūshy.

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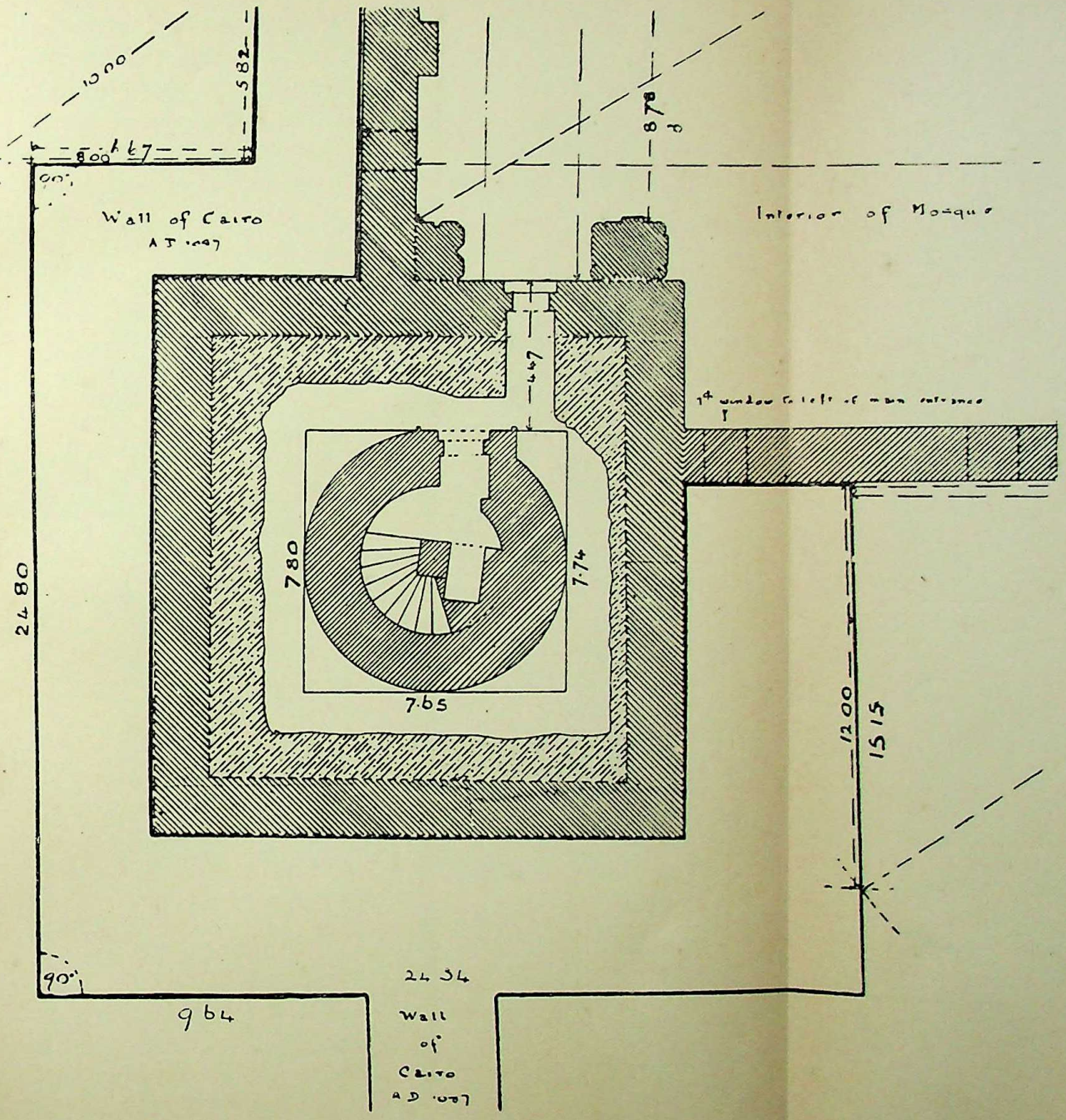


FIG. 1.

[To face p. 578.

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as later in origin than the mosque, for the question at once arises, what occupied their place? How are the minarets placed in relation to the ideal corners of the mosque? etc. Careful measurements show that the south-eastern faces of the two stone minarets are both in an exact line with the inner face of the north-western façade of the mosque (Figs. 1 and 2),

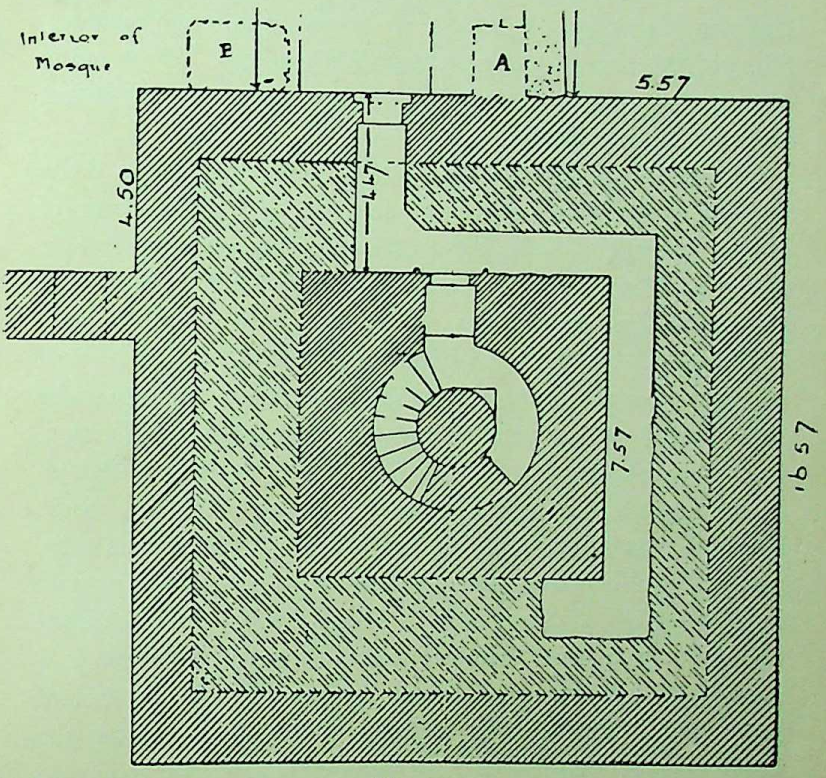


FIG. 2.

and that each minaret, at the same time, forms a salient on two façades. Now, if the sides of the mosque originally ran into the sides of the minarets, we should expect to find marks on the latter at the points where the sides of the mosque, if prolonged, would strike them. There should be four such test points, two on each minaret. The plan (Fig. 2) shows that the western minaret is inaccessible at the point where the

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north-western façade would strike it; moreover, its south-eastern face has so suffered that it also is useless for test purposes. One test point, however, is absolutely decisive, viz. that where the north-east wall, if prolonged, would strike the northern minaret; here the moulded plinth and circular shaft are absolutely unmarked. The point where the north-west wall, if prolonged, would strike this minaret, although clear on plan (Fig. 1), is only so because the rough masonry filling of Beybars II has been tunnelled through. By stooping one can pass round at this point, but the surface of the minaret has been broken away.

It therefore follows either that (1) these two corners of the mosque must have been cut away, or (2) built in form of hollow squares so as to leave the minarets standing free in a well 11·20 m. deep. Such a treatment would form salients similar to the present ones.

I was led by the above line of reasoning to ask myself whether it was not possible that the lower western cube formed part of the original mosque, but proof was lacking. One day, however, when passing down the Shari' Bab-el-Futūḥ on the far side, I noticed the top edge of a Kufic inscription running along the north-western face of this cube, and just visible above the tops of the mean shops built against it (Plate IX). I immediately asked for a ladder, climbed up, and saw a great band of early decorated Kufic set in a frame half a metre broad, which ran all along the north-west face until it disappeared behind a house built against the north corner (Plate X, B). I then went along the roofs to the south-west side of the salient, and found that the inscription ran the whole length of this side and apparently continued round the corner.

On climbing down and passing through a café into a yard next the south-western side of the mosque, I saw the rest of the band which ran along the south-east side of the salient for 5·57 metres, stopping, or, more correctly, commencing, against the take-off of the south-western wall of the mosque

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(Plate X, A). I then returned to the street and was invited into another café (No. 37, Shari' Bāb-el-Futūḥ), the owner of which pointed out to me, just below the rafters, the continuation of the inscription on the north-east side of the salient. There is no doubt that it continues until it meets the north-western façade of the mosque, but the question cannot be put to the test as there is a mound of débris behind the café which reaches almost to the top of the curtain wall.

I submitted photographs of this inscription to my friend Monsieur Flury, of Bâle,[1] who has studied Fāṭimide ornament so minutely, and he tells me that he is convinced that it is due to Badr al-Gamâly, as the decorative alphabet employed is similar to that of the well-known inscription of Badr alongside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

Are we, therefore, to attribute this salient to him? I think not, for the following reasons.

We have seen that the bases of the minarets cover the ideal corners of the mosque, a fact which is vital to this discussion. Nevertheless, the sides of the mosque did not run into the minarets, as one of the test points is unmarked. If the salients did not exist in al-Ḥākim's day, the side walls must have stopped short before reaching the minarets, an arrangement which would naturally have left the corners of the mosque open. This can scarcely have been the case, on account of the five doors which pierce the north-western façade, as follows:—

(1) close against the northern salient,
(2) in the middle of the curtain wall,
(3) the well-known monumental gateway in the centre,
(4) in the middle of the other curtain wall,
(5) close against the western salient.

Of these, (1) can be seen from within, (2) from without, and

[1] He had already seen it and noted it; op. cit., p. 19, note 43, and his *Islamische Schriftbänder*, p. 10, note 6.

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(4) and (5) are mentioned by Maqrīzī.[1] No. 4 is now hidden, but No. 5 can be seen in Plate VII.

No. 1 must date from the earliest period, as it was blocked up by Badr when he built the north wall of Cairo in A.D. 1087. (See above, p. 578, and Fig. 1.) No. 5, which balances it, is presumably original also. Now it is incredible that two such entrances can have existed if the corners of the mosque had been open. Had it been possible to enter the mosque by passing round the ends of the curtain walls, entrances would never have been made a metre from those ends.

There must, therefore, have been salients from the first.

Moreover, the inscription does not attribute the salient to Badr, it is merely Qurānic, and the texts, which are careful to give due credit to al-'Azīz, al-Ḥākim, Beybars II, and others, make no mention of additions due to Badr. On the other hand, we shall presently see that there is a passage in Maqrīzī which may be interpreted in favour of my theory.

Let us return for a moment to the northern salient. We have seen that its projection within the mosque is exactly the same as that of the one we have just been discussing. In 480 (1087) Badr al-Gamāly built the new north wall of Cairo, running along the north-eastern façade of al-Ḥākim's mosque, and in contact with it. The great salient which he made next the Bāb al-Futūḥ has clearly been determined (Fig. 1), both in size and position, by a pre-existing salient, corresponding in size with that at the western corner of the mosque.

This salient bears part of an inscription which commences in the re-entrant angle next the Bāb al-Futūḥ, runs along the curtain wall, and continues along the north-western side of the salient.[2] But he carried this salient still farther round the

[1] In the course of his description of the main artery of Cairo from the Bāb Zuweyla to the Bāb al-Futūḥ (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, p. 376, and Casanova's transl., *MIFAO*. tome iv, pp. 78–9).

[2] For this inscription see van Berchem, Notes d'archéologie arabe, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8me série, t. xvii, pp. 455–60, and his *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 61–2.

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original salient of the mosque, as is shown by the identity in the style of the masonry, until it met the north-western façade of the latter, where it extends 4·57 m. farther to the south-west side than the inner salient, blocking up the seventh window and the door below (see Plate XI and Fig. 1), both of which still remain visible from the interior. Hence the inner cube, agreeing in size with the southern one, and the outer incomplete cube. The portions of both salients which project into the mosque have almost vertical faces, probably because of the piers with which they are in contact.

Thus we have three successive stages in the evolution of the northern salient—

(1) The original cube enclosing the minaret, of which only that part which projected inside the mosque is still visible.

(2) The work of Badr al-Gamāly, who built the north wall and carried it round the north-eastern part of al-Ḥākim's cube, thus forming a great salient in the wall itself, which salient he continued round the cube until it met the north-western curtain wall of the mosque, blocking up a window and a door in the process.

(3) The work of Beybars II, who, in 703 (1304), reduced the free space inside the salient and made it circular in plan internally, by lining it with a mass of coarse masonry, and filled the lower part of the space still left with a helicoidal ramp (since removed), at the same time building the upper cube, to which he braced the minaret by two arches on its north-eastern and south-western sides.

Let us now see whether there is anything in the text of Maqrīzī to support the above conclusions. He tells us[1] that al-Masīḥi, in his *History of Egypt*, relates among the "events of the year 393 (1002/3) that the Khalif al-Ḥâkim ordered the completion of the mosque commenced by the Wazīr Ya'qūb ibn Kās near the Bāb al-Futûḥ. This is why

[1] Op. cit., ii, p. 277 (translated by van Berchem, "Notes," loc. cit., p. 434). The works of al-Masīḥi are lost.

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40,000 dinars were allotted for the expenses, and the works commenced. In Ṣafar 401 (September–October, 1010) they enlarged the minaret and made *arkān* of 100 cubits in length." Van Berchem in his translation is puzzled by the signification of the word *arkān* in this connexion, and renders it by "arêtes" with a query after it. He says in a footnote: "رَكَن point de résistance, angle. Je suppose que ce mot désigne ici les quatre arêtes qui limitent les faces d'un minaret à base carrée (peut-être les faces elles-mêmes); c'est la seule donnée d'un minaret qui puisse atteindre une pareille longueur; mais cette explication n'est pas très satisfaisante, puisque les vieux minarets de cette mosquée étaient cylindriques dans leur partie supérieure . . . Il s'agit peut-être des murs de fondation." May it not mean the walls of these very salients, as it is clear from the text that it refers to something in connexion with the minarets?

Although I have found that the cubit employed in the setting out of this mosque was an unusual one, we are here concerned with the cubit frequently used by Maqrīzī. This was the *dhira al-'amâl* of 656 mm., 100[1] of which would measure 65·6 m. The southern salient being about 16·57 a side,[2] measures 66·28 m. all round, a striking confirmation of my suggestion that the *arkān* of 100 cubits in length are the four walls of the cubes enclosing the minarets.

[1] Mahmoud Bey, "Le Systéme métrique actuel d'Égypte," in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 7e série, tome i, pp. 100–1.

[2] This measurement is not direct, owing to the buildings clustering round the base of this salient, and therefore it cannot be quite accurate.

*March, 1922.*

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# Some Remarks on the Hindu Drama

By JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D.

## 1. The Date of the Mudrā-Rākṣasa

AMONGST the dramatic works of the Hindus a peculiar position is occupied by the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, the one work known under the name of Viśākhadatta. Neither the superior genius of Kālidāsa, nor the pathetic sublimity of Bhavabhūti, nor even the versatility and skill of Śrī-Harṣa has been in any way rivalled by this author, nor can he perhaps lay claim to a very high rank as a stylist, although some of his verses are certainly among the loftiest passages in the classical literature of India. But he excels them all in the marvellous power of characterizing his personages; and, if Rāma, Jīmūtavāhana, and even Śakuntalā often appear to us, with all their praiseworthy qualities, somewhat pale and lifeless, like fair spirits from a wonderland far away from the sin-stained earth, nothing of that sort could ever be said of the figures acting the play of Viśākhadatta. For there is certainly no lack of real life either in the diabolical plotting and unbending energy of Cāṇakya, or in the noble bitterness of Rākṣasa, or the stubborn blockheadedness of Malayaketu. Besides, the whole theme of the play is political intrigue and preparations for war, the hard work of men, and there is nothing at all about love and sentimentality, except the little scene between Candanadāsa and his family at the beginning of the last act, which is of absolutely no importance for the development of the play. Even religion and pious feelings seem to have been looked upon by the author as rather unimportant things—his interest is politics and nothing but politics.

It seems to me that Viśākhadatta might lay claim to somewhat more interest than he seems to have attracted until



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now.[1] Of his person we know only what he himself tells us, that he was son of the Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of the Sāmanta Vaṭeśvaradatta[2]; and we shall probably never know anything more, unless by chance an inscription mentioning one or more members of this family comes to be known. And he also shares the fate of most prominent Sanskrit writers in that his real date is unknown. Still, that question might perhaps be settled with at least some degree of certainty, as different passages, as well as the whole tenor of the play, seem to me to point to a certain well-known period of Indian history.

Professor Konow, in his book *Das indische Drama* (= *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie*, ii, 2D), p. 70 sq., has given a conspectus of the views of various scholars concerning the date of Viśākhadatta. From this we learn that, while Wilson thought of the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Delhi in the late twelfth century, Professor Konow himself, in accord with Speyer and Professor Hillebrandt, feels inclined to see in Viśākhadatta a contemporary of the great Gupta king Candragupta II (about A.D. 375–413).[3] Great weight must here, as everywhere, be attached to the opinion of Professor Jacobi, who would fix the date of the play on 2nd December, 860; but to me it does not seem

[1] A reprint of the excellent translation in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* might make him somewhat better known to the English public. A Swedish translation has appeared in my book *Ur Indiens klassiska litteratur* (Stockholm, 1920), pp. 129–217.

[2] *Vaṭeśvara* "the Lord of the fig-tree" is probably = Śiva. There is a *liṅga* called Vaṭeśvara in the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, i, 194 sqq.

[3] Curiously enough Professor Konow has not taken into consideration the able article of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (*IA.* xlii, 1913, 265 sq.). Mr. Jayaswal also connects this drama with the period of the great Guptas and believes the Candragupta of the *bharata-vākya* to be Candragupta II. I am not able to follow him here as—even considering that Candragupta II subdued some Śaka satraps—the earth was certainly not during his time "*mlecchair udvejyamānā*". But I am very glad of the consent of an able Hindu scholar as to the Gupta time. It is only unfortunate that the identifications of the names Parvataka and Malayaketu in Mr. Jayaswal's article should be wholly fanciful.

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doubtful that this date is far too late, much more as Professor Jacobi has also reckoned with the name Avantivarman in the final verse of the play, which is no doubt a later " emendation " instead of the original reading *Candragupta*, restored into the text by Professor Hillebrandt.[1]

To me there can be little or no doubt that the *Mudrārākṣasa* belongs to the period of the imperial Guptas, although reasons that will presently be taken into consideration prevent me from assigning to it as early a date as that of Candragupta II.[2]

Professor Konow very judiciously lays stress on the fact that Pāṭaliputra really seems to be the residence of the king during whose reign the play was first acted; and he also points out that at the time when Yüan-tsang visited India (A.D. 629–45) the magnificient capital of the Mauryas was already reduced to a heap of ruins. So this gives a *terminus ante quem*—we can no doubt draw the conclusion that Viśākhadatta wrote a considerable time before the reign of Śrī-Harṣa. It must in this connexion be underlined that Viśākhadatta shows that sort of intimate acquaintance with Pāṭaliputra which could scarcely be possessed by a man who had not lived for some time at least in that very place. In the third act he speaks of the *Sugāṅga* palace as the favourite resort of Candragupta, where he carries on with Cāṇakya the political discussion which leads to the pretended rupture between them; and in the sixth act (p. 173, 7) Candana-dāsa is spoken of as living at the *Puṣpa-catvara*, the " Flower-market ". And in that same act Rākṣasa, in his desperate state of mind, resorts to the old garden of King Nanda on the outskirts of Pāṭaliputra. Who could really doubt that the man who wrote the following passages :—

(p. 166, 5–6) : *etās tāvad devasya pāda-caṅkramaṇa-pavitrīkṛta-talāḥ Kusumapuropakaṇṭha-bhūmayaḥ.*

[1] In the following the text is always quoted from the edition of Professor Hillebrandt, Breslau, 1912.

[2] The reasons by which Mr. Antani (*IA.* li, 1922, 49 sq.) concludes that the M. was written in the seventh century seem to me wholly unconvincing.

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(p. 167, 9 sqq.): *aho jīrṇodyānasya nirabhiramyatā! atra hi*

*viparyastaṃ saudhaṃ kulam iva mahārambha-racanaṃ*
*saraḥ śuṣkaṃ sādhor hṛdayam iva nāśena suhṛdaḥ |*
*phalair hīnā vṛkṣā viguṇa-vidhi-yogād iva nayāḥ*
*tṛṇaiś channā bhūmir matir iva kunītaiva viduṣaḥ ||*

etc., had himself visited the place he pictures to us in such vivid colours?

The great fight between Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa is carried on by means of their puppets, Candragupta and Malayaketu, the latter probably meant to be a ruler of the South.[1] And Malayaketu is even by Rākṣasa himself said to be a *mleccha*, a barbarian (pp. 165, 17; 166, 1). Amongst the allies of Malayaketu are mentioned a certain *Meghākṣa*, the Great King of the Persians (*Pārasīkādhirāja*, p. 22, 1; °*ādhipati*, p. 140, 7; °*ādhipa*, p. 154, 1), the Greek princes of Gāndhāra (*Gāndhārāḥ . . . Yavana-nṛpatayaḥ*), the Scythians (*Śaka*), and the Huns (*Hūṇa*),[2] perhaps even the Chinese.[3] And amongst the troops of Candragupta and Malayaketu, when before their rupture they laid siege to Pāṭaliputra, there are found amongst others the Scythians, Greeks, Kambojas, Persians, and the people from Balkh (°*Śaka-Yavana . . . Kāmboja-Pārasīka-Bāhlīka*°, p. 49, 10–50, 1). So there is no doubt that India was not only *threatened* with an invasion of barbarians from the west and north-west—not in the time of Candragupta Maurya, the fictive hero of the play, but in the time of the author and the ruler who is also called Candragupta (which is here rather an honorific name than the real one). For this is exactly what can be concluded from the final verse:

[1] The name seems to me absolutely significant; cf. Jayaswal, *IA.* xlii, 1913, 267.

[2] Act v, verse 11.

[3] Hillebrandt has given *Cedi* in his text; but there is in Be the reading *Cīna* and in L. *Cīṇa*, which may perhaps represent the original text. Mr. Jayaswal takes this reading for granted without further discussion (loc. cit., p. 266).

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*vārāhīm ātmayones tanum atanubalām āsthitasyānurūpāṃ*
*yasya prāk-potra-koṭim pralaya-parigatā śiśriye bhūta-dhātrī |*
*mlecchair udvejyamānā bhujayugam adhunā pīvaraṃ rāja-*
*mūrteḥ*
*sa śrīmad-bandhu-bhṛtyaś*[1] *ciram avatu mahīm pārthivaś*
*Candraguptaḥ ||*

In times of sore need the Great God had come down to earth in different shapes to bring help and protection to distressed humanity; and, just as he in the shape of the Giant Boar, the *ādi*° or *mahā-varāha*, raised on his tusk the earth weighed down into the flood of the ocean by her burden of sin and crime, so the hero-king should now ward off with his strong arm the flood of barbarians that inundates the holy land of the Brahmins. It is the same idea that we meet in Kālidāsa's great epic, Raghuvaṃśa, vii, 56 :—

*rathī niṣaṅgī kavacī dhanuṣmān dṛptaḥ sa rājanyakam ekavīraḥ |*
*nivārayām āsa mahā-varāhaḥ kalpa-kṣayodvṛttam ivārṇavām-*
*bhaḥ ||*

One might fain believe that the same time begets with different authors the same ideas.

Now, if we duly consider the various barbarian peoples enumerated in the passages quoted above, it is quite obvious that the "Greek princes of Gāndhāra" and the Śakas can scarcely be contemporaneous with the author of the play. We have here reminiscences of former invasions from the north-west. But not so with the Huns, of whom nobody in India had certainly obtained any real knowledge before the time of the later imperial Guptas.[2] According to Smith,[3]

[1] On this compound cf. Jayaswal, *IA.* xlvi, 1917, p. 275, who would translate it: "he whose servant is Śrīmān Bandhu." According to Mr. Jayaswal, Bandhu here means a certain Bandhuvarman whose father reigned in Mālwā during and after the time of Candragupta II. The suggestion is certainly an ingenious one—only I am afraid it can scarcely be ever proved.

[2] The arguments which Mr. Jayaswal (loc. cit., p. 266) pleads for an earlier Indian knowledge of the Huns are rather weak.

[3] The *Oxford History of India*, p. 163.

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the first attack of the Huns on India was repelled about A.D. 455—about the same time as the hordes of Attila were checked by the last legions of the Roman Empire on the Catalaunian plains—and it was scarcely until the time when the Persian king Fīrūz and his armies had succumbed to their attacks (A.D. 484) that the danger to India became a very real one. It seems to me quite obvious that if an author like Viśākhadatta speaks in the same passages of the Great King of Persia and the Huns, this must refer to a time when people knew in the North of India that the nomads had subjugated Persia and invaded the western frontier, threatening to inundate the whole of Hindustan. And this period must be identical with that of the last great Guptas, especially Skandagupta, during whose reign the cataclysm seems to have come. As far as I can see, Skandagupta (or his successor) must be the prince from whom the earth hoped for succour from the barbarian deluge; that he is called Candragupta in the final verse of the play may be consistent with the tendency to revive in times of distress a great historical memory, in order to beget a spirit of energy and resistance.

Consequently, I think it most probable that Viśākhadatta was contemporaneous with one of the last Guptas—probably Skandagupta—and that he belonged to about the same period as Kālidāsa. And I see in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa a very tendencious piece of literature, the author of which intended in a time of threatening external dangers to revive the great memories of the past, in order to inspire his contemporaries with the fierce and energetic spirit of times gone, when great emergencies were met by men fit to deal with and overcome them.

As for literary proofs of my theory I have not much to adduce. It seems quite obvious that Viśākhadatta was well acquainted with the text nowadays known by the name of the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya. Different passages[1] seem to prove this beyond doubt, and the *Cāṇakya-nīti*, on p. 43, 10,

[1] Cf. e.g. pp. 9; 38, 1; 42, 18; 56, 9; 86, 2–3, etc.

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must certainly mean exactly the same as the Artha-śāstra. But this is of no use for fixing the exact date of our play, as the Artha-śāstra—if it is really, as Professor Jacobi seems to have proved, the work of Kauṭilya—must be some 700 or 800 years older than the Mudrā-Rākṣasa.

There is, further, a curious passage in the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata (xvii, 56),[1] which must perhaps be considered in connexion with this play. Bharata there prescribes that amongst people speaking the Māgadhī dialect are also to be included the diggers of subterranean passages (*suruṅgā-khanaka*). Now there exists, as far as I know, not one play in the whole of the dramatic literature where any such person is produced on the stage. But in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa (p. 57, 9–10) there is some talk of certain creatures of Rākṣasa having dug a subterranean passage (*suruṅgā*) to the bedroom of Candragupta and at the last moment having been discovered by Cāṇakya.[2] However, these persons are here only spoken of, not introduced on the stage. But, as Bharata would scarcely have given a detailed prescription without any concrete sample having been known to him, it seems possible that there may have existed at his time a play, with the same content as ours, where those persons were really introduced as acting figures. But we know nothing of the exact date of Bharata,[3] nor do we know if the Nāṭya-śāstra is the work of one single author without later interpolations—or, I might rather say, all we know is that it is not. So this does not help us at all.

Some stress has been laid on a pretended imitation by Viśākhadatta of the famous play of Śūdraka.[4] Personally,

[1] Cf. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 17.

[2] Concerning such subterraneous passages, cf. *Kauṭilya Artha-śāstra*, p. 40, 6; *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, p. 51, 6, 8; *Daśakumāra-carita*, Pūrva-pīṭhikā, iii, etc.

[3] Cf. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 2. Already Kālidāsa in the *Vikramorvaśī* (e.g. verse 36) speaks of Bharata as a mythic sage and the stage-manager of the gods.

[4] Cf. Morgenstierne, *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā*, Halle a. S., 1920, pp. 26, 77; Antani, *IA.* li, 50.

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I do not at all feel convinced that the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* is really older than the Mudrā-Rākṣasa; with that I shall try to deal presently. As for the supposed imitations, there is certainly a sort of similarity in the dialogue between the *sūtradhāra* and the *naṭī* in the prologues of both plays; but, if Viśākhadatta has here imitated anyone, he may easily have been acquainted with the older play called the Cārudatta—be it by a certain Bhāsa or not—later copied by Śūdraka. One has also pointed at the scene in the last act of both plays, where in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* Cārudatta and in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* Candanadāsa are led away by the hangmen to be impaled on the stake. But, as the motives for, and the development leading to, this event are totally different in the two plays, I cannot find any urgent necessity for assuming here an imitation on one side or the other.

There certainly exists a connexion between a passage of Kālidāsa and one in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa, viz. *Raghu-vaṃśa*, vii, 43:—

*sa* CHINNA-MŪLAḤ *kṣatajena* REṆUS *tasyopariṣṭhāt pavanāvadhūtaḥ*|
*aṅgāra-śeṣasya hutāśanasya pūrvotthito dhūma ivābabhāse* ||

and Mudrā-Rākṣasa, act v, verse 23:—

*Gauḍīnāṃ lodhra-dhūlī-parimala-dhavalān dhūmrayantaḥ kapolān*
*kliśnantaḥ kṛṣṇimānam bhramara-kula-nibhaṃ kuñcitasyālakasya*|
PAṂŚU-STAMBHĀ *balānāṃ turaga-khura-puṭa-kṣoda-labdhātmalābhāḥ*
*śatrūṇām uttamāṅge gaja-mada-salila-*CCHINNA-MŪLĀḤ *patantu* ||

as the situation described is certainly a very peculiar one. But who could tell whether Kālidāsa or Viśākhadatta is here the imitator or the imitated? Still, one might probably feel inclined to ascribe the priority to the greater poet of the two.

Also, a closer connexion may exist between the expression *vārāhīm ātmayones* TANUM ATANUBALĀM, etc., in the final

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verse of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* and the *Śiśupāla-vadha*, canto i, verse 47 :—

*Saṭācchaṭā-bhinna-ghanena bibhratā*
*nṛsiṃha saiṃhīm* ATANUṂ TANUṂ *tvayā* |
*sa mugdha-kāntā-stana-saṅga-bhaṅgurair*
*uro-vidāram prati-caskare nakhaiḥ* ||

Here it is, of course, necessary to me to conclude that Māgha is indebted for his expression to the older poet, Viśākhadatta.[1]

However, these literary coincidences do not carry great weight in comparison with the historical proofs adduced above. After all, I think it to be fairly well proved that the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* belongs to the period immediately preceding the downfall of the Gupta empire, when the Huns had already trodden Sassanian Persia under the hoofs of their horses and were threatening Hindustan with a formidable invasion. Viśākhadatta, consequently, to me belongs to the older set of Hindu dramatic poets, and is perhaps a somewhat younger contemporary of the greatest of them all, Kālidāsa.

## 2. The Author and Date of the Mṛc-chakaṭikā

The discovery and publication at Trivandrum of several plays already famous under the name of Bhāsa has been of decisive importance for the position of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* in Hindu dramatic literature in so far as the play called Cārudatta (or Daridra-Cārudatta) has revealed to us the original of the first four acts of the work ascribed to King Śūdraka. It has once for all made away with the theory of Pischel—incredible as it was in itself—of Daṇḍin being the author of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* ; and, as there can be now no more talk of this play being the oldest specimen of the Hindu theatre, one may perhaps safely hope that the hypothesis of the Greek influence on the Indian drama is also once for all made away with. However, the problem of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* itself has not been solved by the recent discovery—it rather seems to have become

[1] On the date of Māgha cf. now the article of Professor Jacobi in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1923, p. 214.

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more entangled than ever. A short discussion on some topics connected with its author and its date may not be wholly out of place, although I am well aware that I cannot claim to have arrived at any real solution of either problem.

There is only one statement concerning the author of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* which can claim any sort of authority, and that is what the prologue of the play itself has to tell us. And that is chiefly contained in the following words [1]: *yad idaṃ vayam Mṛc-chakaṭikaṃ nāma prakaraṇam prayoktuṃ vyavasitāḥ | etatkaviḥ kila*

*dviradendra-gatiś cakora-netraḥ*
*paripūrṇendu-mukhaḥ suvigrahaś ca |*
*dvija-mukhyatamaḥ kavir babhūva*
*prathitaḥ Śūdraka ity agādha-sattvaḥ ||*

*api ca |*

*ṛg-vedaṃ sāma-vedaṃ gaṇitam atha kalāṃ vaiśikīṃ hasti-śikṣām*
*jñātvā Śarva-prasādād vyapagata-timire cakṣuṣī copalabhya |*
*rājānaṃ vīkṣya putram parama-samudayenāśvamedhena ceṣṭvā*
*labdhvā cāyuḥ śatābdaṃ daśa-dina-sahitaṃ Śūdrako 'gnim praviṣṭaḥ ||*

*api ca |*

*samara-vyasanī pramāda-śūnyaḥ*
*kakudaṃ veda-vidāṃ tapo-dhanaśca |*
*para-vāraṇa-bāhu-yuddha-lubdhaḥ*
*kṣiti-pālaḥ kila Śūdrako babhūva ||*

This is very nearly all we get to know by this prologue, which can apparently not have been written by King Śūdraka himself [2]—what has been left out I shall try to discuss presently. But let me first of all remark that, this prologue taken duly into consideration, it has certainly been a very correct view of Professor Jacobi [3] and some other scholars

[1] p. 2 sq., ed. Parab.

[2] Cf. Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 197; Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 57, etc.

[3] Cf. *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse*, xxix, 4 (1918), p. 83, n. 1.

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that, if we know anything of the author of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, it is that his name was *Śūdraka* and nothing else. For that is about all we know, and a piece of knowledge like that ought certainly not to be discarded without very weighty reasons.

I lay some special stress on this because the latest historian of the Hindu drama, Professor Konow, has started quite a new theory concerning the author of our play.[1] Professor Konow thinks the man called Śūdraka to have been in reality an Ābhīra prince with the name of Śivadatta, who was possibly connected with the downfall of the Andhras and the inauguration of the Cedi-era (A.D. 248–9).[2] But the arguments on which this conclusion is based are, although ingenious, certainly of a very unsubstantial character. They are closely connected with other arguments adduced by Professor Konow for fixing the date of the drama—arguments that start from the wholly unproved thesis that our author is certainly older than Kālidāsa, and that will be mentioned somewhat later on. Having tried to corroborate this thesis, Professor Konow then takes hold of a tradition according to which Śūdraka was connected with the downfall of the Andhras and was king of Pratiṣṭhāna.[3] But the fact is that this tradition has just as little historical value as many other things that are told of this same King Śūdraka; and Professor Konow might just as well have laid stress on another tale according to which he was perhaps the founder of the Āndhrabhṛtya-dynasty[4]—a hypothesis that would certainly have led to a totally different result.

However, King Śūdraka plays an important part in Hindu literature, as various passages from Bāṇa and other authors (recorded by Professor Konow, loc. cit., p. 56 seq.) testify. He is often connected with the struggle between

[1] Cf. *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte . . . E. Kuhn gewidmet* 1916, p. 108 sq.; *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

[2] Cf. Fleet, *JRAS.* 1905, p. 568.

[3] Recorded by Bhau Dājī, *J. Bo. Br. RAS.* viii, 240 sq., and Professor Jacobi, *Ind. Stud.* xiv, 147 sq.

[4] Cf. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, ix, 107; Wilson, *Works*, ix, 194, n. 1.

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Vikramāditya and his opponents; and it is rather a queer coincidence with the prologue of our play that he is said to have been a Brahmin minister of Sāta-vāhana on whom this ruler bestowed the half of his kingdom.[1] For it is no doubt very curious that a ruler belonging to the caste of Kshatriyas should be styled *dvija-mukhyatamaḥ* and *kakudaṃ veda-vidām*, as is there done, these epithets being much easier to understand if they were applied to a ruler who was a Brahmin by caste.[2] As for the remark that " he knew the Ṛg-veda, the Sāma-veda, mathematics, the elegant arts, and the training of elephants ", it has scarcely been made up from the contents of the drama as Windisch once seems to have thought.[3] For nobody in the whole play, so far as I know, makes much use of his knowledge of the two first Vedas, nor would anyone be very likely to know much of them except Śarvilaka and perhaps even Cārudatta. And, besides, one might well compare with this a passage in which Daṇḍin praises the great accomplishments of a young Brahmin: [4] *adhītī caturṣv āmnāyeṣu gṛhītī ṣaṭsv aṅgeṣv ānvīkṣikī-vicakṣaṇaś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭi-kalāgama-prayoga-caturo viśeṣeṇa gaja-ratha-turaga-tantravid iṣvasa-nāstrā-karmaṇi gadā-yuddhe ca nirupamaḥ purāṇetihāsa-kuśalaḥ kartā kāvya-nāṭakākhyāyāyikānāṃ vettā sopaṇiṣad-artha-śāstrasya*, etc. If need be, this shows pretty well that not only spiritual insight was to be requested from a Brahmin who claimed to belong to the upper ten of his caste, and that there was nothing very strange in his knowing also the arts of an elegant life and even the training of elephants.

So there would be, according to my opinion, scarcely any obstacle to presuming Śūdraka to have been a Brahmin by caste and to have played the part of a Peshwā to some Hindu

[1] Cf. *Ind. Stud.*, xiv, 151.

[2] The explanation of Pṛthvīdhara *dvija-mukhyatamaḥ kṣatra-jāti-śreṣṭhaḥ trayo varṇā dvijātaya iti smṛteḥ kṣatriyo 'pi dvija-prayogaḥ* || is scarcely very well founded.

[3] Cf. *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama*, p. 70.

[4] Cf. *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, p. 100, 5–9, ed. Bühler-Peterson-Agashe, Bombay, 1919.

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Rājah before he rose to be even by title a ruler himself. But, of course, this is only a suggestion and very far from any degree of certainty. If we were better acquainted with certain details of Indian history it would perhaps not be very difficult to identify a ruler of whom we know that he had been cured of cataract, had attained the remarkable age of one hundred years and ten days, and above all had celebrated the famous horse-sacrifice. For there are perhaps not so many rulers in the real history of India who have been able to set into motion the giant apparatus needed for this, the greatest and most expensive of all sacrifices. But, unfortunately, all these facts do not help us at all.

There is, however, another tradition concerning Śūdraka that it may be worth while to discuss, although it seems not to have attracted much notice. Pischel[1] long ago, while pleading the South Indian origin of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, drew attention to a gloss to Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkāra-vṛtti* (p. 31, 24, in MS., Bühler, *Det. Report*, No. 266, fol. 18*a*), where Śūdraka is called a *rājā komatiḥ* ; and *Kōmati* is well known as the name of the great trading caste in the Madras Presidency.[2] Now it may well be quite a fortuitous thing, though it seems to me rather remarkable, that one of the most common and well-attested traditions of the Kōmatis tells us how, on account of a struggle with a certain King Viṣṇuvardhana, 102 heads of gotras belonging to this caste sacrificed themselves in fire-pits rather than giving away to their opponent. And the fact recorded in the prologue of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* that Śūdraka in his extreme old age " entered the fire " (*agnim praviṣṭaḥ*) has puzzled more than one scholar. Is there any possibility of these traditions standing in closer relation to each other ? If that were the case, Śūdraka might possibly have been a king of the south, ruling over a country where the caste of Kōmatis had obtained great influence, who sacrificed his own life in

[1] Cf. *Rudraka's Śṛṅgāratilaka und Ruyyaka's Sahṛdayalīlā*, Kiel, 1886, p. 20. Cf. also Lindenau, *Bhāsa-Studien*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 14.

[2] Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii, 306 sqq.

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the strife with another king called Viṣṇu-vardhana. This person, unfortunately, cannot be identified; but he may almost certainly have belonged to the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas[1] that seems to have been founded in the early beginning of the seventh century.[2] If there were any truth in this suggestion, it would help us also to fix the date of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* within certain not very wide limits.

The idea that the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* should be the very oldest Hindu drama preserved to us has naturally to be given up, and needs no further discussion. However, quite recently scholars whose opinion cannot be passed over in silence have pleaded the very early date of that drama. Professor Lévi, who formerly[3] tried to assign to it a date between the times of Bāṇa and Vāmana, has more recently[4] taken into consideration that it might belong to a far earlier century, but unfortunately on very unconvincing reasons. And Professor Konow, as already mentioned above, thinks that its date may be fixed in the early half of the third century A.D.[5] But this rests on the wholly unproved foundation that the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* is older than Kālidāsa, a suggestion for which, according to my opinion, no proofs can well be adduced. For, if it were so, then why did not Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* mention Śūdraka amongst his predecessors together with Bhāsa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra.[6] And I deny flatly that any internal reasons force us to think the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* to be older than the three dramas of the greatest of Hindu poets.

Professor Jacobi certainly thinks our drama to be younger

[1] Cf. Thurston, loc. cit., p. 320.

[2] Cf. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 216.

[3] Cf. *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 198.

[4] *JA.* 1902, i, p. 123 sq.

[5] Cf. also Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 76.

[6] It would be no valid reason against this that Aśvaghoṣa is also not mentioned by Kālidāsa. For Aśvaghoṣa was a Buddhist and wrote Buddhist dramas which would certainly not be mentioned by Kālidāsa, whose Brahmin orthodoxy may scarcely be doubted.

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than those of Kālidāsa, and Professor Jolly long ago [1] tried to prove that the lawsuit acted in the ninth act could best be brought in accordance with the precepts of the law-books belonging to the sixth or even the seventh century A.D. And, even if Pischel's theory concerning the authorship of Daṇḍin scarcely found any believer except himself, there certainly exists a great degree of similarity between the society seen on the stage in the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* and that one presented to us in the fascinating novels of Daṇḍin. To use the words of Dhanika,[2] they are both *kitava-dyūtakārādidhūrta-saṃkula*, and a society not very different from that described in Casanova's famous biography may well be characteristic of a certain period of history, a period of highly developed literary activity and highly debased morals, like that of Louis XV.

Now Mr. K. C. Mehendale has in a very well-considered article [3] tried to fix with the help of literary evidence the limits within which the date of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* must fall. It is certainly of decisive influence on the whole question that Bāṇa, who has made King Śūdraka of Vidiśā the hero of his famous romance, does not in the introductory verses of the *Harṣa-carita* know anything at all of the dramatist Śūdraka. The *terminus a quo* is, no doubt, given here: the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* of Śūdraka—whoever he may be—was not yet known to the famous court-pandit of Śrī-Harṣa, and, as that writer must certainly have been better acquainted with the literature of his day than anyone else, we may safely conclude that it did not exist in his time. On the other hand, there are in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkāra-vṛtti* two quotations of which the one [4] may be doubtful, as it agrees on the whole much better with the *Cārudatta* than with the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, while the other (*dyūtaṃ hi nāma puruṣasyāsiṃhāsanaṃ*

[1] *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1883, p. 68 sq.
[2] *Daśarūpa*, ed. K. P. Parab, p. 90.
[3] Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume*, p. 367 sqq.
[4] The verse *Yāsām baliḥ*, etc., which is in the *Cārudatta* I, v, 2, and in the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, i, v. 9.

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*rājyam*) undoubtedly refers to the latter drama. As Vāmana wrote his work about the year 775, this would show that the work of Śūdraka already at that time belonged to the stock of classical literature taken into consideration by the leading æstheticists. Now, if there be anything in my suggestion that Śūdraka was a southern monarch who finished his life during a struggle with one of the eastern Chalukya kings, this would only corroborate the theory of Mr. Mehendale, and we might then almost safely conclude that the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* was composed *during a period extending from the middle of the seventh to that of the eighth century of our era.* This would make Śūdraka belong to a time not very far from that of Daṇḍin and would also agree with the arguments adduced by Professor Jolly from quite different sources.

Having thus shortly discussed the questions concerning the author and date of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, let me now add some words on the composition of the play and its relation to the older work called the *Cārudatta*—whether this be the work of Bhāsa or not may here be left wholly by side.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the first four acts of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* are simply a more copious version of the four acts that constitute what has been preserved to us of the *Cārudatta*. But, unfortunately, these four acts did scarcely constitute the whole of that play, and various scholars have also decided that it has come down to us in an unfinished state.[1] Convinced though I be of the correctness of this opinion, I feel very uncertain whether most of the passages adduced by Dr. Morgenstierne and Mr. Mehendale as proving the existence of a continuation of the *Cārudatta* really prove anything at all. So when in Act I, v, 6, Cārudatta says: *pāpaṃ karma ca yat parair api kṛtaṃ tat tasya sambhāvyate*, this line forms part of a verse which is, on the whole, of a proverbial or sententious tenor, and it need not at all mean

[1] Cf. Konow, *Aufsätze . . . E. Kuhn gewidmet*, p. 107; *Das indische Drama*, p. 55; Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 67; Mehendale, loc. cit., p. 369.

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that the Cārudatta once developed on the very same lines as the last acts of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*.[1] Nor is there any need to find in the words of Vasantasenā: *gacchadu bhavaṃ puṇodamsaṇāe*, when taking leave of the monk in the second act, any allusion to the future; for, just like "au revoir", the word *punar-darśanāya* may certainly be uttered to a person out of sheer politeness, though one does not expect ever to see him again.[2] Nor does the wish of Sajjalaka in Act IV, v. 7, that he may be able once to reward Vasantasenā or Cārudatta involve any consequences of that sort.

But there is one passage just at the winding up of the fourth act that undoubtedly betrays to us that the Cārudatta must have consisted of at least one act more, viz. the words of the maid: *edaṃ puṇa abhisārā-sahāa-bhūdaṃ duddiṇaṃ uṇṇamidaṃ*. For, leaving alone the very abrupt and inadequate end of the act, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this points to a next act which in the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* bears the name of *durdinam*.[3] One might only ask whether we have reason to think it possible that the Cārudatta really ended with this fifth act. It appears to me that, as the play does not (in its present shape at least) contain any undisputable allusion to what in the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* follows after the fifth act, and, as that same act which contains the happy meeting of the lovers might well serve as a final one, we may safely assume that the *Cārudatta* consisted of only five acts, copied in the first five ones of Śūdraka's work.

If, then, we assume that Śūdraka had before him a drama of five acts, which he took over and used for his own composition, it is quite obvious that he has altered and enlarged a number of passages. But, as this has been discussed in detail by Dr. Morgenstierne, I need not busy myself with it

[1] Even the words of the Śakāra (p. 226, ed. Parab)—*dalidde kkhu śe | taśśa śavvaṃ sambhāvīadi*—need not be taken as an allusion to this passage (cf. also *sambhāvyate* in Act IX, v. 37).

[2] Cf. the words of Āryaka: *evam punardarśanāya* in *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, ed. Parab, p. 182, 17.

[3] Cf. the introductory words of the fifth act: *unnamaty akāladurdinam.*



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here. A quantity of verses have been added, and several passages made more extensive in comparison with the original, so e.g. the scene of Śarvilaka's burglary in the third act. In the fifth act, the original of which we do not possess, one may feel quite sure that the whole conversation between the *viṭa* and Vasantasenā is a later addition,[1] as it only causes a tedious interruption and is of absolutely no importance to the development of the dramatic action. Moreover, the whole scene between the players in Act II and the description of Vasantasenā's palace in Act IV are not at all found in the *Cārudatta*. They both seem to be more at home in that dramatic genre called *prahasana*, and it is especially to be observed that the very indecent words of Māthura and Maitreya that are found in some passages of these two episodes do not belong to the style of the *prakaraṇa*, but that corresponding things are often found in the existing *prahasana's*. We have also the very clear statement of Dhanika[2] that it is the presence of such shady characters as Māthura, etc., that make of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* a *saṃkīrna-prakaraṇa*. And one might well doubt whether we have not here later interpolations that were added by some stage-director in order to secure to the play a greater popularity with the public.

Even if it may not be taken for granted, I still believe it to be tolerably certain that Śūdraka, having copied the first five acts from the *Cārudatta*, added the last five ones—or, at least, the greater part of them[3]—himself. One might even ask if there is not in the prologue—which cannot be by Śūdraka himself—a quite distinct statement as to this fact, and personally I really believe there is. For let us consider the verses that follow immediately upon those describing the personality of Śūdraka :—

[1] Cf. Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 69.

[2] *Daśarūpa*, ed. Parab, p. 90.

[3] In the tenth act a considerable interpolation is said to have been made by a certain Nīlakaṇṭha ; cf. Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 69.

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*Avanti-puryāṃ dvija-sārthavāho*
*yuvā daridraḥ khila Cārudattaḥ |*
*guṇānuraktā gaṇikā ca yasya*
*vasanta-śobheva Vasantasenā ||*
*Tayor idaṃ sat-suratotsavāśrayaṃ*
*naya-pracāraṃ vyavahāra-duṣṭatām |*
*khala-svabhāvam bhavitavyatāṃ tathā*
*cakāra sarvaṃ khila Śūdrako nṛpaḥ ||*

While the first of these verses only tells us the names and conditions of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, whom Śūdraka had simply taken over from the older play, the second has several other things to tells us. To give it in the translation of K. P. Parab : [1] "King Śūdraka composed this drama based upon their happy sexual enjoyment. In it he exhibited the efficacy of righteous conduct, villainy of law, the temperament of the wicked, and inevitableness of fate."

According to this statement, what did King Śūdraka do ? He composed the *naya-pracāra*, meaning apparently the conduct of Cārudatta perhaps towards Āryaka and certainly during the last two acts, the *vyavahāra-duṣṭatā*, which is simply another name for the ninth act, the *khala-svabhāva*, "the nature of a rogue," meaning the behaviour of the Śakāra, during the three Acts VIII–X,[2] and finally the *bhavitavyatā*, the inevitable fate, involving the triumph of justice and noble sentiments, that winds up the whole play. And all these things apparently followed, according to our verse, upon "their happy sexual enjoyment", which could scarcely mean anything but the visit of Vasantasenā to Cārudatta's house in the fifth act. Consequently, this means to me that what Śūdraka did really himself compose were the last five acts, the acts following upon I–V, which had been borrowed from the older play. A courteous poet who would not accuse

[1] *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, notes, p. 4.

[2] Except in these acts the Śakāra does only produce himself in the first act. But there he is only a ridiculous braggart and a still more ridiculous coward, and does not show any of the real wicked qualities that constitute a *khala*, a rogue.

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King Śūdraka of plagiarism—a thing scarcely consistent with the high praise bestowed upon him in the preceding verses—could perhaps not tell us in a clearer way what did in reality belong to him and what did not.

The continuation of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* contains the development of the love-story between Cārudatta and Vasantasenā, which, through bad vicissitudes, is led to a happy end, interwoven with the tale of a political intrigue, the downfall of King Pālaka of Ujjayinī through the conspiration of the cow-herd Āryaka, Śarvilaka, and others. Now this episode is already foretold in two passages belonging to that part of the drama copied from the Cārudatta, viz. in the words of Darduraka in the second act:[1] *kathitaṃ ca mama priyavayasyena Śarvilakena yathā kila | Āryaka-nāmā gopāla-dārakaḥ siddhādeśena samādiṣṭo rājā bhaviṣyatīti | sarvaś cāsmadvidho janas tam anusarati | tad aham api tat-samīpaṃ gacchāmi*, and in those of Śarvilaka in the fourth act,[2] where he gets to know that King Pālaka has incarcerated Āryaka and consequently announces his intention to liberate him. But it is rather curious that if we took away these few lines and then eliminated the greater part of the sixth, the whole seventh, and the very last pages of the tenth act there would be absolutely no trace of the story of Āryaka and Pālaka, nor would that be of any consequence whatsoever to the development of the original play. One person only is concerned both with the Cārudatta-drama and the Āryaka-episode, viz. the Brahmin-burglar Śarvilaka (Sajjalaka); and this person would probably never have been able to show his gratitude to Vasantasenā and Cārudatta had he not joined the party of Āryaka and slain King Pālaka.[3] An episode inside a drama could scarcely be more loosely connected with the main action.

Wilson[4] once thought that some sort of historical fact lay at the foundation of the story of Pālaka and Āryaka; and

[1] Ed. Parab, p. 65, 5–8. [2] Ibid., pp. 112–13. [3] Act X, v. 46.
[4] *Specimens of the Hindu Theatre*, i, 158, n.; cf. Lévi, *JA.* 1902, i, 123.

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according to his opinion this was that Pālaka had, through sympathies with the Buddhists and contempt to Brahmin laws and ceremonies, himself caused the revolution that brought him out of kingdom and life. Now Pālaka cannot be historically identified, nor does the name tell us much, as it is probably only a shortened form of a compound ending in °*pāla*. But there might still be something in the hypothesis of Wilson—and I do not deny that after all there is not—if it could be really proved that Pālaka was a sovereign who was dethroned and killed because he adhered too strongly to Buddhism. It is, no doubt, true that Pālaka, by condemning Cārudatta to death, has sinned against the principle which Kauṭilya[1] dressed in the words: *sarvāparādheṣv apīḍanīyo brāhmaṇaḥ* and broken his own solemn pledge to protect cows and Brahmins. But is there in the drama any allusion to his embracing Buddhist doctrines or specially protecting their adherents? I think not. On the contrary, his worthy brother-in-law, the Śakāra, is apparently in the habit of misusing in a very shocking manner every Buddhist mendicant that comes in his way,[2] and we may safely presume that he does it with the connivance of his royal protector. Nor is Buddhism in any way predominant in the play, its only representative being a man who, after having spent his fortune in the worst of companies, has taken refuge at the feet of the Tathāgata. And, above all, Pālaka was, according to the words of Śarvilaka,[3] slain in his sacrificial enclosure (*yajña-vāṭa*), which does not sound as if he were a very convinced Buddhist. So we do not seem to find any help in the theory of Wilson if we try to identify him.

Again, Windisch[4] thought that we might here see an

[1] *Artha-śāstra*, p. 220, 3; cf. *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*, Act IX, v. 39, etc. Cf. *Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka*, p. 34, 9–10: *sarvāparādheṣv avadhyā khalu dūtāḥ*; Brahmins certainly have often been used as ambassadors and messengers on behalf of their sacrosanctity.

[2] Cf. the beginning of Act VIII.

[3] Act X, v. 50.

[4] *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1885, p. 439 sq.

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influence from the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃsa; the idea was certainly a very good one, only the congruity between the two stories seems to me to be of a rather vague nature.

Finally, Professor Konow [1] seems inclined to believe that we have here an adaptation of a story in the *Bṛhat-kathā*. For in Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṃgraha* I–II we find a King Pālaka who abdicates in favour of the son of his brother Gopāla; [2] and Professor Konow thinks that the name Gopāla may have been altered into *go-pāla* "cow-herd", which is the profession of Āryaka. The parallel traits in the two stories are not very striking, and, if it were not for the name Pālaka, one would scarcely think of bringing them in connexion with each other. However, it is quite obvious that Śūdraka knew the *Bṛhat-kathā*, and that it was probably a very popular work in his days; this appears from Act IV, v. 26 :—

*jñātīn viṭān sva-bhuja-vikrama-labdha-varṇān*
*rājāpamāna-kupitāṃś ca narendra-bhṛtyān |*
*uttejayāmi suhṛdaḥ parimokṣaṇāya*
*Yaugandharāyaṇa ivodayanasya rājñaḥ ||* [3]

But, unfortunately, this can in no way prove that the story of Pālaka and Āryaka was borrowed from the famous poem of Guṇāḍhya.

The main question seems, however, to be not whence Śūdraka borrowed the story of Pālaka and Āryaka, but why he put it into his drama, where it is absolutely unnecessary and serves no apparent purpose. For Vasantasenā could just as well have mistaken the carriage without Āryaka being there, and Cārudatta's innocence would have been obviously proved by her reappearance even without the intercession of Śarvilaka. So it is not intelligible to me why Śūdraka should make this digression, unless there were something in the inserted episode

[1] *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

[2] Cf. Lacôte, *Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 153 sq.

[3] It were perhaps possible that Śūdraka alluded here also to the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, but this is not proved by the tenor of the verse.

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that had any special bearing on events of great weight and interest belonging to his own time and surroundings.[1] But of this we unfortunately know absolutely nothing, and to us the one result of Śūdraka's way of composing his drama is that we must complain of the bad taste which he has shown in putting together things in no way connected with each other instead of keeping to his theme which needed no additions for being developed on quite interesting lines.

The results of this short discussion—if there be any at all—would be to corroborate the opinion which puts the date of Śūdraka in the seventh or eighth century. He may possibly have been a Brahmin by caste and a king of the south who lost his life during strife with another ruler probably belonging to the Chalukya dynasty. As for his literary achievements, the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* is certainly a very amusing play, with no small merits; but we must always take into consideration that the first half is simply an enlargement of an older play which on the whole—fragmentary as it has come down to us—seems to me better than its imitation; as for the second half of the drama, it is partly spoilt by the contamination of two subjects that stood originally in no relation whatsoever to each other.

### 3. A Passage in the Dūta-vākya

Professor Winternitz, in a very ingenious article,[2] seems to have proved that the drama called *Dūta-vākya* must be older than the passage in the *Mahā-Bhārata*[3] where Draupadī, while Duḥśāsana is grossly insulting her in the Sabhā, by supernatural power obtains a new dress every time her enemy tears one from her. For although in the drama Duryodhana is represented as exhibiting a picture of that scene in the great

[1] Professor Konow seems to hint at something like this, cf. *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

[2] *Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte . . . E. Kuhn gewidmet*, 1916, p. 299 sqq.

[3] ii, 68, 41 sqq.

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assembly hall and giving a very vivid description of it, he does not with one word mention this marvellous incident.

I should like here to draw attention to another passage in the *Dūta-vākya* which may be of some interest, although unfortunately I am not able to offer any solution of it.

When the princes are assembling together with Duryodhana for a council of war he invites the principal ones of them to take their seats with the following words (p. 29, 13–15): *ācārya | etat kūrmāsanam | āsyatām || pitāmaha | etat siṃhāsanam | āsyatām || mātula | etac carmāsanam | āsyatām ||*. Whatever the different terms may mean—which without a commentary we are scarcely able to understand—it is apparent that Duryodhana offers various sorts of seats to Droṇa, Bhīṣma, and Śakuni. Now this passage may be compared with one in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (xiii, 208–9, ed. Grosset), which runs thus :—

*devānāṃ nṛpatīnāṃ ca dadyāt siṃhāsanaṃ dvijaḥ* [1] ||
*purodhasām amātyānām bhaved vetrāsanaṃ tathā* ||
*muṇḍāsanaṃ ca dātavyaṃ senānī-yuvarājayoḥ |*
*kāṣṭhāsanam brāhmaṇānāṃ kumārānāṃ kuthāsanam* ||

Unfortunately also this passage is not clear as we have access to no commentary. But it is quite obvious that the author of the *Dūta-vākya* does follow the prescriptions of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* only in one point, viz. offering a *siṃhāsana* to Bhīṣma, a royal person.

Are we to conclude from this that the author—whether he be Bhāsa or not—had before him another *Nāṭya-śāstra* than the one preserved to us ? A thorough comparison of the Trivandrum plays with Bharata might perhaps reveal other details which would corroborate that conclusion. If so, it would certainly exercise an influence on fixing the date of the Trivandrum author, as he might then possibly be older than the present *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

[1] *dvijāḥ* is apparently a misprint of the edition.

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## THE KOSAR OF TAMIL LITERATURE AND THE SATIYAPUTRA OF THE ASOKA EDICTS

On page 84 of the January number of the *Journal* for 1922, there is a note on Satiyaputra of the Asoka Edicts—where a reference is made to my communication in a previous number of the *Journal*. It is stated that I have identified the Satiyaputra of the Asoka Edicts with the Nāyars of Malabar. An extract is quoted from an article by Mr. K. G. Sankara as against this. The points that Mr. Sankara makes out are (1) that the term *Satī* cannot be applied to the matriarchal folk of the West Coast, and that Kēraḷaputra is distinguished from Satiyaputra; and (2) that Durga devotees, like the Bengalis, are not described as Satiyaputra. In regard to these, it is enough to say that if one set of people took a name from some feature like the worship of Durga it does not logically follow that all the worshippers of Durga should be so named. If a set of people, foreigners to a locality, gave a name to another class of people from a feature that struck them as somewhat peculiar, it need not be correct to the degree indicated in the first part of Mr. Sankara's argument. I do not believe that in the note quoted I have made any attempt to identify the Satiyaputra with the Nāyars precisely. My only contention was that the name had its origin in the matriarchal habits of the people, and that need hardly include all the matriarchal folk in one group. Mr. Subramanyam, the author of the note under reference, brushes aside my note as well as Mr. Sankara's with the dictum that "what goes for the early history of India is almost an inextricable tangle of proved facts and wild guesses". He proceeds to his own solution of the question in the last three paragraphs of the note in question. Proceeding to define the limits of Chēra, the country

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lying to the north of it and Kongu, he comes to the solemn conclusion: "I identify the *Satyaputra* with the Kōśars of Kongu Nāḍu."

The form of the word as written in this sentence may lend colour to this conclusion, but has no warrant whatsoever in the inscriptional records of Asoka. That was the discussion with which my note started—whether "*Satiya*" can be treated as the equivalent of "*Satya*". I found it impossible to make the conclusion, and hence proceeded to give the explanation that I did in 1919, when I had all the information about the Kōśar that I have put together in the following paragraphs. It may be useful to invite attention to these data.

I am not transliterating the Tamil texts, as the whole of them will appear in the revised edition of my *Ancient India*, which is in preparation. Those who wish to go further into the study of these will have an opportunity to study them there.

### Kōśar

They are referred to as entering the country of Tuḷu by defeating Nannan and killing his state elephant.[1] Nannan's territory included in it both Tuḷu[2] and Konkan[3] (Koṅkaṇam). These Kōśar are under reference in Aham 196 as having put out the eyes of the father of a lady, Anni Gñimili, and to have been destroyed at her instance by two chieftains, Kurumbiyan and Tidiyan.[4] They are found mentioned as Kongu-iḷam-Kōśar in the Śilappadhikāram,[5] and are associated with the Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore) districts. One clan of them is associated with Podiyil hill, and the tribe that settled there became known as Nallūr Kōśar.[6] In the same terms Māmūlanār describes the Kōśar as winning a victory against their enemies at Podiyil hill, and, as Mōhūr declined to submit to them, the Mauryas advanced

[1] Paraṇar in Kuruṁtogai 73.
[2] Māmūlanār in Aham 15.
[3] Pālai-pāḍiya Peruṁkaḍuṅgō in Naṛṛinai 391.
[4] Paraṇar in Aham 196 and 262.
[5] M. M. Svāmināṭha Aiyar's edn., p. 3, l. 2.
[6] Kuruṁtogai 15. Peruṁkaḍuṅgō.

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south.[1] The other poets, such as Marudan Iḷanākan, Kallāḍanār, Naṛkīrar and Aiyūr Muḍavanār, make mention of these Kōśar also. Of these the first and the fourth associate the Kōśar with Śellūr. It seems to have been a place in the Chōḷa country.[2] Naṛkīrar's reference is to a Chōḷa having made an effort to conquer their territory. Kallāḍanār's reference is to their having protected on one occasion the chieftain Aḥdai. They, therefore, seem to have been a well-known tribe of people, foreigners to the Tamil country, who settled in various localities ultimately, and came to be known as Nālūr Kōśar, "settled in four towns," if the particular reading of the first word is correct. Who were these Kōśar, and what was their connexion with the Mauryas? The suggestion was made elsewhere[3] that these may be a tribe of people, the same as the Kōśakāras of the Rāmāyaṇa, and it is possible they were the Khaśas, who led the advance part of the army that marched upon Pāṭalīputra in favour of Chandragupta according to the drama Mudrārākṣasa. According to Manu (x, 20 and 22) these were Kṣatriya Vrātyas who, according to Uśanas, were water-carriers and distributors of water at fountains. They were a people who had a great reputation in the south as warriors, and are described invariably as people who kept their word. Kāri-Kaṇṇan of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam refers to the practice of the younger members of this tribe learning the use of weapons by hurling them against a pillar made of the wood of the *muruṅgai*[4] (*Erythrina Indica*) tree. The four places of their establishment, if the reading Nālūr is not a corruption of Nallūr,[5] would be the Nallūr near Podiyil hill; Śellūr, probably in the Chōḷa country on the east coast[6]; Pāḷi, wherefrom they were dislodged by the

[1] Aham 251.

[2] Aham 90 and 220.

[3] Beginning of the South Indian History, pp. 94–5.

[4] Puṟam 169.

[5] That the Kōśar were known in four divisions is clearly stated in ll. 508–9 of the Maduraik-Kāñji. The author there institutes a comparison between the appearance of the four groups of councillors at the Pāṇḍyan court (other than the ministers) and the coming of the four sections of the Kōśar of "unfailing word".

[6] There is a Śellūr between the railway station, Koraḍāchēri, in the Tanjore-Negapatam line, and Koḍaivāśal, a place of some importance now, and of great repute in the age of the Śaṅgam. The only objection to the identification is that it is not as near the sea as the text would require. The local Aiyanār- (Śāsta) temple seems identifiable with the "sacrificial abode" of Paraśurāma.

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Chōḷas, in the Chēra country; and Koṅgu south-east from this territory.

Thus it is clear that the Kōśar, whoever they were, were a class of men who enjoyed a reputation in the Tamil country for determination and truth, for great military prowess, and for being wealthy as a result of trade. They were apparently in occupation of the Tuḷu country, which is referred to almost as their home territory.[1] If the reading *Nallūr* is correct, they had a settlement in the south-west corner of the Madura district. But their most important settlement seems to have been Śellūr, which is referred to clearly as having the sea towards the east of it, and is described as the place which offered worship to all of the gods and where Paraśurāma celebrated the sacrifice which brought to an end his destruction of the Kshatriyas. It was at the end of this sacrifice, according to the Purāṇic story, that he made a gift of the earth he had conquered to the Ṛishi patriarch Kaśyapa. Śellūr therefore must have been on or near the east coast, and may have memorials of its associations with Paraśurāma. There are a number of places having this association, as, for instance, the town of Kolar, which has a small Paraśurāma temple on the bund of the tank to the east of the town. But this Śellūr seems to refer to the village near Koḍaivāśal, about 7 miles south-west of Kumbakonam, which was a place of considerable importance and great repute in the age of the Śaṅgam. It is some distance away from the sea, but may barely satisfy the requirements of the text. The local Ayyanār temple has traditions which may associate it with Paraśurāma, as was already stated. There is a Śellūr mentioned in the Kēralōlpatti, the traditional history of Malabar, which is spoken of as Paruṁ-Śellūr, associated undoubtedly with Paraśurāma, but as a place where he performed his penance after the sacrifice and the gift to Kaśyapa. The attribute "paruṁ" before the word would certainly indicate the existence of another Śellūr, from which this had to be distinguished. This is closely associated in Malabar tradition with Gōkarṇam, and has to be looked for on that coast. Eḷilmalai (Saptaśaila), near Cannanore, has associations with Paraśurāma, being known as Rāmantaḷi (temple of Rama). There perhaps will be found the Paruṁ Śellūr of Malabar tradition.

[1] Aham 15.

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The habitual attribute given to these Kōśar in literature, "the Kōśar of unfailing word," has led to the ingenious suggestion that they might be the *Satiyaputra* of the edicts of Asoka. Their association with the Tuḷu country would seem to support the identification. It is doubtful, however, whether the *Satiyaputra* of the edicts can be regarded as equivalent to *Satyaputra* literally translatable into "sons of truth". There is besides the chronological difficulty. They are spoken of in some of the passages quoted above as entering the Tuḷu country recently in the days of the poet Paraṇar and possibly even Māmūlar. It would therefore be too much to infer that in the days of Asoka the Kōśar were a people so closely associated with the Tuḷu country that they gave the name to the region.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

*May*, 1922.

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## NOTE SUR UNE TAPISSERIE ARABE DU VIII^e SIECLE

Les historiens musulmans, arabes et persans, nous ont conservé dans leurs chroniques une tradition suivant laquelle l'armée de Sa'd, qui s'empara de Ctésiphon, en 637, trouva dans le palais du roi de Perse un tapis de dimensions gigantesques, dont l'histoire semble une légende empruntée aux *Mille et Une Nuits*.[1]

Les sujets du monarque sassanide nommaient ce tapis "le Printemps du Chosroès", et les Arabes, qui, à la Mecque et à Médine, n'avaient jamais vu un objet qu'on lui pût comparer, lui donnèrent le nom de *al-Kathif* "le Tapis". Il formait un carré de soixante coudeés de côté, ce qui lui donnait la superficie exacte d'un arpent ; il figurait un palais à trois dômes, comme Sarvistan et Firouzabad, au milieu d'un parc immense ; le fond en était d'or ; il était inscruté de cubes de pierre aux couleurs variées ; les arbres étaient

[1] E. Blochet, *les Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, dans les Publications de la Société Française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914–20, page 137 et suivante.

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représentés par des semis de perles, leurs feuilles tissées de soie aux nuances éclatantes ; des cours d'eau, simulés par des broderies d'or, traversaient la merveille de ce tapis.

Les historiens arabes racontent qu'il servait au roi d'Iran et de Touran à se créer, dans la monotonie et la tristesse de l'hiver, l'illusion du printemps naissant, et cette circonstance lui avait fait donner le nom de " Printemps du Chosroès ", sous lequel les Persans le connaissaient. Quand la mauvaise saison était venue, et forçait la Cour à vivre dans les salles voûtées du Palais Blanc de Ctésiphon, le roi de Perse se donnait la satisfaction enfantine de faire étendre son tapis sur le pavé des galeries, de s'asseoir avec ses familiers dans les bosquets qui y étaient figurés en broderies d'or et de soie, d'y boire le vin vermeil dans des coupes d'or. Immédiatement après la prise de Ctésiphon par l'armée arabe, ce tapis fut envoyé au khalife Omar, à Médine, et mis en pièces.

Le souvenir de la technique de cette texture métallique du " Printemps du Chosroès " s'est conservé jusque dans des tapis persans du xvi^e siècle, où l'on trouve encore, au milieu de la lisse de soie, des rehauts d'or et d'argent, qui scintillent dans les dessins de la trame. Cette manière se rattache à un procédé de fabrication aujourd'hui complétement abandonné, et tombé dans l'oubli, dont on connaît quelques traces, isolées et sporadiques, au xvi^e siècle, et l'on en trouverait des exemples beaucoup plus caractéristiques, si l'on possédait des tapisseries exécutées en Perse, ou dans l'empire du Khalifat, aux époques anciennes.

Le tapis, ou plutôt la tenture décorée qui est reproduite dans la planche jointe à cette notice,[1] appartient entièrement à ce genre de tissage métallique, avec cette différence que les Musulmans du Khalifat ont réduit à deux les couleurs qui enluminaient le tapis du roi de Perse, le blanc et le noir, à trois, si l'on compte de légères touches de rouge, destinées à rehausser la tonalité du dessin.

[1] Cette pièce fait partie de la collection particulière de M. E. Géjou, de Paris.

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Il est essentiellement constitué par une broderie d'argent, en gros fils, sur une étoffe noire, elle-même supportée par un fond de toile ; l'étoffe noire est de soie ou de cachemire ; les fils d'argent qui constituent la trame du dessin la traversent à leurs deux extrémités, et sont repliés sous elle comme des petits crochets. L'étoffe noire a presqu'entièrement disparu, tandis que la broderie d'argent, qui est autrement solide, a bravé les injures du temps, de même que le fond de toile.

Le panneau représente, dans une perspective grossière, la mosquée de la Mecque, sous la forme d'une réfection exécutée en 683 de l'ère chrétienne, sur les ordres d'Ibn al-Zoubaïr,[1] par des architectes du Bas-Empire, comme le montrent les particularités de la technique.

L'édifice primitif était antérieur à l'Islam ; les détails de l'architecture de la mosquée, telle qu'elle est figurée sur ce panneau, en placent la construction vers le iii^e siècle : il est visible qu'elle fut édifiée par des architectes grecs ; ce furent des Grecs qui, à l'époque d'Ibn al-Mouttalib, reconstruisirent l'édifice, qui avait été en partie détruit par un incendie.[2] Des restaurations, des réfections successives, dont quelques-unes sous le règne des Turcs Osmanlis, ont modifié le caractère du monument, et lui ont donné l'aspect sous lequel il figure dans les photographies prises à la Mecque par les officiers du Khédive, par le sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, médecin dans la Ville Sainte, qui ont été rapportées d'Orient par Gervais Courtellemont et Snouck Hurgronje. Ces modifications n'ont porté aucune atteinte au plan primitif de la mosquée, qui se compose essentiellement d'une cour rectangulaire entourée de portiques, au centre de laquelle se dresse l'édicule qui contient la Pierre Noire de la Kaaba, qui était, avant l'Islam, le symbole d'Aphrodite, entouré de monuments divers.

Ce plan ancien, si l'on fait abstraction des remaniements

[1] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, tome iv, p. 565.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

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exécutés à la mosquée, à l'époque des khalifes abbassides, des Ayyoubites, des sultans mamlouks, des empereurs turcs de Constantinople, se superpose entièrement aux plans dessinés à la main, et enjolivés de couleurs, qui circulent dans tout le monde musulman, et qui ornent les traités persans dans lesquels sont exposées, en vers, les cérémonies du pélerinage aux Lieux Saints.

Au centre de la composition, l'on voit, sous la forme cubique, l'écrin de la Pierre Noire, dont la partie supérieure est traversée par une bande de tissu rouge, portant l'inscription : " Allah est la plus grande (des divinités) ; il n'existe pas d'autre divinité qu'Allah ; Mohammad est l'Envoyé d'Allah." Sur trois de ses côtés, ou plutôt, sur les trois quarts d'une circonférence, la Pierre Noire est entourée d'une colonnade, entre les piliers de laquelle pendent des lampes, identiques à celles qui sont suspendues aux arcades du portique, que l'on allume la nuit, pour éclairer la mosquée ; devant la châsse de la Kaaba, on voit les édifices qui figurent sur tous les plans musulmans de la Mecque : de droite à gauche, la chaire à prêcher (*minbar*) ; le dôme du Trésor ; la fontaine d'Abbas ; le dôme qui recouvre le puits d'eau sainte de Zamzam. Le dôme de Zamzam est représenté sous les espèces d'une forme classique, qui établit la très grande ancienneté de l'image brodée en rivets d'argent sur la noirceur de son fond, celle de trois arcades en arc brisé, surmontées d'un fronton triangulaire, porté par quatre colonnes, d'un temple dorique ; le Makam-i Safi est figuré à la droite de la Kaaba, avec ses colonnes et ses lampes ; on reconnaît encore très bien le Makam-i Maliki derrière la Kaaba, sous une forme schématique, parce que le dessinateur manquait de place ; le Makam de Hanbal manque complètement, et cette omission est voulue, parce qu'il y avait assez de place entre le portique et la Kaaba pour que l'artiste ait pu reproduire ce monument, s'il avait existé à son époque. Comme Ibn Hanbal est mort en 855, il faut en conclure que le carton de cette tapisserie est antérieur à la moitié

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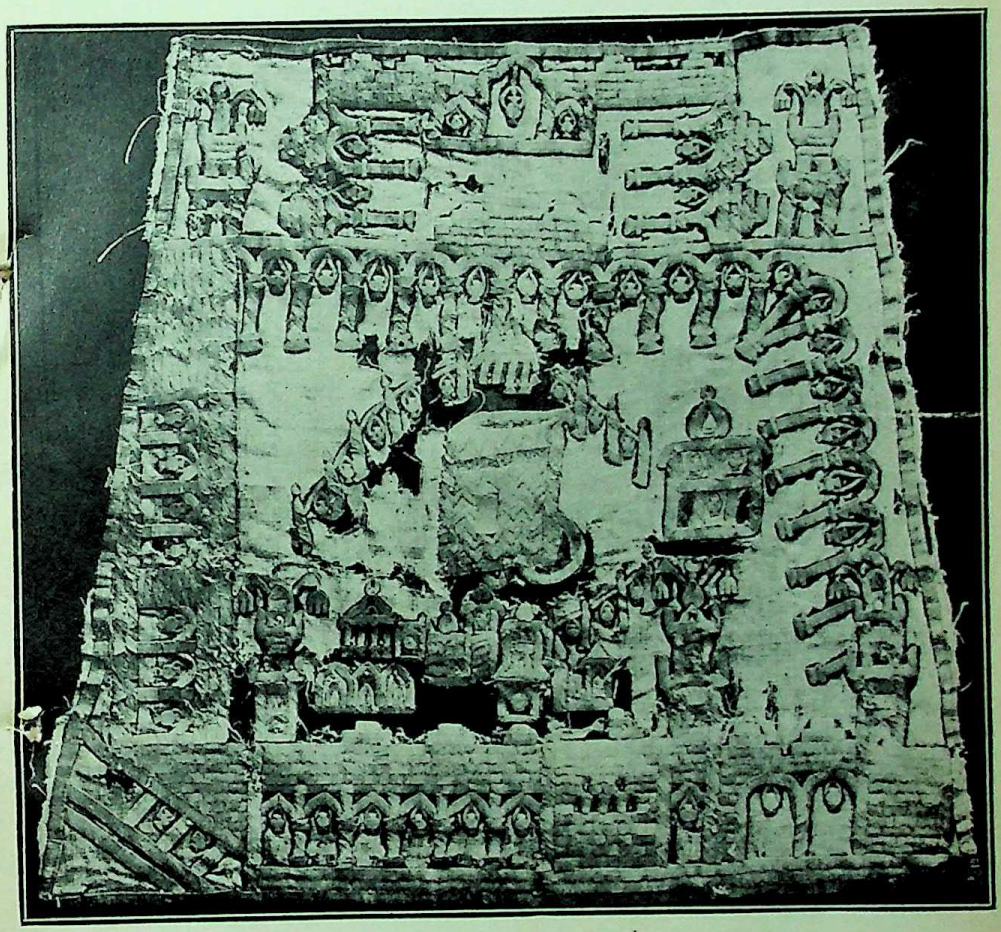

[*To face p. 616.*

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du ix^e siècle, ou qu'il copie un dessin antérieur à cette date. Le style de l'architecture de la mosquée figurée sur ce panneau, la technique de la fabrication, en font le plus ancien spécimen de la tapisserie décorative chez les Musulmans ; sa date se place vers le milieu du viii^e siècle. La tradition veut que cette étoffe richement brodée, dans un style barbare et lourd, qui est bien dans la mentalité fruste des Arabes des anciens âges, fut déposée sur le monument où repose, à Tous, dans le Khorasan, Haroun al-Rashid, le khalife des *Mille et Une Nuits*.

E. Blochet.

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## THE ANTHROPOS ALPHABET

With much of Sir Richard Temple's criticism of the Anthropos Alphabet in the June number of the Journal (p. 415) experts will agree. The use of ẓ for ð (actually a conventional symbol in more than one language) is misleading as well as clumsy, and has nothing whatever to recommend it ; while the text quoted contains several obvious blunders which are sufficient to show that its author is not a trained phonetician, but has merely made a clumsy adaptation of the system of the International Phonetic Association (which is genuinely scientific, and the work of the greatest living authorities on phonetics) with the substitution of letters with diacritical marks for special characters.

But when Sir Richard lays down "as an Englishman" that the vowel in unstressed *am* is never pronounced like that in unstressed *the*, that in Southern English a "liquid" *r* is always pronounced in *for*, and that "the man in the street" (a street in the south of England presumably) does not make a diphthong of the vowels in *name* and *don't*, it is necessary to repeat once again that the mere fact of being an Englishman does not enable anyone to analyse the sounds of the English language without ear-training, and to point out that Sir Richard is setting the opinion of a layman (or, as he puts



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it, "an Englishman") against the unanimous conclusions of those who have made a scientific study of the subject, including the Professor of Phonetics at London University College.

This should be sufficient for most readers of a scientific journal, especially as Sir Richard makes no attempt to support his views by argument except on one point, and as the single argument which he puts forward can easily be shown to be fallacious. He says: "I have never seen an Indian, when transliterating or transcribing English into his own script, ignore the English *r*. . . . This means that the Indian hears it. Therefore it exists." This argument would be valid if Sir Richard's Indians had never seen the English language written in the ordinary Roman alphabet. I think it may safely be assumed, however, that they learnt the language from books. In that case, like everyone else whose ears have not been trained, they would imagine they hear the *r*, and would represent it accordingly in their own script.

Sir Richard ends his note with the question "If this is science, is it not better to be unscientific?" I hope I am wrong, but the words read to me like an indirect attempt to discredit the science of phonetics. If so, the attempt must be judged to have failed. A science is not discredited because an unscientific person has made mistakes, or because one who has not studied it, however distinguished he may be in other directions, disagrees with its conclusions. But Sir Richard Temple's name carries so much weight that I feel compelled, as author of the article in this Journal "On the Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages",[1] and as the Council's delegate on the committee called by the Senate of London University to consider the establishment of a Phonetic Institute, to correct the impression made by his note. If he had made it clear that the specimen which he criticized was an ignorant and blundering adaptation of a scientific

[1] This article was accidentally omitted from the catalogue of articles obtainable separately. The Society has a large stock, and copies may be obtained at 1*s*. 6*d*. each.

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system of representing spoken sounds, my reply would have been less imperatively necessary.

R. GRANT BROWN.

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## TAMIL *pāmbu*, SANSKRIT *pāpa-*

In a well-known passage in the *Tantra-vārttika*,[1] Kumārila refers to the Dravidian word *pāp* (Tamil *pāmbu*, Kanarese *pāvu*), a snake, saying that when the Aryans borrowed it they confused it with their own word *pāpa-*, sin, "because a snake is a sinful being." So far as I can gather from dictionaries, the word *pāpa-*, in the sense of "a snake", does not occur in literary Sanskrit, but it was so used in popular speech. In the Prakrit form *pāva-* it is given in Hēmacandra's *Dēśīnāmamālā* vi, 8, with this meaning. *Pāva-*, of course, may have been borrowed directly from Kanarese, or may be a Prakritism of *pāpa-*. But in either case, the original word is the same.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
*5th July, 1923.*

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## "MONGOOSE"

The various forms of this word given in "Hobson-Jobson" are "mungoose", "mongoose", "mangus", "mungoos", "mongùse". To these Dalgado's "Glossário Luso-Asiática" (ii, 31) adds for Portuguese "manguço", and "mongus". "Hobson-Jobson" says: "The word is Telugu *mangīsu* or *mungīsa* [? *mungisa*]," to which may be added the Kanarese *mungisi*. Dalgado gives in addition the Kōṅkaṇī Marāṭhī *mungūs* or *mungas*, the former of which is also given by Molesworth for standard Marāṭhī. It will be observed that the Marāṭhī is the only form which agrees with those current among Europeans in having an *u*-sound in the second syllable. This form has descended from Prakrit times. In

[1] See Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, i (1872), 310, corrected by P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, in xlii (1913), 200 ff.

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the *Dēśīnāmamālā* (vi, 118) Hēmacandra gives *maṁgūsa, muggusu,* or *muggasa.* The last two are evidently Dēśī variants of *maṁgūsa* (see *JRAS.* 1922, p. 385). The *ū* of the second syllable has not, so far as I am aware, been noted as any Dravidian form, and Hēmacandra's *maṁgūsa* shows that its existence is probably due to metathesis. Moreover, Dravidian *i* does elsewhere change to Dēśī *u.* Thus, Tamil *maśir,* hair, Dēśī *māsurī* (*DNM.* vi, 130), a beard; Telugu *vadine,* Sanskrit **vadhunī,* Dēśī *vahuṇṇī* (*DNM.* vii, 41), an elder brother's wife (here the borrowing occurred in the Sanskrit period). For a reverse instance, cf. Tamil *uḷundu,* Dēśī *uḍidō* (*DNM.* i, 98), a certain grain.

For the whole question of Dēśī (and Sanskrit) borrowing from Dravidian, see (in addition to Kittel's Kanarese Dictionary) K. Amrita Row in *Indian Antiquary,* xlvi (1917), pp. 33 ff., by which the above examples have been suggested.

G. A. Grierson.

Camberley.
*5th July, 1923.*

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## THE CONSTELLATION BETELGEUSE

The emperor Bābur, near the beginning of his Memoirs, says "On the skirt of the Barākoh (in Aush, Farghana) is a mosque called the Jawzā Masjid (twin Mosque)". I beg leave to suggest that the real meaning of the words is "the house of Orion". Jawzā is a name of Orion. It may also be a name for the constellation of Castor and Pollux.

I am not aware that Muhammadans ever built twin-mosques. I should have thought the idea would have been contrary to their Monotheistic notions.

H. Beveridge,
*B.C.S., retired.*

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum : Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. By George Francis Hill, F.B.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals. 9 × 6, ccxix + 366 pp., 55 plates, map. London : Longmans, 1922.

This is the latest volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins begun in 1873. As the sub-title states, it covers Nabatæa, Provincia Arabia, Arabia Felix, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc. The word "Greek" is thus used in a wider sense than in the earlier volumes of the series. As Dr. Hill says in the preface, many of these coins "have very little that is Greek about them except the inspiration of their origin". The present volume consists of ccxix pages of introduction, giving an exhaustive and closely reasoned discussion of the readings of the coins and the deductions to be drawn from them, followed by the catalogue itself, which runs to 314 pages. There are nine indexes, a map, and fifty-five very magnificent plates. It would, no doubt, have appeared earlier but for the war, at the outbreak of which the first portion only (the Nabatean) was finished. Hence, full use could not be made of Continental collections in the remaining sections. In all eight years have gone to the making of this volume, and the learned author has by his labour placed all who are interested in the history of the East under a debt of gratitude to him.

In spite, however, of the minute fulness with which the evidence here brought together is discussed, many of the unsolved problems of the coins remain unsolved still. Indeed, some of the results of earlier investigators have to be cancelled. On the other hand, there are some positive gains to be noted. Dr. Hill seems to have put it beyond a doubt that the Nabatean

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King Malichus I reigned for twenty-eight or thirty years instead of only about twenty, as usually supposed, that is to say, from about 60 to 30 B.C. (p. xiv). On the Sabæan and Himyaritic coins, on the other hand, the "Aramaic inscription" and the curious caterpillar-like symbol are still unread, though the latter has been traced to its source by the late Professor L. W. King; and the discrepancy between the kings of the coins and those of the monuments is not bridged. The results, so far as these coins are concerned, are given on page lxxxiv. The coins of Edessa, again, supply a valuable, if necessarily provisional genealogy of its kings (p. ciii), and on p. cx the correct explanation of the reading "III P" on some of the coins of Rhesæna is given. An interesting confirmation of a conjecture of Dr. Hill's will be found on p. cxiii (note 2). The classification of the Achæmenid coinage, it is admitted, has made no advance (p. cxxv), and the most that can be achieved is to arrange it in certain groups (pp. cxxxiii ff.). The Aramaic legends, such as those of the coinage of Persia, appear to be as unsatisfactory as any, and the suggestion is quoted that they were the work of Greek artists who did not understand that language. The table of the alphabet on p. clxii f. shows how formidable a task the decipherment must be. Even the material of the coins declines. Perhaps the lowest depths are reached in those of Characene, which are the last treated of in this volume.

Dr. Hill steers a middle course between too hasty identifications on the one hand and undue caution on the other. Debatable points are dealt with in a thoroughly judicial way, and the last drop of evidence appears to be wrung out of the available material. With the reservation cited above from the preface, this fine work seems to contain all that there is to be said with regard to the matters with which it deals.

T. H. Weir.

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MEGASTHENES UND KAUṬILYA. By Dr. O. STEIN. 10 × 6¼, iv + 336 pp. Wien: Hölder, 1922.

Dr. Otto Stein has undertaken a most thorough, minute, and painstaking comparison between the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra and Megasthenes' description of India, as handed down by different Greek and Latin authors. The conclusion at which he arrives is that there is no such agreement between the two sources as some authorities have maintained; that it is improbable that they could have been contemporary; and that it is doubtful whether Candragupta's minister, Kauṭilya, was really the author of the arthaśāstra which bears his name.

That it is doubtful whether the Arthaśāstra, as we have it, is the word of Candragupta's minister, no one will dispute, but Dr. Stein takes exception to the views expressed by Vincent Smith, that it is an authentic composition of the Maurya age, and may be accepted as depicting political and social conditions about the year 325 B.C. In making his comparison, Dr. Stein has, perhaps, not taken sufficiently into account the essential difference of character between the compositions with which he is dealing. It is surely reasonable to suppose, for instance, that Megasthenes' acquaintance with the caste system was superficial, or that his account of it has been condensed and distorted. And might not the development of Magadha in the course of a quarter of a century account for work, which in the primitive state was done by a single official, being entrusted to a board? Where he regards it as improbable that elephants can have been used without bridles, Dr. Stein is certainly hypercritical. Nevertheless, as a monument of patient erudition, his work commands respect, and must prove most valuable to the student of ancient India and of the Maurya period in particular.

F. J. MONAHAN.

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA, Vol. I, 1919. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, clxxx+ 109 pp., 5 plates. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1920.

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, Vols. I, II, III, 1920. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 417, 443, 418.

A congress representative of Orientalists in India and Ceylon was held at Poona in November, 1919, under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Institute, and a volume containing brief synopses of the papers read has now been published. They cover all branches of research in Indian history, literature, religion, and folk-lore. We are glad to see the attention paid to the Prakrits and to South Indian languages and to history and archæology. A number of the papers seem to deserve publication in a fuller form; others do not.

The *Journal of the Department of Letters* contains a number of articles on Indian and allied subjects by members of the University of Calcutta, and is a welcome addition to the periodicals dealing with that field. Among the more valuable papers are Dr. Barua's important essay on the Ājīvikas, and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's admirable lecture on "Mediaeval Sculpture in Eastern India", showing a scholarship and judgment which a recent discussion has shown us is rare in India. Dr. R. C. Majumdar again takes up the question of the Kushān chronology in a thoughtful paper, of which only the first part appears here. Mr. Pramanath Banerjee breaks new ground in an article on "International Law in Ancient India". Modern subjects are not neglected, as may be seen from Mr. Niyogi's article on "Customs Duties in Bengal under Early British Rule", and Mr. B. R. Rau on the native banking system of India. Mr. Panchanan Mitra's essay on the pre-historic arts and crafts of India will, we hope, be followed by many others. We cannot say the same of Mr. H. B. Hannah's speculations on Romic Chronology, the Arctic home of the

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Aryans, the "advent of the Rhodo-Leukochroi into the Blondless East" and kindred subjects.

J. ALLAN.

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DIE ABENTEUER DES KNABEN KRISCHNA. SCHAUSPIEL VON BHASA. Übersetzt von HERMANN WELLER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 99. Leipzig, 1922.

Among the thirteen plays ascribed by their editor to Bhāsa, the Bālacarita holds a somewhat exceptional place on account of its treatment of the Kṛṣṇa legend, which it handles in a striking and quite sensational manner. The present translation is, therefore, to be welcomed. It is quite a meritorious piece of work. Its only radical fault is that it gives the whole play in German verse instead of rendering verse by verse and prose by prose; thus it wholly loses the lively variety of the original, and produces an effect of long-drawn monotony. The "Einleitung" shows a considerable knowledge of the literature that has arisen around the plays of "Bhāsa", but not a very strong grasp of the facts of the case. Herr Weller tells us that it was "entscheidend" for the authorship of Bhāsa that one of the plays in the collection was a Svapna-vāsavadatta, because Bhāsa is known to have written a drama of that name. This is indeed giving away the case: how many other plays may have been thus yclept? Then he proceeds to admit that this fact does not prove Bhāsa to have written all the other twelve plays, and confesses that the authorship of the Pratimā is open to "berechtigte Zweifel"; but he goes on to assert that in the present state of our knowledge it is permissible to assign *all* the plays to Bhāsa, including the Bālacarita, because the Bālacarita ends with the same verse as the Svapna. Such logic stands self-condemned.

L. D. BARNETT.

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La Glyptique Syro-Hittite. By G. Contenau. 48 plates, 40 fr. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922.

Eléments de Bibliographie Hittite. By G. Contenau. 20 fr. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922.

Dr. Contenau's *Glyptique* deals with the seals and cylinders which have been bequeathed to us in large numbers by the ancient Syro-Hittite domain, and to which Ménant first drew attention many years ago. Its subject matter, therefore, is similar to that of Dr. Hogarth's *Hittite Seals*, but whereas Dr. Hogarth concerned himself with a single department only of the subject, Dr. Contenau's work embraces the whole range of it. It is treated with his usual thoroughness and learning, and will be for a long while the standard authority on the matter. The text is accompanied by a wealth of illustrations; the designs, in fact, of between three and four hundred seals are reproduced.

We begin with the seals impressed upon the Cappadocian tablets of Kara Eyuk, 2400 B.C., a branch of Assyriology which Dr. Contenau has made peculiarly his own, and the origins, history, and development of the seals of Asia Minor and Syria are then traced downward to the age of their decadence and disappearance. Dr. Contenau finds in them three main lines of descent. In the Cappadocian seals we have a combination of influence derived partly from the archaic glyptic of Mesopotamia, partly from the contemporaneous art of Babylonia, as evidenced in the seal-cylinders of Ur. They followed immediately the large cylinders covered with animal forms, which had their source in the art of primitive Elam and Sumer. About 1500 B.C. new influences supervened. In Asia Minor conical seals had long been in use, while in Syria the so-called gable-form had been specially patronized. The new forms now came to be spread throughout the whole Syro-Asianic area, and at the same time the Egyptian scarab was introduced through Hyksos influence. This is also the period of the "hammer-seal" in eastern Asia Minor. With the twelfth

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century B.C. fresh types make their appearance. Towards the east we find the "Kerkuk" type and reminiscences of Assyria; westward we have the seals with Hittite hieroglyphs, ornamented with similar hieroglyphs or with imitations of the cuneiform script.

Extensive as is the area covered by Dr. Contenau's book, nothing seems to have escaped his notice. Elam, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Ægean, all alike are included in his survey. The characteristics of the various classes of seals and the subjects engraved upon them are carefully examined, and the work is furnished with a good index and preceded by an exhaustive bibliography.

Equally exhaustive and brought up to date is Dr. Contenau's other work, which will, I think, be found indispensable by the "Hittitologist". The bibliography itself is preceded by a most excellent and useful history of Hittite research, at once brief, lucid, and complete. I have failed to discover any item, however obscure, which has been omitted by the author.

A. H. SAYCE.

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DER DIWAN DES ḲAIS IBN AL-ḤAṬĪM. Herausgegeben von Dr. THADDAUS KOWALSKI. Leipzig, 1914.

This excellent edition appeared just at the beginning of the war, and is probably not as well known as it should be. Qais ibn al-Khatīm lived shortly before the arrival of Muḥammad in al-Medina, and in his poems are reflected more than in any other verses of the period the sanguinary quarrels between the rival tribes of al-Aus, to which Qais belonged, and al-Khazraj, the tribe of Ḥassān ibn Thābit. In his introduction to the Diwān, Professor Kowalski narrates most lucidly the history of these troubled times, which have additional value as from them we can form an idea of the conditions in Medina at the time of the arrival of the Prophet. The text of the poems, though three MSS. are used, goes

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back to one copy preserved at Constantinople (Top Kapu Serai), which, except for some missing leaves, presented a good text, and the edition is practically free from misprints or errors. I have noticed only one, in Poem 20, verse 3, where we should read أُبَيْدُ القَطَا "wild sand-grouse".

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Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad aḍ-Ḍahabi, Kitāb Duwal al-Islām. 2 vols., large 8vo. 213+90, 195+68 pp. Haiderābād, A.H. 1337.

The author, who died in the year A.H. 748, is known as the writer of a large history, in which he gives obituary notices of eminent persons, divided into decades, and of which portions are preserved in the British Museum and other libraries. This work, on account of its great bulk, was unsuitable for quick reference, and the author extracted this abbreviation, which gives short notices of learned and pious men in chronological order and will serve as an easy book of reference and also as a kind of index to his larger work. The editors have printed at the end an index which unfortunately repeats only the headings, and it would have been of greater utility if the index could have been in alphabetical order. The cheapness of the edition should make the book a handbook for all students of Muhammadan history.

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Les Historiens des Chorfa. By E. Levi-Provençal. Paris: Emile Larose, 1922.

Les Manuscrits Arabes de Rabat. By E. Levi-Provençal. viii, 306+74 pp. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1921.

Morocco maintained up to the beginning of the Great War a certain amount of independence, and at the present time is nominally under the protection of France, which will probably in the end result in formal annexation. The country thus

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preserved through many centuries a condition for independent development, which in the case of Morocco rather means a continuance of a mediaeval state and of traditions dating from the times of the conquest of the furthest West by the Arabs. The country was so far distant from the other centres of Muhammedan civilization that we find only rarely any satisfactory reference to its history in the chronicles written by Eastern authors. The publication of the *Rauḍ al-Qirtās* by Thornberg in 1843–6 and the large work of Ibn Khaldūn in Bulaq made it possible to read the history of the country up to the end of the Middle Ages. It was an event when in A.H. 1312 (1894) a history of Morocco, entitled *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā li-Akhbār al-Maghrig al-Aqṣā*, was published in Cairo. Those scholars not acquainted with the works lithographed in Fez recognized that there existed in Morocco a large number of historical works which would throw light on the inner history of the country. Previously Houdas had published the Chronicles of ez-Ziyāni and al-Ifrani with French translations, which had considerably increased our scope of knowledge.

However, there remained a vast amount of works on the history of the country, but especially works of biography which to some extent were accessible in lithographs executed in Fez.

Professor Levi-Provençal in the work under notice has in a most exhaustive manner put all the works under review which deal with the history of the country since the fall of the Merīnide dynasty. There is no work, whether in print or accessible to him in manuscript, which he has not analysed in a most lucid and exhaustive manner. He not only gives us the contents of the work of each author, but also gives his estimate of the historical value. As he states in his introduction, the study of history is not held in high esteem in Morocco, and the greatest quantity of the works under consideration consists of biographies of the saints of the land, but as these have played such an important part in the politics of the country very much can be gleaned from these works.

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For it must not be forgotten that both the Sa'dian and 'Alawi dynasties owed their rise to the support of the religious fraternities, and that the whole life of the people is bound up with these peculiar organizations. The author has also taken the trouble to analyse the authorities from which they took their information, and his book is, on account of its continual references, a literary history of the Maghrib of the first order for the last three centuries up to the present time. I believe I am not far wrong in pronouncing the book one of the most indispensable works in Morocco which ought to be in every important library.

The catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the newly established library of the Institute at Rabat reveals that there have survived in Morocco several works of great importance, among which I will only mention a medical work by Yuhannā ibn Bakhtishu' and the Jamharat an-Nasab of Ibn Ḥazm. We must be grateful to Professor Levi-Provençal for making known to us the existence of these valuable works, especially as I understand that the Institute intends to be liberal in making the use of its treasures possible to foreign scholars also.

F. Krenkow.

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Japhetitische Studien zur Sprache und Kultur Eurasiens herausgegeben von F. Braun und N. Marr. I: Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen von Friedrich Braun. 91 pp., 8vo. Berlin, Stuttgart, Leipzig. Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1922.

This is an amended text of the lecture referred to on p. 111 of *JRAS.* for January, 1922. The author is the well-known Professor *emeritus* of Germanic philology at the University of Petrograd, who is now temporarily resident in Leipzig.

The series, of which this is the first number, will include the following works in German: By Professor Marr: (1) *Japhetic*

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*Caucasia* (the Russian edition of which has already been noticed in *JRAS.* of January, 1922), (2) *Comparative Grammar of Japhetic Languages*, (3) *Grammar of Ancient Literary Armenian*, (4) *Grammatical Tables for the Study of Georgian*, (5) *Lazian* (*Dchdn*) *Grammar* (with texts and vocabulary by Qip'hshidze), (6) *Basque Grammar on Historical Lines*, (7) *Etruscan Studies*, (8) *Grammatical and Etymological Miscellanies*. By Professor Braun: (1) *Primitive European Names of Mountains and Rivers*, (2) *Germanic Names of Peoples*, (3) *Etymological Excursions*. By Professor Braun and Professor Marr in collaboration: *Metals and their Names in Europe and Western Asia*. By J. Qip'hshidze: *Grammar of Mingrelian* (*Iberian*) (with texts and vocabulary). Some of these have already appeared in Russian. The cost of producing the whole series in German has been guaranteed by an anonymous donor.

The Petrograd Academy of Sciences is still in being, and (according to a letter, dated Petrograd, May, 1922, from Professor S. Oldenburg, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy) it has established a Japhetidological Institute for the study of such problems as those dealt with in the book now published by Professor Braun and dedicated to the memory of his teacher, K. Brugmann.

Briefly stated, the question is that of the substratum of the languages called "Germanic". Neglecting for the present archæological, ethnographical, and other considerations, students are invited to compare such remnants as still exist of the various languages spoken in Europe and Nearer Asia before Greek, Latin, German, Keltic, etc., and to observe the remarkable affinity between certain of those still surviving, such as the Iberian of Transcaucasia and the Iberian of the Pyrenees, with others which are dead, e.g. Etruscan, and with the most ancient strata of the "Germanic" tongues. "A good part of the Basque vocabulary is already now easily intelligible to anyone who knows the languages of the peoples of the Caucasus and has had an adequate training in the

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history of language" (p. 46). We find to this day in the Caucasus "Abaski" (Ap'hkhazians, Abasgi) whose name is etymologically that of the Euskara (**ebskara*) of Spain and France. The evidence already points to the existence of a primitive Eurasian stock, which for convenience Professor Marr calls "Japhetic", and Professor Braun considers the "Germans" as "somatically" the posterity of "Vorgermanen", with whom there is mingled a comparatively small percentage of pure "Indogermanic" blood (Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos—Tacitus).

So far as English is concerned, Professor Sayce (*Times*, 20th June, 1922, p. 16), referring to an article on "the Iberians" (*Times*, 15th June), writes: "Some years ago I drew attention to the fact that there are certain common words in English which have no etymology, like *dog* or *pig*, to which perhaps a strictly scientific etymologist would be inclined to add *boy* and *girl*." Feist and Liebich have estimated the words which are "isolated" in the "Germanic" languages (i.e. for which we find nothing corresponding or connected in the other "Indogermanic" tongues) as one-third, or 30 per cent, of the total vocabulary, and it is here that the "Japhetic" theory has a field for inquiry. When, in 1910, a fund was established in Oxford to encourage the study of the Georgian group of languages and a library on the subject was deposited at the Bodleian there were none who imagined that this foundation might have any value for English linguistics. The fact that, of the "Japhetic" group Georgian is the one language which has to our own day preserved a literary tradition unbroken for some 2,000 years is of the highest importance.

In reading Georgian the following curious parallels, among others, with European languages have been noticed and written down haphazard as they occurred; they are given here for what they may be worth, and without any claim that they are necessarily more than accidental coincidences:—

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აკაკი (acaci) = acacia; აქ, აქა, იქ (*ak, aka, ik*) = Span. aquí, acá; ბავშვი (*bavshvi*) = child, cf. Eng. boy, Swed. *pojke* (= boy), Norw. *pike* = girl; ბალბა (*balba*) = mallow, L. malva; ბაყაყი (*baqaqi*) = Gr. *βατραχος*; ბუ, ბუკი (*bu, buvi*) = L. bubo, Fr. hibou, owl; ბუჩქი (*buchki*) = Eng. bush; ბირკვი (*birci*) = Eng. burr, bur-dock; -განი (-gan) = Welsh *gan* = by; გალობა (*gal-oba*) = O. Eng. *gal*-an in nightingale, G. *Nachtigall*, Norw. *gale* (= to crow); გლუ, გლუვი (*glu, gluvi*) = G. glatt, R. гладкій = Eng. smooth; გუგული (*guguli*) = cuckoo, L. cuculus; დაფნა (daphna) = laurel, Gr. *δάφνη*; ეს, ის (*es, is*) = L. *is, iste*, Sp. *ese*; ვარდი (*vardi*) = Gr. *ῥόδον, ῥοδέα*; თბილი (*t'hbili*) = R. теплый, L. tep-idus; იადონი (*iadoni*) = Gr. *ἀηδών*; იელატი (*ielati*) = Gr. *ἐλάτη*, R. ель; კატა (*cata*) = cat; კატუნი (*catuni*) = wildcat; კონიო (*conio*) = L. conium, Gr. *κώνειον* (hemlock); თევზი (*t'hevzi*) = Gr. *ἰχθύς*; კვეთა (*cuet'ha*) = to cut; კლვა (*clva, clua*) = to kill; კოცნა (*cotzna*) = to kiss, G. küssen; ლაპარაკი (*laparaci*) = Fr. parler, parole, etc.; ლოკვა (*loca*) = to lick, cf. Lat.; ლომი (*lomi*) = lion, Gr. *λεων*, L. leonem; ლული (*luli*) = drowsiness, slumber, cf. lull, lullaby; ლეში (leshi) = corpse, cf. lyke, G. Leiche; მანდილი (*mandili*) = Sp. mantilla; მახე (*makhe*) = net, O. Eng.



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*max*, cf. mesh; ნაზი (*nazi*) = nice, R. нѣжный; ნავი (*navi*) = L. navis; ოლოლი (*ololi*), ალალი (*alali*) = owl, L. ulula; ოქრო (*okro*) = L. aurum, Gr. χρυσὸς; პეპელა (*pepela*) = L. papilio; პირველი (*pirveli*) = R. первый; პალო (*palo*) = L. palus (Eng. pole, pile); რიგი (*rigi*) = row, rig (Lowl. Sc. rig, corn-rig); რქა (*rka*) = L. cornu, R. pora = horn; საუკუნე (*saucune*) = L. saeculum; სერი (*seri*) = hill, cf. Sp. sierra; სკა, pl. სკები (*sca, scebi*) = beehive, Lowl. Sc. skep, Gael. sgeip; სული (*suli*) = soul, G. Seele; სპოლვა (*spolva*) = to spoil; სარკე (*sarce*) = R. зеркало; ტეტრიწსი (*tetriksi*) = Gr. τετράων, L. tetrao, R. тетеревъ = heathcock, moorfowl; ტირილი (*tirili*) = tear (of the eye); ტკიპი (*tcipi*) = tick (insect); უარ, უარესი (*uar, uaresi*) = worse; უბნობა (*ubnoba*) = to hobnob; ქალი (*kali*) = girl (vulg. gal), Ir. colleen, Gael. cailleach; ქმარი (*kmari*) = Fr. mari, etc.; ქარქაში (*karḳashi*) = Fr. carquois; ქერქი (*kerki*) = cork; ღუთისა, ღუთისა (*ghut'hisa*) = of God; ღვინო (*ghvino*) = wine, L. vinum, Gr. οἶνος, Welsh gwin; ღვიძილი (*ghvidzili*-dzili = sleep) = vigil; შლა (*shla*) = destroy, cf. slay, G. Schlagen; შლამი (*shlami*) = slime, G. Schlamm; ძაღლი (*dzaghli*) = dog; ძვირი (*dzviri*) = dear, G. theuer; ყვარება (*qvareba*) = Sp. *querer* = to

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love; ყვითელი (qvit'heli) = yellow, cf. quince, G. Qvitte; ყელი (*qeli*) = L. collum, G. Kehle, Hals; ჰუნი (*huni*) = R. конь, G. Hengst (for Hengst cf. also ცხენი, *tzkheni*); ჯაგი (*djagi*) = thornbush, cf. Lowl. Sc. jag = to prick.

The following Svanetian words may also be of interest in a similar way: *kitav* = kitten, cf. R. котъ; *mare* = man (*homo*), cf. L. *mas*, *maris*; *mer* = bee, cf. L. mel, Gr. *μέλισσᾰ*.

O. WARDROP.

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ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY. By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. Premchand Roychand Scholar. 9 × 6, xx + 228 pp. Calcutta University. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

INDIAN IMAGES. PART I: THE BRAHMANIC ICONOGRAPHY. By BRINDAVAN C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A. 10 × 6, xxxvii + 79 pp. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1921.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, G.C.B., K.C.S.I. 9 × 5¾, viii + 144 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

ISLAM IN INDIA, OR THE QĀNŪN-I-ISLĀM. By JA'FAR SHARĪF. Composed under the direction of and translated by G. A. Herklots, M.D. New edition, revised and rearranged with additions by William Crooke, C.I.E. 7½ × 5, xl + 374 pp., 27 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1921.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS. Vol. III: Third Meeting held at Bombay, January, 1921. 10¼ × 7, 65 pp. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1921.

A HANDBOOK OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT RECORDS. By A. F. KINDERSLEY. 9¾ × 6, vi + 100 pp. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1921.

In his brief "Foreword" to Mr. Narendra Nath Law's scholarly book, Professor Barriedale Keith has said all that

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there is to be said about its merits and defects. India, as he points out, offers nothing that can be regarded as a serious theory of politics in the wider sense of the term. But there was intensive study of the practical aspect of government and of relations between states, and these topics were subjected to a minute analysis by writers on politics who carried out their work with a love of subdivision and detail which, we would add, deserves admiration rather than imitation. Mr. Narenda Nath Law has, however, that passion for detail in almost equal degree, and it renders much of his work pedantic in the extreme. But the reader who perseveres with it will agree with Professor Keith that, though the author's "conclusions may not always meet with our acceptance, the clearness with which he has set out his views, the care with which he has selected the relevant evidence, and the moderation of his criticism, render his work a contribution of substantial importance and lasting value".

Mr. Bhattacharya's book, like Mr. Law's, shows that Indian savants have yet to learn to pay as much attention to the manner as to the matter of their work. The author says that in this careful study of Indian images he has attempted to cater both for the layman and the scholar, but the book is so highly technical that its appeal to the former will, we imagine, be very restricted. No valid reason is given for confining the survey to the images of Northern India. The thirty excellent plates attached doubtless account for the high price charged for a book of some 120 pages.

All who are interested in the recent constitutional changes in India—and who is not?—will be glad to have the handy reprint of the valuable Historical Introduction which formed the first chapter of the third edition of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's book on *The Government of India*, published in 1915. This, which is by far the best summary which has yet appeared of Parliamentary legislation relating to India since Elizabeth's Charter of 1600, has been revised and brought up to date, and now carries the history down to the messages and speeches of

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9th February, 1921, when the new Indian Legislature was formally inaugurated at Delhi.

The next book on our list is a composite production. Ja'far Sharīf was a Munshi employed in teaching Arabic, Persian, and Urdu to officers in the service of the Madras Government in the early decades of the last century. Encouraged by Dr. Herklots, a surgeon on the Madras Establishment, of Dutch extraction, he compiled in Hindustani an account of Musalmān beliefs and practices. This was translated by Dr. Herklots, who added to it a long appendix containing articles on such matters as relationships, weights and measures, dress, jewellery, cooking, and the like. Compiled by a Musalman of southern India, it was devoted mainly to the beliefs and customs of that part of the country, though Dr. Herklots attempted, not very successfully, by additions drawn from other sources to make it a comprehensive survey of the Musalmāns throughout India. Dr. Crooke has now rearranged and partially rewritten it. No one is more competent than he to supply Dr. Herklots' deficiencies, but we cannot pretend to like the result. If the book was worth republishing at all, which we doubt, especially in view of the many gaps which still remain in the Oxford series of reprints of the Anglo-Indian classics, it was worth republishing in its original form, supplemented, we need hardly add, by the copious notes and appendices which Dr. Crooke is so well able to supply embodying the information which has become available since it first appeared. As it is, it is impossible to tell where Ja'far Sharīb and Herklots end and Dr. Crooke begins, and this is not fair to any of the three or to the reader. An original work by Dr. Crooke on the Musalmāns of India would have been infinitely more valuable than this furbishing up of a book which appeared nearly a century ago.

Our last two books are evidence of the increasing interest which is being taken in the wealth of historical material which is scattered in manuscript up and down India. The papers read at the third meeting of the Indian Historical

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Records Commission show the extent of the finds which are still possible. Thus, Professor Jadunath Sarkar has discovered in Patna a Persian manuscript giving a chronicle of events at Delhi during the anarchy of 1749–88 written by an eye-witness of the scenes related. Professor Rushbrook Williams has found an entirely new contemporary account of Sher Shah, and Moulavi Zafar Hasan a letter of condolence on the death of Shahjahan from Aurangzeb to Jahanara Begam, and her reply. Aurangzeb's letter is so little in keeping with the generally accepted view of his character that it is not surprising that Professor Sarkar preferred to reserve his opinion regarding the authenticity of the letters until he could examine the manuscript. Mr. Kindersley's little book is merely intended to give the student and the official an inkling of what they may expect to find in the Bombay Government Records. The contents of the Bombay Records Office have already been well worked over, but the Peshwas's Daftar at Poona still offers a rich harvest to the research worker.

F. Noyce.

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## Recent Arabic Literature

La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux. By 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hudhail al-Andalusi. Edited by Louis Mercier. Paris: Geuthner, 1922.

This is a facsimile of a copy in the Maghribi character made by the editor from a MS. lent him by M. Nehlil, director of the École Supérieure de Langues, etc., Arabes et Berbères, of Rabat, and collated by him with an Escurial MS. In a very brief Arabic Preface he states that the material of the book is taken from an earlier one by the same author, called *Nuj'at al-Anfus*. This author was a Spanish Moslem of the fourteenth century, whose works are not mentioned in the ordinary bibliographies; the treatise which M. Mercier has edited deals with horses and weapons, both of them favourite topics with Arabic writers. A special chapter is devoted to quotations from poets on the former theme, but the writer is

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not sparing with verses elsewhere. The editor's work appears to have been done with care, though European scholars are likely to find the script employed wearisome. It is probable that most of the author's matter is to be found in other works, such as the *Mukhassas* of another Spanish scholar.

ARABIC AND LATIN ANATOMICAL TERMINOLOGY, CHIEFLY FROM THE MIDDLE AGES. By A. FONAHN. Kristiania, 1922.

This is a collection of terms occurring in mediaeval Latin texts, dealing with anatomy, to which are added a number of Arabic technicalities belonging to analogous literature. The latter are given in transliteration followed by the Arabic script, and some of the mutilated forms of Arabic words which are found in mediaeval Latin are referred to their origins. A great many of the Arabic words noticed are familiar and to be found in the ordinary dictionaries, as well as in medical glossaries such as that of Dr. Ibrahim Mansoor (Cairo, 1891).

Since the number of glosses is 3,718, it is evident that Mr. Fonahn's work is the result of very extensive research. Even so, it does not appear to exhaust the astoundingly wealthy anatomical vocabulary of the Arabs, which has separate names for the spaces between the different fingers.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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BIṢṬĀM IBN QAIS. By Dr. E. BRÄUNLICH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 84 pp. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1923.

A detailed account of the well-known Sheikh of the Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, one of the last heroes of the *Jāhilīya*, his life-history, his "*'aiyām*", his family and the scenes of his exploits. The author has succeeded in making quite a substantial monograph out of the extremely scattered and fragmentary authorities dealing with his subject and his work is carefully documented throughout, and gives a good idea of the amount of historical information which is available regarding the events in Arabia in the half century immediately preceding the Hijrah.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Counties Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants. Completed about the year A.D. 1518. Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in A.D. 1812, by Mansel Longworth Dames. Vol. II. Including the coasts of Malabar, Eastern India, Further India, China, and the Indian Archipelago. London: Hakluyt Society, 1921.

## Second Notice

### Customs and Folklore

Barbosa is, of course, acute in his observations as to customs and is not often in serious error, but in describing the marks on the foreheads of some Hindus as being made to denote "caste" he falls into a mistake, which Mr. Dames corrects. It cannot be too clearly understood that they mark "sect" not "caste", and it is interesting to note that this error, commonly made by Europeans to this day, dates as far back as Barbosa.

I would like here to express a high appreciation of the quality of the annotations of Messrs. Dames and Thomas on the account of the Zamorins, and also of the Nāyars to which class they belong, and of their history, manners, customs, and rites, especially as regards the matriarchate and consequent heredity in the female line. They go a long way towards finally accurate knowledge on perhaps one of the most interesting old-fashioned dynasties of modern times. It is as well to note here that Barbosa's account of them is still, after 400 years, the best foreign first-hand description yet given.

The well-known South Indian matriarchal rule of succession passing to the sister's son is, in the case of the successor of a Zamorin, an instance of a social custom defeating any practically useful end. The succession goes to the eldest male heir alive in the direct female line, whoever his mother may have been. The result is that each Zamorin succeeds

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at a time when he is "too old to administer his estate or property well; he holds the title a year or so, and is then succeeded by another old man". Another instance of a social custom defeating any practical end is to be found amongst the Karens of Burma. Among Sgaw and Pwo Karens, in times of general danger, the girls of allied villages are given in exchange as brides, to become hostages for the good faith of the villages towards each other. This explains a curious set of customs. Sawntungs may only marry among cousins residing in specified villages, and then not without the consent of the elders. The area of choice is so small that many aged bachelors and spinsters exist, and it results in great irregularity of age in the married couples, both ways—in men in regard to wives and in wives in regard to men. This is carried to an extreme extent by the Banyoks of Banyin in Loi Seng, where the field of choice is among six families at the choice of the chief official of the district (*taungsā*). Five and twenty years ago it had nearly wiped out the tribe.

The ways of the Zamorins are always interesting, and the installation oath on the lamp and gold ring to protect by the sword is more than noteworthy. One would like to know further what the instruments were which were used at the ceremony, and were "like unto a sheath of brass". Were they gongs? It may be mentioned here, too, that on pp. 29–32 several other oaths and ordeals worth examining are detailed.

One installation custom, which must cause unstable administration, is that of changing all or most of the public offices at each of the frequent successions, as the Zamorins, like the Presidents of the United States in this respect, followed each other at short intervals. Incidentally, the custom accounts for the present-day numerical strength of the Menon Caste of the Nāyars, which is made up of the descendants of those who at one time or another have been clerks to a Zamorin. Their documents were written, or rather inscribed, on strips of palm-leaf (*ōla*), and this habit

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was still so much in vogue even fifty years ago that the present writer's washing and similar bills were made out on *ōlas* when he was in the neighbourhood of Calicut about 1873.

Barbosa is so well informed about the modern Malabar Coast (I say "modern" because long after his time the term "Malabar" was often applied to the East as well as the West coast of South India), that one is tempted to comment indefinitely on his observations. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the following (p. 37): "These Brahmenes hold the number three in great reverence; they hold that there is a God in three persons, who is not more than one; their prayers are all ceremonials; they honour the Trinity, and would, as it were, desire to depict it. The name which they give it is Bermabesma Maceru, who are three persons and only one God, whom they confess to have been since the beginning of the world. They have no knowledge nor information concerning the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. They believe and respect many truths, yet do not tell them truly."

How much more Barbosa knew of educated Hinduism than many who followed him even 300 years later! To my mind, however, the notable thing about this passage is that Barbosa does not in it allude to the image of the Trimūrti or Hindu Triad, but to the fact that they "honour the Trinity" and "hold that there is a God *in* three persons, who is not more than one". He is clearly talking here of the Southern form of the Hindu religious philosophy, as related to him by obviously educated people. And when he goes on to say that the Trinity is called Bermabesma Maceru (the last an easy error in transcription for Maçeçu), that is, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva (Maheśvara), and that they "are three persons and only one God", he proves that he had been sitting at the feet of professors of Southern Vaishnavism, presumably of Monistic Bhāgavates. For this is precisely what they strongly held—that there is only one God *and* three representative forms of Him, the one God being Bhāgavat or Bhagavān, the Adorable. This is not precisely

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the Christian Trinity (three persons *in* one God), but very near it, and the remarkable thing is that this first European observer of Hinduism should have got so much nearer the actual facts about the beliefs of the modern educated classes of Hindus than most of the European writers who have come after him.

It is remarkable, too, that he should have observed (p. 37) that certain ascetic orders of Hindus bury and not burn their dead. No doubt he alludes to the Lingāyats, who by his time had become numerous and well established in the Malabar regions, and bury their dead. On this same page (p. 37) Barbosa mentions a custom that amounts to a mild form of *couvade*.

From religion Barbosa passes on to the social customs of the Nāyars and the notes thereon are invaluable. In the course of these I am very pleased to see a remark by Mr. Dames that the Code of Manu (*Mānava Dharma Sāstra*) "never did and does not now correspond to the facts in any part of India", with the absurd result that such classes in the South as the Nāyars have been ranked by the orthodox as Śūdras and have so been held to be inferior. I have often wondered how much harm has been done in the ages right up to the present day by assuming the Code to consist of anything but mere monastic "councils of perfection". On pp. 55, 66, Barbosa has a few remarks in connexion with the Nāyars on South Indian "Devil-worship" and on the Hindu Doctrine of Rebirth, which are not quite correct, though left unannotated.

The Nāyars are essentially a military body by tradition, and extraordinarily arrogant where inferior castes are concerned; and both Barbosa's and Mr. Fawcett's (p. 49) remarks on their former and present treatment of "low-castes" contain a lesson to those who would accuse the European in India of arrogance towards the native Indians of any degree. There has never been anything in the action of Europeans in this respect approaching that of one native Indian towards another.

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In another social matter it may be remarked that well known to the Nāyars were both the boycott and the strike—very old social weapons in India, noticed, incidentally, by many travellers—and Barbosa'a accounts of the methods adopted by Nāyar soldiers to recover arrears of pay would spell terror if applied by European armies for a like purpose, though it is possible similar practices were in vogue when mercenary forces were the fashion.

Barbosa has on p. 57 a remark which is more than merely interesting, as the earliest European instance of an observation quite common more than three centuries later on with quite as much error in it. He is talking of the "Cuiavem" or potters (Kuswan or Kūyavan). He says they do not differ from the Nayres, "yet by reason of a fault which they committed they remain separate from them." This kind of folk-genealogy to bolster up a claim to "better days" in the past is very common in India, and in the middle of the last century there was brought about the accidental collection of many such instances as that quoted unwittingly by Barbosa. Someone in high office directed Settlement (of Land Revenue) officials to find out the origin of caste names in the course of their inquiries into tenant right. The result was the record in innumerable *Reports*, in the Panjab at any rate, of childish accounts of caste origin, based on absurdly false etymology, and put forward in every case in order to raise the social status of the narrators. Any one interested can collect them for himself from the official *Settlement Reports* of the period. It is very interesting to find that this particular method of gulling the inexpert European inquirer is as old as Barbosa himself. That the Kūyavan *did* differ from the Nāyar comes out naively in a remark in Ramusio's version of Barbosa: "Those who are sprung from them may not adopt any other caste or occupation" (p. 57).

On the whole, Barbosa's observations on such castes as Kūyavan, Vannathan, and Chāliyan, when compared with the modern *Gazetteers*, seem to infer that they and the Nāyars

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have an origin similar to that of the Rājpūt clans further north. After describing the Nāyars, Barbosa goes through the whole gradation of castes with wonderful accuracy, drawing many valuable notes from his annotators, including a fine comparative table of caste nomenclature on p. 71.

Going further along in his accounts, we find Barbosa twice alluding to a variant of the old European custom which is the subject of Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*: once at "Quilicare" (Kilakkarai in the Madura district) and once at Pasay in Sumatra (pp. 121, 185). Hamilton (1727) transferred it to the Zamorius. It is worth while noting these two variants of a widely spread legend of the compulsory murder of the priest-king by his often unwilling successor.

Before parting with the engrossing subject of the Zamorins I would note that Barbosa's annotators have an appendix dealing with native accounts of them containing information not to be found elsewhere. In the course of it there is mention (p. 254) of a world-wide folk-custom, giving it a rational explanation: "As they go they turn and throw rice and other things over their shoulder. This ceremony is intended to avert the evil eye, and with this the investiture of the Sthanis [the Five Rājās] is complete."

As regards Barbosa's observations on Further India, that on pp. 150–2 (one fancies by hearsay) of a custom in Aracan of selecting brides by the smell of their perspiration in clothing, which reads as if it were apocryphal, may have an explanation in the custom of smelling for kissing prevalent in Burma and elsewhere in the Far East.

In annotating Barbosa's remarks on Pegu, Mr. Dames writes accurately regarding the white elephant. Except in pictorial representation it was anything but white, and that captured during the Third Burmese War at Mandalay from the Burmese Court in 1885, of which I had charge for a while officially, was properly speaking not even piebald. It had, however, on it certain marks in the arrangement of the hair, etc., which constituted it a holy object and a "White

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Elephant" by a set of carefully recorded and observed rules: just as was the child chosen to become the Dalai Lama in Tibet. Barbosa's statement also as to there being "many very proper nags, great walkers" in Pegu is accurate if for "walkers" we translate "amblers". The Pegu pony (really from the Shān uplands) is still a remarkable ambler. I had one (13½ hands) for some time in Mandalay, a good weight-carrier, on which I have successfully kept pace for a long distance with a horse at a smart canter. These ponies can keep up a quick amble almost indefinitely, and are comfortable to ride at that pace.

Barbosa has a remark on Ambam or Amboyna in the Malay Archipelago which is of unusual interest (p. 199), when he says that every man collects as many "Cambaya cloths" as he can to provide a ransom in case he is captured and enslaved. In parts of the Nicobars it is also the custom to collect white and red cotton cloths by the piece, but for a very different purpose, viz. for wrapping round the owner's corpse as part of the funeral ceremonies. One wonders if Barbosa understood rightly.

Barbosa several times mentions the large size of the bells, drums, and gongs of the Malay Archipelago (e.g. pp. 198, 202, 203). This is common to the whole of the Far East, where they are put to many uses, including currency.

In describing Siam, Barbosa gives a circumstantial account of the ceremonial eating of dead relatives and friends as part of funeral ceremonies. This he attributes to a people "in the interior towards China, where there is a heathen kingdom subject to Anseam [Siam]". Mr. Dames identifies these with the Gueos, which argues that they were probably [Gwē] Shāns, and not Wās, as Sir George Scott has suggested. These ceremonial cannibals may be therefore taken to have been Shāns of some kind, in respect of whom such cannibalism has often been reported, as it has also been said of wild Wās, who belong to the Mon Race and the Kachins, who belong to the Tibeto-Burman Race. I have myself known of a case

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where the body of a Shān rebel, said to have been a great sorcerer, was dug up by a local chief and boiled down into a decoction, some of which it was proposed to send to the British Chief Commissioner (the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite). It was probably the same case as that reported in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i, vol. ii, p. 37, as occurring in 1888. It will be seen here that the cannibalism was purely ceremonial, and due to a desire to secure extraordinary supernatural powers by a sort of sympathetic magic. The funeral ceremony told to Barbosa may have been a garbled report of similar occurrences. Ceremonial cannibalism of the same kind is said to have existed among the Nicobarese.

I must wind up this very long survey of one of the most informing books among the many of the same kind produced of late years by a note showing the care with which it has been edited. In describing the kingdom of Cochin, Barbosa alludes to the Court politics there of his day, of which the Portuguese accounts that have come down to us are scarcely intelligible, were it not for Mr. Rama Varmaraja's *Contributions to the History of Cochin*, Trichur, 1914. The quotations from this local publication in a long footnote (p. 94) set this matter straight, and provide a strong instance of the importance of placing the editing of such works as Barbosa's in the hands of competent annotators possessing the requisite knowledge.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT 1919–20. 13×10, 63 pp., 25 plates. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Press, 1922.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT SANCHI, BHOPAL STATE. 11×8½, 73 pp., 21 plates. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Press, 1922.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES, Vol. III, Part I. 11×8¼, 158 pp., 26 plates. Trivandrum: Superintendent Government Press, 1922.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10$, 32 pp., 12 plates. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5: MUNIRABAD INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF TRIBHUVANAMALA (VIKRAMADITYA VI). $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, 12 pp., 1 plate. Nizam's Government, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, VOL. IV. 109 pp. Calcutta, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, AT POONA. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 120 + clxxxi pp., 6 plates. Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, 1922.

ARS ASIATICA. VOL. IV: LES SCULPTURES CHAMES AU MUSÉE DE TOURANE. By H. PARMENTIER. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, 28 pp., 30 plates, 1 map. Paris and Brussels: Van Dest, 1922.

INDIAN DRAWINGS IN THE WANTAGE BEQUEST IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. With introduction and text by C. STANLEY CLARKE. $15 \times 12$, 4 pp., 24 plates. London, 1922.

In spite of its smaller bulk, the annual report of the A.S.I. seems as full as ever. It is a record of steady progress, chiefly in conservation and repairs. We may here note the work done on the tombs of the 'Ādil Shāh dynasty at Bijapur and Mr. Longhurst's various activities in the Southern Circle. At Taxila excavations have been continued at Sirkap and the Bhir mound, and have yielded a remarkable Gandhara statuette in the round not later than the first century A.D., with numerous fine specimens of the minor arts of the period. A remarkable Buddhist slab with a medallion, representing Candaka's return without Buddha to Suddhodana's court, found at Ghantasala, is illustrated and fully described. The considerable work done in the epigraphical department is fully summarized. The work done by the chemist now attached to the Archæological department seems of great importance for the future of conservation of monuments.

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The *Catalogue of the Museum at Sanchi* is a valuable supplement to Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*. A large selection of the more important objects is illustrated, while a feature of the text is the care with which all inscriptions, however fragmentary, have been transcribed.

The latest publication of the *Travancore Archæological Series* contains thirty-three short inscriptions, containing much material for the student of economic history and philology in South India, in addition to a work of especial value to the student of Cola history, namely Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's edition of the long Kanyākumari inscription of Vīrarājendra.

Mr. G. Yazdani's *Report for* 1919–20 shows that he is doing valuable work in the Nizam's dominions, to which he has been lent by the Government of India. Appendices contain reports on the Ajanta frescoes by M. Foucher and Professor L. Ceconi. Mr. Krishna Sastri's handsome edition of the Munirabad inscription of the Calukya Vikramāditya VI is also a credit to the Hyderabad series.

The fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* contains a number of short papers, among which we may note the indefatigable Professor Jadunath Sarkar's account of Aurangzīb's siege of Satara and Mr. Beni Prasad's exculpation of Jahāngīr from any complicity in the death of Sher Afghan. Mr. H. Sharp summarizes the architectural achievements of the Tughlaks, while Mr. Dodwell investigates the early history of cotton-weaving under the company. A long appendix gives Rev. H. Hosten's calendar documents in Mylapore, Pondicherry, etc., relating to the history of the Jesuits in India.

We have already noticed the summary of the papers read at the 1919 Oriental Congress at Poona. The Bhandarkar Institute has now issued those considered worthy of preservation in full. The Committee have on the whole erred on the side of generosity, but there are a number of papers which should not be overlooked by Western scholars.



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Among these are S. C. Vidyabusana's account of Nāgārjuna, Professor P. D. Gune on Apabhraṃśa literature, Mr. L. F. Taylor on the dialects of Burmese, and Mr. P. K. Gode on Kālidāsa's "*upamās*". Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's ingenious article on the indigenous origin of the Indian alphabet is not convincing. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on the Brāhmi inscriptions of South India, Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the "Early History of the Gurjaras", and Professor P. V. Kane's Notes on the ancient history of the Konkan conclude the list of outstanding articles. The printing of the book leaves much to be desired.

The fourth of the noble volumes of M. Goloubew's series is devoted to Cham sculpture of the seventh to the tenth centuries, and forms a valuable contribution to the study of the influence of Hindu art in the Far East. While the architecture and sculpture of Champa is not comparable in quantity or quality to the similar remains in Java or Cambodia, M. Parmentier's plates show that it produced many fine things such as the Skanda from a Mi-son temple (pls. xxiv–xxv), the pedestal at Tra-kieu (pls. xviii–xix), or the elephant illustrated on pl. ix. M. Parmentier's introduction sketches the artistic history of the Chams "une longue decadence", and his notes accompanying the plates are admirable.

All students of Indian art will welcome the handsome reproductions of the collection of Moghul paintings and specimens of calligraphy bequeathed in 1920 to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Lady Wantage. Among the artists represented are Balchand, Bishandas, Sahīfa Bānū, Manohar, and Manṣūr, the animal paintings by the last two being particularly fine. The specimens of penmanship include the work of Muḥammad Ḥusain of Kashmir and 'Abd al-Rashīd. The identification of the scene in No. 6 (should not the verses given under 7 go with 6 ?) is a nice puzzle for the authorities on the life of Jahāngīr. Mr. Stanley Clarke's introduction and descriptive notes are just what is required. The printers have not

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distributed the long vowel marks—unnecessary in a work like this—as accurately as they might have done. Under No. 8 we might note that Ḳutb al-dīn Ḫān Koka was murdered.

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THE PRE-MUHAMMEDAN COINAGE OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA. By R. B. WHITEHEAD. 56 pp., 14 plates. New York, 1922.

CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE GUPTAS, MAUKHARIS, ETC., IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW. By C. J. BROWN. 45 pp. Allahabad, 1920.

THE COINS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY INDEPENDENT SULTANS OF BENGAL. By NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI. 184 pp., 10 plates. Cambridge, 1922.

THE COINS OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN. By J. R. HENDERSON, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 129 pp., 9 plates, 1 map. Madras: Government Press, 1921.

THE COINS OF INDIA. By C. J. BROWN. Heritage of India Series. 120 pp., 12 plates. London, 1922.

LECTURES ON ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS. By D. R. BHANDARKAR. Carmichael Lectures. 229 pp. Calcutta, 1921.

These six books, covering very different areas, form gratifying evidence of the increasing interest taken in Indian coins. Mr. R. B. Whitehead has written a useful little essay on the pre-Muhammadan coinages of North-West India, in which he outlines the various currencies of the Punjab from the Greek conquest to the tenth century. The book is intended for the reader who is not a specialist, and will give him an excellent idea of the great part coins have played in the reconstruction of early Indian history. The plates are admirable, and the specimens illustrated selected from a wide field with great care.

Mr. C. J. Brown's Catalogue of Gupta coins in Lucknow is welcome as making known a very fine collection. It is

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unfortunate that it could not have been done on the same scale as his handsome catalogue of the Moghul collection in Lucknow; on the other hand, we hope the issue of cheaply printed lists like this will be imitated by other Museums, pending the publication of more elaborate catalogues.

Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali's exhaustive study of the coins and chronology of the fourteenth century Sultans of Bengal is the sort of detailed work which it is now quite prohibitive to publish in this country. We are glad that his perseverance has overcome all difficulties of production and given us a book of considerable value, if limited in its appeal. His careful corrections of many previous misreadings will find general acceptance, and the chronological results derived from his patient work are quite important.

Although the coins of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan have had a disproportionate amount of attention from students, there was still room for a definitive work on them. Dr. Henderson's book will now take its place as the authority on the subject. He describes some 500 coins, a much larger collection than any yet published, and not likely to be surpassed. The introductory sections are models of their kind. The account of Tipu's complicated system of dating is particularly lucid, while the explanation of his coin-nomenclature is valuable. The historical notes on the mints will be appreciated in wider circles than that of numismatists. We are glad to see that Dr. Henderson has a good word to say for that much abused person Tipu Sultan.

Mr. C. J. Brown's essay on the "Coins of India" is a most admirable piece of work. It describes in historical and evolutionary order all the series of coins that have been issued in India. In spite of the fact that the little book contains 100 pages or so, it is no mere list of facts but a charming essay, a numismatic commentary on the political and economic history of India. The book is beautifully produced, has twelve fine plates, and costs the incredibly small sum of half a crown. It is a book which everyone interested in India should have,

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and we hope the demand for it will be as great as the author's care and scholarship merit. Mr. Brown's text is beyond criticism. The only mistake in it (p. 85) is due to the British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Muhammadan States, where No. 264, attributed to Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, is really a coin of Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa of Shadiabad mint (cf. I.M.C. ii, No. 23 ff.). We must finally thank Mr. Brown for giving us a book on numismatics which is written with much literary grace.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* is a stimulating book dealing with many little-known aspects of early Indian economic history. It must, however, be read with great caution, for many of his suggestions are untenable and others will require modification. In particular he does not make out his case for the very great antiquity of Indian coins: in arguing, for example, that Rudra's *niṣkaṁ viśvarūpam* (R.V. ii, 33) means a necklace of gold coins of different types he begs the whole question. Professor Bhandarkar does not always distinguish between coin in the strict sense and currency. The great value of the book is in the collection of many early references to commercial transactions, etc., which the student of Indian numismatic history will find very useful. While we do not agree with many of his conclusions, we must congratulate the author on producing a most refreshing and important contribution to learning which no numismatist can afford to neglect.

J. ALLAN.

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# THE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

THE preparations for the Centenary were entrusted to a Committee, which reported to the Council at its monthly meetings. In fixing the date, July 17–20, a primary consideration was the convenience of delegations from abroad. The scope of the invitations was limited to societies interested in Oriental researches, together with a few institutions of exceptional character, such as the British Academy, the Académie Royale de Belgique, the Koninklijk Instituut van Nederland, the American Academy, the School of Oriental Studies, the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the Scuola Orientale della Regia Università di Roma.

A very important preliminary was the preparation of the Centenary Volume, which had been initiated two years in advance. Its character as a record of the Society's activities, publications, and possessions having been apparent upon its issue in April, it remains to express the Society's indebtedness to the Committee for its careful elaboration of the plan and to Mr. Pargiter, Vice-President, who was its main compiler and editor. As a work of reference it will be, it is hoped, of permanent utility.

To meet the contemplated expenses a fund, started by a handsome contribution of £100 from the President, was raised by subscription among the members ; including a sum of £40 left from the Joint Session of 1919, it ultimately reached the respectable amount of £282, of which, after the outlay upon hospitality and services, sufficient remains for an extra issue of the Journal, which is to contain a selection of papers read at the gathering.

The arrangements for sectional meetings to be devoted to the reading of papers and discussion of Oriental topics were entrusted to chairmen nominated with authority to invite

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contributions. The sections and the chairmen who undertook the duty, and by whom a joint circular was drawn up, were the following :—

I. The Far East : China, Japan, Indo-China, Siam, and Malaya. Chairman : Mr. L. C. Hopkins.

II. The Ancient East : Sumer and Accad, Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Egypt ; Languages written in Cuneiform Script, Hebrew, Phœnician, and Syriac. Chairman : Professor S. Langdon.

III. India (with Persia, Ceylon, and Burma). Chairman : Professor A. A. Macdonell.

IV. Islam. Chairman : Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

A detailed programme, embracing both the sectional meetings and the general receptions and gatherings, was among the documents prepared for distribution. For all the sections accommodation was provided upon the Society's own premises.

For the opening ceremony of 17th July, the formal commemorative gathering, the Royal Society had kindly lent its rooms in Burlington House. The very distinguished assembly included, in addition to the Council and members of the Society, the Japanese Ambassador and the Afghan Minister, representing their respective countries, the Finnish Minister, representing the Société Finno-Ougrienne, and delegates from about forty learned bodies which will be named below.

After extending a cordial welcome to the visitors the President devoted the remainder of his address to a sketch of the Society's history, calling special attention to the important contributions to learning made by servants of government in the East, and paying an eloquent tribute to some outstanding figures, such as Sir William Jones, the joint founders, Colebrooke and Sir George Staunton, and Wilson, Prinsep, Rawlinson. He also laid stress upon the value of co-operation among scholars and among societies.

Then followed the presentation of addresses, read or spoken, by delegates in order as follows :—

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1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal (Sir Thomas Holland).
2. The Société Asiatique de Paris (M. Émile Senart).
3. The American Oriental Society (Professor Breasted and Professor Williams Jackson).
4. The Government of Japan (H.E. the Japanese Ambassador).
5. The British Academy (Professor A. A. Macdonell).
6. The Petrograd Academy and the Russian Archæological Society (Dr. Serge d'Oldenburg).
7. The School of Oriental Studies (Sir J. P. Hewett).
8. The Académie Royale de Belgique (Professor de la Vallée Poussin).
9. The Royal Geographical Society (Sir Francis Younghusband).
10. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. R. E. Enthoven).
11. Professor Sten Konow on behalf of the Asiatic Societies of Denmark, Holland, and Norway.
12. The Royal Anthropological Institute (Professor C. G. Seligman).
13. The Swenska Orientsällskap (Professor J. Charpentier).
14. The Madras Literary Society (Sir John Wallis).
15. The Société Finno-Ougrienne (H.E. the Finnish Minister).
16. The British and Foreign Bible Society (the Rev. J. H. Boughton).
17. The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. Arthur Stanley).
18. The Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland (Professor A. J. Wensinck).
19. The Orientalsk Samfund of Denmark (Professor A. Christensen).
20. The Norsk Orientalsk Selskab (Professor S. Konow).
21. The Folk-Lore Society (Mr. Henry Balfour).
22. The Société Belge d'Études Orientales (M. Jean Capart).

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23. The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. J. P. Lewis).
24. The British School of Archæology in Egypt.
25. The Central Asian Society (Sir Maurice de Bunsen).
26. The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. T. H. Burkill).
27. The Persia Society (Sir Percy Sykes).
28. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Sir E. Gait).
29. The Manchester Oriental Society.
30. The Burma Research Society (Mr. A. Roger).
31. The China Society (Sir John Jordan).
32. The Punjab Historical Society (Sir John Maynard).
33. The India Society (Sir Hercules Read).
34. The Society for Old Testament Study (the Rev. Canon G. H. Box).
35. The Egypt Exploration Society (Lieut.-Com. V. L. Trumper).
36. The Palestine Exploration Fund.
37. The British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (Lieut.-Com. V. L. Trumper).

A letter was received from Professor Nallino, of the Scuola Orientale della Regia Università di Roma, and cablegrams from M. Finot, Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, in Hanoi, and from Professor C. R. Lanman, ex-President of the American Oriental Society, and Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series.

The long succession of eminent representatives of famous institutions of learning was full of interest to the audience, which was by no means exhausted at the time of the interval for conversation preceding the great event of the day, the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Prime Minister. The address pronounced by His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister's brief speech of acknowledgment and of good wishes for the Celebrations have naturally been reported verbatim in the Press. The honour of their presence was keenly appreciated, and some leading scholars of France, America, and Belgium, together with the

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Hon. Secretary, had the further privilege of presentation to the Prince.

The meeting was followed by a lunch at Claridge's, to which the Government had invited the delegates, the Officers and Council of the Society, the chairmen of Sections, and a few others. On behalf of the Government the Secretary of State for India, Viscount Peel, had kindly consented to preside. After the toasts of "The King", and "The Sovereigns of the Kingdoms and the Presidents of the Republics represented", he proceeded in a lively speech to celebrate "Our Guests", referring to the wide scope of the Society as declared in its charter, and claiming that the Government which he represented had an unfeigned and indeed a special interest in learned studies. After a witty and inspiring reply from Professor Breasted, of the American Oriental Society, the President closed the proceedings with a brief expression of thanks to Viscount Peel and the Government.

The afternoon of a very full day was spent at the Society's house, where the chairmen of Sections conferred with, and in some cases addressed, those proposing to take part in them. Tea was provided by the Society. In the evening a party was entertained by Lord Chalmers at dinner.

The mornings of July 18–20 were devoted to sectional meetings, after which groups of the members lunched with their chairmen. The 19th, however, was marked by special events. On that morning the President and the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer of the Society, together with M. Senart, representing the Société Asiatique, Professor Breasted and Professor Williams Jackson, representing the American Oriental Society, and Professor Konow, representing the Orientalsk Selskab of Norway, had the high honour of presentation to His Majesty the King-Emperor at Buckingham Palace. A party proceeded to Oxford, where they were welcomed at some of the colleges, and the degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon Lord Chalmers, Sir Charles Eliot, and Professor de la Vallée Poussin, of Brussels.

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On the afternoon of 18th July a visit was paid to the School of Oriental Studies, where the Director exhibited the large library and drew attention to the very fine collection of Chinese books. The company then proceeded to the Mansion House to be received by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, who kindly provided tea. On the 19th, also, the afternoon and evening were full of interest. Under the conduct of Mr. L. C. Hopkins the splendid mansion and remarkable Chinese collections of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, in Chelsea, were visited, and later there was a reception on the part of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where tea was provided, and Canon Box displayed the unique collection of Bibles in numberless tongues. In the evening the India Society had arranged a conversazione at 21 Cromwell Road, to meet M. Émile Senart, who gracefully replied to an address of welcome by its President, Sir Hercules Read.

At the concluding banquet on the 20th, which took place in the Hotel Cecil, the very distinguished company of members and visitors numbered about 200. In toasting "The King" and "The Royal Family", Lord Chalmers dwelt, for the benefit of foreign guests, upon the strength of loyal feeling in Great Britain, and referred to the service rendered to the Empire by the Prince of Wales' recent visit to Asia. The toast of "Our Guests" was proposed by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. W. Thomas, who paid a tribute to the Societies which had honoured the occasion by their memorials and delegations, and spoke of the range and character of Oriental research and the increasing participation of Asiatic scholars. The replies of M. Émile Senart, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, and Professor Sten Konow, congratulated the Society upon the brilliant success of the fêtes and conveyed the cordial feeling of fraternity and admiration entertained by the Societies which they represented. M. Senart paid a tribute to his old friend Lord Reay, the late President of the R.A.S. In proposing "The Royal Asiatic Society" H.E. the Japanese Ambassador spoke of the vast area of space and time covered

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by its researches, and Sir Thomas Holland presented the felicitations of the parent Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the senior among its congeners. Professor E. G. Browne, in his reply, said that he might rely upon his hearers to realize more fully than he could briefly express the cordiality of the Society's friendship, and in regard to the Oriental civilizations affirmed his belief that Europe had something to learn from, as well as communicate to, them. He ended by proposing the health of the Chairman, who replied with a humorous regret that he would not take part in the next Centenary.

During the Celebrations opportunity was found for two meetings of the Entente delegates, who discussed the business of the Buddhist Dictionary, a re-edition of Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio's catalogue, and an edition of the Tibetan *Dag-Yig*. Advantage was taken of the presence of Professor Sakaki of Kyoto to arrange for reference to Dr. Nanjio.

For the marked success of the Celebrations the warm thanks of the Society are due to the President, whose stimulus and guidance were active at every point, to the Council for its zealous co-operation, to the chairmen of Sections, who were responsible in their special spheres, and to Miss Sykes, the Secretary, and her assistants, who were fully equal to their onerous tasks. For the banquet the arrangements in detail were entrusted to a committee consisting of the Hon. Treasurer, Sir Denison Ross, and Mr. Perceval Yetts, whose services deserve a grateful record.

## The Far Eastern Section (A)

CHINA, JAPAN, INDO-CHINA, SIAM, MALAYA, CENTRAL ASIA

*Tuesday, 17th July.*—The section met at 3.30 under the chairmanship of Mr. L. C. Hopkins, who, after a short address of welcome to the delegates and members, proceeded to read a letter from Professor G. Vacca, of the University of Rome, at the request of the Scuola Orientale della R. Università di Roma, giving cover to a short paper on "A Latin Bible of

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the Thirteenth Century, found in China, and preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence". Professor Vacca had himself seen this Bible on 13th June, 1923. It is included in Biscioni's Catalogue (Pluteus III, Capsula I). A paper on "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu" was next read by Mr. H. S. Paterson, which was followed by a discussion, initiated by Mr. Otto Blagden, on the question whether the Mohammedan faith had entered the Malay Peninsula from the East or the West.

*Wednesday, 18th July.*—M. Paul Pelliot gave an address "On the reliability of the T'ang and Sung Catalogues of ancient paintings", dealing with certain legends which had crept into popular Chinese histories, which he stripped to the bare bones of contemporary records. Professor W. E. Soothill followed with a paper giving an account and a translation from the Chinese of "The Lotus Scripture". At noon Dr. Sten Konow read a paper on "A Royal Era in Ancient Khotan". A discussion followed, Professor Rapson disputing some of the conclusions from the Prakrit side; from the Chinese side M. Pelliot accepted some names and rejected others which were declared to correspond to names in the Chinese annals.

After lunching together at Liverpool Street, the section proceeded to the School of Oriental Studies, where they inspected the books in the Chinese library and other interesting objects.

*Thursday, 19th July.*—Mr. L. C. Hopkins read a paper on "A newly discovered Early Chou inscribed bronze" from the collection of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, by whose courtesy the original bronze was exhibited, together with photos of the bowl, of the inscription, and an English rendering and a transcription in modern Chinese of the latter. The joint paper by Mr. Hopkins and Mr. R. L. Hobson described the vessel and the inscription, and argued in favour of their genuineness. A discussion followed, in which Mr. R. L. Hobson, M. Pelliot, and Mr. Perceval Yetts debated whether the external design

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was composed of four conventionalized elephants or two conventionalized ogres, while Professor Alexeieff discussed the rendering of the inscription. Dr. Lionel Giles then read a paper describing a re-discovered poem, "The Lament of the Lady Ch'in," found among the Tun-Huang documents in the British Museum, and describing vividly the sack of the city and giving a metrical translation. This was followed by a joint session of the Far Eastern and Indian sections to hear an account of Manichæism by M. Pelliot from Chinese records partly just discovered in the British Museum. Professor Rapson and Mr. G. R. S. Mead took part in the discussion which followed. On the invitation of Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, the section at 3 p.m. visited and inspected his collections of Chou bronzes and T'ang and Sung pottery, etc., being afterwards entertained at tea. This visit was much appreciated.

*Friday, 20th July.*—Professor Cornelius P. Bradley read a paper on "Some Aspects of Siamese Speech and Writing", with especial reference to the tones which are common to Siamese and to Chinese; the discussion took the form of requests for further information from a much interested audience. At noon H.E. Chaohsi Chu, Chargé d'Affaires of China, read a paper on "Family Life and the Social Fabric in China". At 4.15 p.m., by the kindness of Mr. Cecil Hallett, a personally conducted visit to the collections of the British Museum was made.

## The Semitic, Sumerian, Hittite, and Egyptian Section (B)

*Tuesday, 17th July.*—At 3.30 p.m. Professor Langdon took the chair and welcomed the delegates and members. Professor Breasted read a paper on "An Egyptian Medical Papyrus", which he claimed as the earliest known document of inductive science. Professor Langdon opened a discussion on the extent of Egyptian medical knowledge. Dr. Blackman spoke of a possible Semitic (Hyksos) influence thereon, and of the debt of Greek medicine to Egypt.

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At 5.0 Dr. Hall gave a lantern lecture on the British Museum Excavations at Ur, el-'Obeid, and Šahrein, illustrating his discoveries in 1918–19, and the work of Mr. Woolley's party in 1922–3. Afterwards Professor Langdon announced the discovery of a temple library at Kiš by the Oxford expedition.

*Wednesday, 18th July.*—10 a.m. M. Thureau-Dangin proposed a method of transcribing cuneiform. The customary accents would give place to numbers. We now know, for example, eighteen signs with value *ge* (according to a Rassam tablet which groups homophonic signs). It is impossible to devise so many accents. Professor Langdon suggested that such figures would be confused with those indicating footnotes. Mr. Driver and Mr. Gadd suggested ways of avoiding the confusion. Professor Waterman spoke of the desirability of international agreement. Professor Hagopian spoke of the phonetic aspect of the question.

Mr. Driver read a paper on "A new contract for the sale of a priesthood in the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukin". The contract (from Wannat-as-Sa'dūn) threw light on details of the cult.

Professor Langdon read a paper, sent by Professor Luckenbill, on "Earliest Indo-Europeans". A connexion was traced between the Indo-European movement into Asia Minor and the subsequent southerly Hittite and Hyksos movements. A short discussion was opened by Dr. Daiches. Professor Hagopian spoke of the interest of this subject from the Armenian point of view.

*Thursday, 19th July.*—10 a.m. Dr. Daiches read a paper entitled "The Song of Deborah: a New Interpretation". Verses 1–11 became intelligible, if understood not of the war against the Canaanites, but of Deborah's work as Judge. Dr. Gaster, Dr. Pinches, and Professor Kirchow congratulated Dr. Daiches on his solution.

Mr. Friedlander read a paper, "Facts and Theories relating to Hebrew Music," treating firstly of the melody of the Song of Moses (which resembled that of the Song of the water-

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carriers of Mecca, published by Burckhardt), and secondly of a derivation of early Christian chant from the synagogue. The discussion was mainly concerned with the musical notation of a newly discovered MS. of the Song of Songs.

*Friday, 20th July.*—10 a.m. Dr. Blackman read a paper on "The Egyptian and Babylonian Ceremonies of the 'Opening of the Mouth'", showing the similarity of these rituals for the consecration of statues. If there was a genetic connexion, they probably had a common source, perhaps (to apply a theory of Professor Rostovtseff) North Syrian. Professor Langdon, Professor Breasted, and Dr. Daiches spoke in support of a connexion. Commander Trumper observed that ritual temple-sweeping (alluded to in the paper) still took place at Mecca.

Dr. Pinches read a paper entitled "Early Babylonian Songs in praise of Pap-due-garra". The text partially resembled the Epic of Ninib. Discussion followed (by Dr. Daiches, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Langdon) on the Babylonian terms for "song", and the Hebrew parallels.

Professor Breasted gave an account of "the work of the Oriental Institute of Chicago", explaining the method, scope, and present achievements of two undertakings: the compilation of a complete Assyrian Dictionary, and the collation of the "coffin-texts" of the Book of the Dead.

Professor Clay read a paper on "Migrations and Religious Influences". Foreign conquest had small influence on the religion of the conquered. Religion followed *migration*. The direction of migration was from Amurru to Babylonia (and Egypt), not conversely. Consequently, Babylonian religion was influenced by Amorite, not conversely.

Finally, Professor Langdon announced the discovery, among the tablets acquired by Mr. Weld-Blundell for the Ashmolean, of a cylinder from Larsa giving the king list, almost complete, from the creation to the dynasty of Isin. Special points were indicated. The communication excited great interest, and many questions were asked.



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## The Indian Section (C)

The first meeting, held on Tuesday, 17th July, was opened by the Chairman, Professor A. A. Macdonell, with a brief address of welcome to the members of the section. The paper announced by Sir George Grierson on "The pronunciation of the Sanskrit Visarga with gramophone illustrations" could not be read owing to Sir George's illness.

On Wednesday, 18th July, Dr. F. W. Thomas read a paper entitled "Four Sanskrit Plays", dealing with four comic dramas, which have recently been printed for the first time in Madras. The paper, which treated the literary and philological aspect of these plays at considerable length, was much appreciated by a large audience. An interesting discussion, in which M. Sylvain Lévi and Dr. Sten Konow took part, followed the reading of the paper. The attendance list showed that at least thirty members of the section were present on this day.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson delivered a short lecture, with illustrations, entitled "Studies in Manichæism". In the discussion that followed Mr. Mead and others participated.

Mr. R. P. Dewhurst read a paper dealing with "Words in the Avesta beginning with the letter F". A short discussion followed in which Professor Williams Jackson and Dr. Thomas took part.

At noon Dr. Sten Konow read a paper before the combined sections A and C on "A Royal Era in Ancient Khotan". Professor Rapson and M. Paul Pelliot joined in the searching discussion that followed.

*Thursday, 19th July.*—In the absence of the Chairman, Professor Macdonell, Dr. Jarl Charpentier presided. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee read a paper on the custom of Wergild in ancient India. In the ensuing short discussion Mr. Mead and Mr. Sakaki took part.

Mr. P. J. Thoma delivered an extempore summary of a very lengthy paper which he had written on the subject of "Early Indian Christianity", and which dealt chiefly with the bearing

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of the traditions, still existing among Christians and non-Christians in the south of India, on the question of the Apostolic foundation of the early Christian Church in Southern India. A lengthy and animated discussion followed, in the course of which the Chairman, Mr. Enthoven, Sir John Wallis, and several other speakers participated.

*Friday, 20th July.*—Mr. Justin E. Abbott read a paper on "The historic value of an early account of Shivaji contained in a Portuguese work written in 1695", which was chiefly devoted to refuting the view expressed by a recent historian of Shivaji to the effect that this Portuguese work is of little or no historical value. Mr. Richards and Mr. Thoma took part in the short discussion that followed.

A paper on "The Orientation of the dead in India", written by Dr. William Crooke, was read on his behalf by the Secretary of the section, Mr. Dewhurst. This paper, which contained a wealth of facts relating to the anthropology of all parts of India, gave rise to an interesting discussion in the course of which the Chairman, Mr. Edwardes, Mr. Enthoven, and others spoke.

The proceedings of the section closed with a very interesting lecture, accompanied by lantern slides, delivered by Mr. E. H. Walsh on the subject of Indian punch-marked coins. The numerous marks on the obverse and reverse sides of these very ancient coins were analyzed and discussed with great skill and acumen by the lecturer. At the end of the lecture two appreciative speeches were made by Professors Rapson and de la Vallée Poussin, criticizing the conclusions arrived at by the lecturer.

## The Islamic Section (D)

The delegates assembled on Tuesday afternoon, 17th July, when speeches of welcome were made by the Chairman (Professor Margoliouth) and Professor Browne. The meetings of the section were well attended. Amongst the distinguished foreign Orientalists who read papers or took part in discussion

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were Professors Jean Denis, Massignon, and Minorsky (France), Professor Christensen (Denmark), and Professor Wensinck (Holland). As most of the papers will probably be published later, it is unnecessary to give full details concerning them here, and what follows is only a bare record of the work done in the section. On Wednesday morning Dr. Nicholson gave an account of *Fihi má fihi*, a compilation of sayings and discourses attributed to Jaláluddin Rúmi, on which some interesting remarks were made by Professor Massignon. Mr. A. H. Harley described a manual of Ṣúfism by Zaynuddín al-Anṣári entitled *al-Futúḥát al-iláhiyya* (Brockelmann, vol. ii, p. 100, No. 15). Professor Browne read a short paper on a newly discovered Persian translation of the well-known Arabic History *al-Fakhri*, and pointed out that the translation of the last third of the book considerably amplifies the original. Professor V. Minorsky, who was accidentally prevented from reading the communication announced under his name, contributed a paper on "The Turkish dialects in Persian, with particular reference to the Khalaji dialect"; and Capt. Creswell concluded the morning's work with an admirable lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on his archæological researches in the citadel of Cairo. On Thursday, as Mr. E. J. Holmyard was unable to read his promised paper on "The Beginnings of Arabic Chemistry", the whole time of the session was available for Mr. Krenkow's communications on "The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography" and "The study of early Arabic poetry in the present day". This led to an interesting discussion, in the course of which the hope was expressed that Professor Bevan would undertake an edition of the *Díwán* of Jarír. On Friday the proceedings began with Professor Guillaume's paper, entitled "Some Debates between Christian and Muslim Doctors", on a polemical work (*mujádala*) ascribed to Abú Qurra, the Christian Bishop of Ḥarrán, which Professor Guillaume, who hopes to edit it before long, thinks is certainly genuine, though in the ensuing discussion Dr. Gaster was inclined to take a less favourable view. A suggestive and

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closely reasoned paper by Mr. F. W. Buckler offered a new interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579, and the programme was completed by Mr. R. P. Dewhurst, who set forth some of the results of his studies in Arabic and Persian prosody, giving special attention to the poems of Mutanabbi, Sa'di, and Ḥáfiẓ. It will not be out of place to add that the thoughtful hospitality of the Chairman provided members of the section with opportunities of social intercourse which were much appreciated by those who took advantage of them.

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# OBITUARY NOTICE

## Sir Henry Howorth

By the death of Sir Henry Howorth the Society loses a vice-president and one of its most distinguished members. He was a man of extraordinary capacity, of wide learning, and varied attainments, and his labours in the field of history and ethnography brought him the well-deserved honours of a knighthood in 1892 and the Fellowship of the Royal Society in the following year.

He was born in Lisbon in 1842. Educated at Rossall School, he afterwards studied law, and in 1886 (and again in 1892 and 1895) was elected M.P. for South Salford. In 1899 he was made a Trustee of the British Museum.

His extraordinary versatility is shown in his numerous writings. His three best-known books are *The History of the Mongols* (1876), *The Mammoth and the Flood* (1887), and *The Glacial Nightmare* (1893), but his contributions to science began as far back as 1868, and for many years he wrote long letters to *The Times* on political questions. Through his active interest in archæology (especially Oriental), numismatics, and geology, he was a member of many scientific societies, and at one time was president of the Archæological Institute and the Viking Society. There is a very full and appreciative memoir of him in *The Times* of 17th July, of more than a column in length.

Those who knew him personally will always remember his geniality, his hospitality, his fund of vitality, and his power as a *raconteur*. One of the most striking points in his character was his capacity for appreciation of others and his unstinted expression of it. He was dowered both with a lively sense of humour and a keen sympathy, and the rare charm of these two qualities brought him a large circle of friends who loved him for them.

R. C. T.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(August–October, 1923)

The executors of the late Sir Henry Howorth have kindly presented thirty-six works from his library to the Society; Professor Jadunath Sarkar five of his works on being made an Honorary Member; and Dr. Sten Konow Volume I of *Acta Orientalia*.

The Librarian would be grateful if members could either present or sell the following, which are needed for the Library:

Ceylon Br. R.A.S. Journal. Vol. vii, No. 23.
N. China Br R.A.S. Journal. Vol. v, 1868.
China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.
Numismatic Chronicle. Vols. ii, iii, xvii, xix, and new ser. vol. iii.
Hakluyt Society, Rundall's Collection of early documents on Japan. 1850.
Temple, Legends of the Panjâb. Vol. iii.
Bulletin de l'École Fr. d'Extrême Orient. Vol. xvii, pt. 2.
Vienna Oriental Journal. Vols. i, ii. Vol. xxix, pts. 3, 4.
Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.
Zeits. für Assyriologie. Band 22, pts. 3, 4.
Zeits. der Deut. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.

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The following sixteen members have been elected during the quarter:—

Sir F. A. Aglen.
Mr. G. H. Bushnell.
Babu S. Dass.
Babu D. C. Dutta, M.A.
Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. M. H. Hosain, Ph.D.
Mr. C. T. Keller.
Mr. W. U. Khan.
Mr. G. Kitching.
Mr. J. H. M. Moorhead.
Mr. T. S. N. Ray, M.Sc.
Col. H. W. R. Senior.
Mr. B. M. Sharma, B.Sc., M.A.
Mr. P. B. D. Sharman, B.A.
Khan Bahadur A. M. A. Sufi.
Rev. E. J. Thompson, B.A.
Mr. L. H. Wah.

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Dr. J. C. Ferguson, the Rev. J. C. MacDonald, and Mr. J. P. Mead have resigned, and the following members have died during the quarter: Dr. Witton Davies, Mr. Fanshawe, Sir Henry Howorth, and Colonel Rivett-Carnac.

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*Lectures*

Mr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, gave an interesting lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society on 9th October.

He said that part of the ground of his paper had already been covered by him in the lecture which he delivered on his excavations of 1919 at Ur and Tell el-Obeid for the British Museum during the Centenary Celebrations of the Society in July. On this present occasion he wished also first to describe more particularly the early antiquities from el-Obeid and Shahrein in relation to similar remains, especially pottery, from Samarra, Susa, Anau in Turkestan, Muhammad-abad near Tuz in N.E. Persia, and other parts of the "Near East", including possibly Thessaly; and, secondly, to draw attention to some points of resemblance between the early Sumerian culture of Ur and el-Obeid and that of Old Kingdom Egypt, several of which had already been pointed out by him in an article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* last year, but had not yet been put before the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Hall showed slides of the prehistoric pottery he described and of the copper lions and other works of Sumerian art from el-Obeid in the British Museum, discovered by him in 1919, illustrating the comparisons drawn by him.

Mr. W. Foster speaks on "The Pictures of the Society" on 13th November, and on 11th December Lieut.-Col. Shakespear lectures on "Manipur, Past and Present".

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A small unset diamond was found early in September in the Lecture Room. If it belongs to any member, application should be made to the Secretary.

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# PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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THE

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

# 1923

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1.

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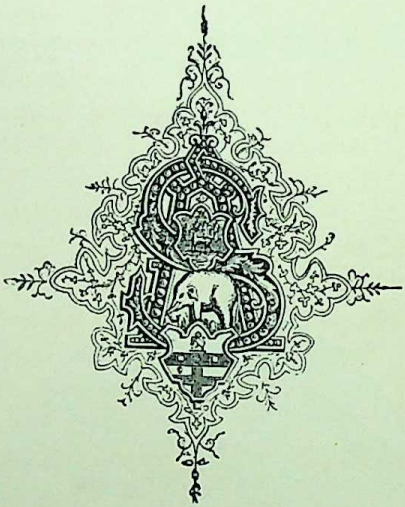

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OF

## *GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND*

**With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology**

**January** **1924**

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1924

PART I.—JANUARY

# Notes on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

THE publication of vol. viii, pt. ii of Sir George Grierson's monumental work, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, which contains a section on the Shina (ṣiṇá) language, and the appearance of a short but valuable critique of it by Dr. the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of July, 1921, are immediately responsible for the present essay on Shina phonetics.

In his article Dr. Grahame Bailey rightly states that many points of Shina grammar and pronunciation still require elucidation, and two questions of pronunciation in particular he claims to settle.

The first of these is the question of the existence of real cerebrals, which Sir George Grierson, judging from the discrepancies existing in the records on which he had to work, had called in question; the second relates to the question of aspirates.

During the past twelve months, subject to prolonged interruptions, I have spent a considerable amount of time



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in studying on the spot the Gilgit dialect of Shina, and latterly I have devoted special attention to the question of its phonetics. I can lay no claim to being an expert trained phonetician, but I have some acquaintance with the theory of phonetics, and I have tried to make up for my deficiencies by the exercise of care and patience and the preservation of an open mind.

The result has been that, while agreeing with Dr. Grahame Bailey in many respects, I am inclined to query certain of his statements and conclusions, and I think it can only serve the cause of truth if I state my views for what they are worth. They will both widen and define the basis of doubt and disagreement, and future students and scholars will be the more easily able to adjudicate.

As the question of Shina phonetics has never been fully dealt with as a whole, I take the opportunity of traversing the entire ground. The examination is necessarily cursory, but it may suffice to bring to light other points of interest or contention.

To explain the exact character of the present study, and enable the student to judge the use to which its results—assuming them to be correct in themselves—can legitimately be put, it is necessary to offer some preliminary remarks regarding the material on which it is based.

Shina is the unwritten language of groups of people who are still to a considerable extent isolated, and in the past have been even more so. It is natural that it should exhibit itself in different dialects. Dr. Grahame Bailey mentions five which he has studied, and there are more, for instance "Punyālī".

These are main dialects corresponding to major geographical and ethnological differences, but subdivision is carried down much further. Of the village communities grouped in the small stretch of ground, about 3 miles by 1 mile, which constitutes Gilgit proper, I am assured

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that no two speak exactly similarly, and from my own observation I can well believe this. I have worked with several local men, and have found marked variation in their pronunciation and some difference in vocabulary.

Where such differences are universal it is impossible to obtain any workable form which will embrace them all, and, in the absence of a wide knowledge and large experience of the language, it is equally impossible to work out any sort of average, which can be treated as the standard language.

This being so, the best course seems to me to be to confine one's attention to one type of speech, or in practice to the speech of one man. This individual should of course be selected as one who talks his language well and clearly and in a form which is generally approved.

Such a man after some experimenting I found in Sarfarāz, son of Bakhtawār, of the Amperi village of Gilgit proper. He belongs to the Kachatei (kʌčʌtɛ.i), the leading section of the Yashkūn community of Gilgit. He is a man of marked intelligence and of some education, being able to read and write Hindustani well, and apart from this he has the linguistic sense well developed. He is strongly interested in his own language, and prides himself on the correctness of his pronunciation and idiom, which he claims reproduce those of the older generation of the upper class, materially untainted by the foreign influence of the Kashmiri shopkeepers of the Gilgit bazaar, and the Dogra and Gurkha sepoys and the Indian officials and clerks of the Gilgit headquarters. I believe his claims to be justified. He has the soul of a purist, rejecting a Hindustani word where there is a Shina equivalent, and his pronunciation emphasizes, rather than mitigates, the main phonetic peculiarities of the language. Accordingly, when after a few months I had discovered him, I made

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him my chief medium for acquiring a knowledge of Shina.

My procedure in such cases is to eschew the assistance of all existing books and work out the grammatical forms and structure from the beginning. When I have obtained in this way sufficient knowledge of the elements and essential vocabulary of the language I then have folk tales repeated to me, which I take down verbatim. These show the language in natural operation and afford reliable material for the exact study of its morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. The evil effects of prejudice and theory on the part of the informant are largely eliminated, for he is prone to forget his little peccadilloes under the hypnotic influence of his own flow of talk.

By repudiating the help of pioneer books several dangers are avoided. One starts unhampered by initial prejudices or actual errors, for the sight of the printed page, when it precedes first-hand knowledge, exercises a subtile influence on the mind which it requires some effort to discount; and the printed page is frequently incorrect, especially in regard to the representation of sounds. The investigator cannot hope to prevent the entry of error into his early work, but these errors then are his own, unsupported by extraneous authority, and so more amenable to subsequent correction.

At a later stage a study of the books may be turned to excellent account, for it affords a check on one's own work and suggests points which have escaped one's attention.

Having given an idea of the general lines on which I have worked at Shina, I have only to add that the present article is the outcome of a re-examination of my material from the point of view of phonetics. The examination has been both extensive and detailed, but the scheme of sounds now given is based essentially on the speech of one man, the above-mentioned Sarfarāz

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(hereafter "Sf."). Some account has indeed been taken of variants within the Gilgit dialect, but where this is not explicitly stated all sounds given are to be attributed to this one source.

I want to make it clear that no claim of universality is made for the following statement, even within the limited sphere of the "Gilgit dialect". I would further state, to avoid all chance of misunderstanding, that phonetics are *not* my hobby. I regard them as an unmitigated but inevitable nuisance.

Readers happier and more skilled than myself I would beg not to allow themselves to be irritated by the dogmatism and indecision between which a tyro is prone to oscillate.

Since writing the above I have gone through the whole of the draft of this article with Gushpūr Shāh Rāis Khān (Š.R.), eldest surviving son of the late 'Ali Dād Khān, Raja of Gilgit. He is a man of intelligence and some education, and, as the most prominent member of the ruling family of Gilgit, his diction may be regarded as an unimpeachable standard.

I append a note at the end of the article stating the chief results of this re-examination based on his speech and help, and it will suffice here to mention that in every case I was confirmed in the conclusions I had already arrived at and recorded. Further, Shāh Rāis's pronunciation is extraordinarily similar to Sarfarāz's, which is evidence that I was well advised in the choice of my first and chief informant.

For the present article I have adopted the symbols favoured by the International Phonetic Association—with hesitation and reluctance, for the human being clings to his accustomed symbolism, while his typewriter is a slave to the letter. A few deviations from the I.P.A. system, as in the use of č, j, y, and š, will be remarked, but they are sufficiently explained in the course of the

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text. The stress accent is represented by a vertical stroke inserted before the vowel of the syllable on which it falls.

The following contractions may be noticed :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | = | bo.iki | *to be, become* |
| d. | = | do.iki | *to give* |
| t. | = | to.iki<br>tho.iki | *to do, make* |

## Vowels

1. The most striking general features of the vowel system in Shina are :

(1) The consistency with which almost every quality of vowel occurs in longer or shorter quantities.

(2) The existence of ultra-long vowels of most qualities.

(3) The existence of final vowels so weak that it is difficult positively to assert their presence, or of final vowels which may be dropped.

2. As regards (1), the existence of longs and shorts of each quality of vowel presents some difficulty to the Englishman who is in the habit of equating longs or semi-longs of one quality with shorts of another, as in the case of

the sound of i in *machine* and *chin*
the vowel sounds of *boot* and *put*
the vowel sounds of *sought* and *sot*

which are usually represented by iː, i; uː, u; and ɔː, ɔ respectively.

This confusion is acquiesced in even by phoneticians, though of course they correctly *describe* the sounds; cf. *The Pronunciation of English*, 2nd ed., 1914, by Daniel Jones.

In Shina the existence of a long and short of the i of *machine*, and of at least a short of the i in *chin*, necessitates for exact rendering the use of different symbols for the two qualities of i.

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3. As regards (2), long vowels tend to become diphthongal, but pure very long vowels occur, as in :

'a::lo *thence*; yo::no *winter*; pu::ç̣ *son.*

4. As regards (3), I am aware of only one or two cases :

niš *or* niši *is not*
buš buši *is not known*

Here it is difficult to affirm that there is a final vowel, but the š does not seem to stop dead.

Possibly these present examples of final unvoiced vowels the existence of which Dr. Grahame Bailey remarks.

In other cases a final vowel is optional, as in

the dative ending -tɛ, -tə, -t
the nominative ending -sɛ, -sə, -s

Some persons affect one form, some another. The same remarks apply to the final vowel of the 3rd person forms of certain tenses of the verb, and the

locative ending -r beside -ro

and to kɪri beside kɪr *below*
a:l beside a:l$^{e}$, a:li *there*

and others.

5. Dr. Grahame Bailey gives the forms :

thoik$^{i}$, khoik$^{i}$, thyōn$^{u}$, khojōn$^{u}$

I do not know what he intends to convey by the final vowel in the air. As regards the first two, which are infinitives, I have heard only

-o.ɪki *or* -oɪkɪ

for the infinitive suffix.

The last two are 1st person plural future tense forms for which I have only heard

-o:n, -o:$^{ə}$n

without any final vowel.

The following are the *principal vowel sounds* in Shina :

6. i:, i. Approximately the vowel sound of *keen*, either long or short, as in French

" pi:r " (pire) and " pi " (pis)

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7. ɪ. Approximately the vowel sound of *pin*. It frequently replaces the short of the last sound i, especially when it is unstressed.

It also tends to appear before š and s.

It may also follow an e or ɛ.

I have not attempted to distinguish ɪ from i throughout this article. Ordinarily i in the text is to be pronounced i; final i is normally i.

*Note.*—Sf. does not appear to possess this ɪ sound; his shortest and lightest i's all appear to be of the i quality.

*Examples*—

| | |
|---|---|
| ni:lo | *blue, green* |
| ki:no | *black* |
| tiki | *bread* |
| tilɛn | *saddle* |
| čino.ɪki | *to cut* |
| čɪvi: | *put down* |
| gʲinimɪsis \|\| gʲmimɪsɪs | *I was taking* (fem.) |
| mɪšto \|\| mišto | *good* |
| nɪš \|\| nuš | *is not* |
| ɪrga:tak | *round about* |
| ɪšpi:t | *lucerne* |
| šɪšɪč | *on the head* |
| be.ɪn | *he is*, etc. |
| -o.ɪki *or* -o.ɪkɪ | the infinitive suffix |

8. e:, e. Approximately the French *é* as in *été*, etc. The sound may be long or short. When long, however, or stressed, it tends to become diphthongal

$e^i$, $e^I$, $e^ə$

as in de:$^i$ *he will give*. It is most often final; I have few examples of it used medially or initially.

oke:ši *slope up* may be mentioned.

9. ɛ:, ɛ. Approximately the French *è* as in *père* (pɛ:ɪ). It may be decidedly long as in

lɛ:l *known*, opposed to lɛl *blood*

čɛ:$^i$ *key* „ „ čɛ$^i$ *woman*

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*Examples*—

| | |
|---|---|
| ɛsɛ | *of him*, etc. |
| de.inɛ | *thou givest* (fem.) |

It is frequently difficult, however, to determine whether a vowel is e or ɛ, which probably means that there is a common vowel lying between these two. But I think there is also actual interchange.

10. æ. Approximately the vowel sound of the English *cat*. With Sf. at any rate this is a rare, if not doubtful sound. It may be heard in

| | |
|---|---|
| æčˌi | *eye* |

and its derivatives, and sometimes in

| | |
|---|---|
| mæɲyo | *hip* (otherwise maɲyo) |

and

| | |
|---|---|
| æčˌu:uni | *hole* |

11. ə. The "mixed" vowel sound of e in English *water*. It is an indeterminate sound, usually occurring in unstressed syllables, and replacing ʌ especially before r.

*Examples*—

| | |
|---|---|
| ʌnə | *these* |
| čivi:ənən | *they place* |
| hərʊm | *I shall take away* |
| pašərʊm | *I shall show* |

12. a. I.P.A. ɑ. Approximately the sound of a in English *father*. It may be short, long, or ultra-long. When short and unstressed it is apt to degenerate into ʌ, or else it is developed from ʌ when stressed.

*Examples*—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| short | parujo.iki | (*or* pʌr-) | *to hear* |
| | maro.iki | (*or* mʌr-) | *to kill* |
| | pašum | (*or* pʌš-) | *I see* |
| long | ja:rɛ | | *brothers* |
| | ča:kʊr | | *young man* |
| | ma:lo | | *father* |
| ultra-long | a::ɲ | | *here* |
| | ja::k | | *pity* |
| | ta::to | | *hot* |

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13. å. I.P.A. ɔ: (?). Approximately the initial vowel sound of the English *awful*. This sound is of rare and irregular occurrence. I have only met it as a fairly long sound. Sf. admits it in

| | |
|---|---|
| **årə** | *without* |
| **odår** | *mortar* (for braying rice, etc.) |
| **yår** | *mill* |

Otherwise it occurs in the speech of some for **o**.

e.g. **kå.i** || **ko.i** *cap*
**kåᵉr** || **koᵉr** *virgin*

14. ʌ. Approximately the vowel sound of the English *but*. It is apt sometimes to be confused with **a**, see § 12 above.

15. ɔ. I.P.A. ɔ (ɔ̀ ?). Approximately the vowel sound of the English *on*. It is rare. I have recorded

| | |
|---|---|
| **ɕ̌on** | *leisure* |
| **ɔdår** | *a mortar* |

but in both cases Sf. pronounces a short, not very tense **o**.

16. o:, o. Approximately the sound of the first part of the **o**ᵘ diphthong in the English *coat*, **koᵘt**, Scots **kot**. The sound in Shina is, however, I think, tenser than the English **o** and in certain cases both closer and tenser. It occurs short, long, and ultra-long.

*Examples*—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| short | **bodo** | *sacrifice* |
| | **-o** | ending of the nominative singular and genitive plural when not stressed, as in |
| | | **a:po** *a little* |
| | | **kilai.o** *of female ibexes* |
| long | **bo:do** | *much* |
| | **go:t** | *house* |
| | **to:m** | *own* |
| ultra-long | **mo::s** | *meat* |
| | **o::šo** | *guest* (more correct, **au:šo** ?) |
| | **po::ŋko** | *footstep* |

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It is of course difficult in this and other similar cases to draw any definite dividing line between the different grades. The vowel length may vary owing to difference of individual pronunciation, or to stress of emphasis, the general tendency of stress of any kind being in all cases to increase length.

17. u:, u. Approximately the vowel sound of the English *boot*. It occurs short, long, and ultra-long.

*Examples—*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| short | final unstressed -u | |
| | unstressed -u in general | |
| | duku:ri | *hut* |
| | dugu:no | *double* |
| long | ku:ro | *strong* |
| | ju:k | *wood* |
| | ju:ᵘk t. | *to touch* |
| ultra-long | pu::ç̣ | *son* |
| | ju::k | *pain* |
| | ku::ro | *hoof* |

u is sometimes preceded by a y-sound, as it is in the English *due*, dyu.

| | |
|---|---|
| dibʸu.o | *forty* |
| hyu:.o, hi:wo | *heart* |
| minɛlʸu:.o | *beautiful* |

18. ʊ. I.P.A. ʊ (?) is approximately the vowel sound of the English *put, look*. I do not think it occurs finally.

*Examples—*

| | |
|---|---|
| sʊm | *earth, ground* |
| mʊzʊl (muzɛl) | *pestle, pounder* |
| ʊdu: | *dust* |
| tʊr | *whip* |
| -ʊt | dative plural suffix |
| šadərʊt | *to servants* |

19. ü. I.P.A. y or Y. Approximately the vowel sound of the German *Füsse* is sometimes heard in words like

čüni yüli

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the feminine forms of

čuno *small*
yu:lo *different*

where the original u is modified by the following i. čini is also heard.

With Sf. the modification, if it occurs, is slight and negligible.

### Diphthongs

20. The principal diphthongs in Shina are ai, ao, and au.

In addition to these, the long vowels

a: e: ɛ: o:

tend to develop into various diphthongs such as

a:ᴧ e:ⁱ, e:ᵊ ɛ:ⁱ, ɛ:ᵊ o:ᵘ, o:ᴧ, o:ᵊ

while i: occasionally gives i:ɪ, i:ᵊ.

Some persons pronounce ɔi for å.i, o:.i. This sound approximates to the diphthong in the English *boycott*.

This diphthongal sound does *not* occur in the Infinitive ending -ˡo:.ɪki in which the o: and the ɪ are kept distinct.

21. ai. I.P.A. ai. Approximately the vowel sound in English *fly*. Finally it tends to develop into ai.i. (An occasional variant is

əi as in Scots *tight*.)

*Examples*—

| | |
|---|---|
| aiʰ | *mouth* |
| ai(.i) | *they* (nom. plur. of o) |
| aiyo | *such* |
| baiya | *both* |
| dai.o.iki | *to burn* (vb. trans.) |
| čai.ī | *bird* |
| a:gai.i | *sky* |
| mu:lai(.i) | *girl* |
| lai.ɪk b. | *to be obtained, procurable* |

22. ao. I.P.A. ɑo. I doubt if this sound occurs except finally, and it is questionable if it is not generally to be regarded as two distinct vowels

a.o, a:.o.

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*Examples*—

| | |
|---|---|
| bʌča:o | *kind of trap* |
| čao t. | *to milk* |
| ispao, ispa:o | *sweet* |
| sao \|\| sɛʷo | *bridge* |
| tʌnao, tana:o | *braid of choga* |
| tsirao | *razor* |

Perhaps also in

| | |
|---|---|
| taotɛ | *skin foot-bandages* |

23. au. I.P.A. ɑu, approximating to the vowel sound of English *how*. It occurs medially and is usually followed by w + a vowel. Finally, it tends to a:u.

*Examples*—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| initial | ausʌt \|\| o:sat | *superior* |
| medial | jauwo | *brother's son* |
| | pl. jau.u:wɛ | |
| | nauwo | *new* |
| | fem. nai.i | |
| | sauwi | *sister's daughter* |
| | sauwɛ \|\| sɛwɛ pl. | *bridges* |
| final | ba:u | *thing* |
| | pl. bawi | |
| | dau | *fatty meat* |
| | nau, na:u | *nine* |

*Examples of Diphthongs developed from Single Vowels*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a:ᴬ | ra:ᴬti | *night* |
| | sā:ᴬti | *with* |
| | ra:ᴬn | *he says* |
| e:i, etc. | le:i | *torch wood* |
| ɛ:i, etc. | tɛ:ənən | *they do* |
| | tɛ:ᵉn (tɛ:n) | *now* |
| o:u, etc. | do:ᴬn | *we shall give* |
| | ko:ᵉr | *virgin* |
| | šo:ᵉm | *spleen* |
| | go:ᵘ | *he went* |
| i:ᴵ, etc. | dī:ɪz | *pit* |
| | (also di:s) | |

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## Vowel Variation

24. There is a considerable amount of variability in the quality of the vowel sounds in Shina words. Even one individual speaker is not constant in his pronunciation, though he usually resents the charge of inconstancy, while the pronunciations of different individuals talking the same main dialect are often considerably divergent.

This makes it difficult to take any record which will give permanent satisfaction.

The incidence of the sentence stress accent has doubtless a good deal to say to this variation. In Shina, as elsewhere, vowels are apt, in the absence of stress, to relapse into less distinctive neighbouring sounds, that is extremes of tenseness, openness or closeness tend to be reduced.

Vowels are also liable to be affected by Assimilation. The following are common equations. All examples are not from Sf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| i = ɪ = ʊ see § 7 | nʊš \|\| nɪš | *is not* |
| e = ɛ | mel \|\| mɛl | *buttermilk* |
| | ʧe.i \|\| ʧɛ.i | *woman* |
| | -e$^{i}$ \|\| -ɛ | suffix of genitive singular |
| ɛ = ɪ = i | kɛrtɛ kɪrtɛ kirtɛ | *downwards* |
| a = ʌ = æ | amʊš \|\| ʌmʊš | *forget* |
| | ʌš \|\| aš | *to-day* |
| | gʌno.iki \|\| gano.iki | *to tie* |
| | ʌʧi \|\| æʧi | *eye* |
| | ʌčo.iki \|\| æčo.iki | *to penetrate* |
| ʌ = ə = ɛ | jʌkʊr \|\| jɛkʊr | *hair* |
| | ʌwe:lu \|\| ɛwe:lu | *year* |
| å = o | kå.i \|\| ko.i | *cap* |
| o = u = ʊ | pu:ʧ \|\| po:ʧ | *son* |
| | amʊš \|\| amu:š | *forget* |
| | joto \|\| jʊto | *chicken* |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| o = u = ʊ | -o ‖ -u | in the termination of nouns and adjectives |
| -ai.i = -e$^{i}$ = -ɛ | wai.i ‖ wɛ.i ‖ we.i | *water* |
| | ja̤wai.i, -e$^{i}$, -ɛ | *of a brother* |
| -ai.$^{ɛ}$ = -ai.i ← -a + ɛ | muša:, gen. mušai:ɛ | *man* |
| | ga, gen. gai.ɛ | *nɑ̈lah* |
| | čʌga, gen. čʌgai.i | *talk* |

## Consonants

25. The following Consonant Sounds occur in Shina:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Plosives* | k | t (*t*) p | g | d (*d*) | b |
| *Fricatives* | [χ] | f [γ] | w, v | | |
| *Sibilants* | s | š z | (ž) | | |
| *Nasals* | ŋ | ɲ n | | | |
| *Liquids* | l | r y | | | |
| *Aspirate* | h | | | | |
| *Compound Sounds* | | č j | pf, | ᵽf | |
| *Cerebral Sounds* | | š ç̌ | (ž) | j̣ | |
| | | (ṭ-) ḍ | | | |
| | | ṇ | | | |
| | | (ṛ) | | | |
| *Aspirates* | kh | th (ph) | (not recorded throughout this article; v. § 84 infra). | | |

## Plosives

*Voiceless.*

26. **K.** Approximates to the sound of **k**, **c** (before **o** and **a**) in English and does not present any practical difficulty.

Its place of production varies considerably from back to front under the influence of adjacent vowel sounds. There is no ultra-velar sound like the Arabic **q** (ق), still less any such strained association as in Arabic "daqīqa" as pronounced by a Persian.

On the other hand, there is no distinctly palatal **k**.

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The "back" vowels in Shina are o, u, and ʊ and the back position of k occurs chiefly in association with them. There is also, I think, an ʌ which is produced further back than the ʌ of the English *but* (is not the ʌ of the English *guglet* more back than that of *but*?), which may be added to the back vowels mentioned above.

a. The following are words in which I diagnose the k as being "back":—

| | |
|---|---|
| koːjən | *inquiry* |
| koːl | *crooked* |
| koːno | *thorn* |
| koːt | *fort* |
| kuːro | *strong* |
| šʊka | *choga* |
| buːkak | *a kind of bean* (the first k) |
| muk | *face* |
| toːk | *mud* (on road) |
| tʊk tʊk t. | *to peck* |

The following are less certain:—

| | |
|---|---|
| kʌčo | *bad* |
| kʌčuːn | *carrot* |
| kʌn | *hill, pass* |
| kaiːaːs | *cotton* |
| bʊlka | *farrier's hammer* |
| daːki | *loins* |

b. The opposite extreme is found where k is accompanied by one of the "front" vowels i, ɪ, ɛ, as in

| | |
|---|---|
| kiːl | *ibex* |
| kɪr | *below* |
| kiːno | *black* |
| ʌkiː | *self* |
| jɛk | *what?* |
| lɪkiːgʌs | *I wrote* |
| miːkə | *urine* |
| gɪk | *flank* |
| tiki | *bread* |

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In these words the position of the k is, I think, somewhat advanced, but from repeated examination I have come to the conclusion that the k's are not really palatal. In a few words a glide ⁱ or y is sometimes inserted between the k and the following front vowel, and at first I assumed that in these the k was necessarily palatal, but this, I now think, is not the fact; the i, y, is in fact a glide between the relatively back k and the front i, ɛ, etc.

Examples are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kɛ *or* kⁱɛ | | *why* |
| kɪn | kʸɪm, kʸɛn (Sf.) | *why not?* |
| kɛn | kʸɛn | *time* |

Perhaps the vowel tends to produce a preceding y for no easily explainable reason, for I have noticed it in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | jʸɛk ‖ jɛk | *what?* |
| also | kⁱo, kyo | *how?* |
| and | pyõ:lo- | *shoulder blade* |

The development of a y sound before u is referred to in § 17 above.

My general conclusion is that while k in Shina varies within certain limits, as it does in English, these limits are not so far apart as to require the use of different symbols.

27. t. In Shina t is normally alveolar. When, however, it occurs initially, immediately followed by r, as tr-, it appears to be more or less dental.

*Examples of* tr-:

| | |
|---|---|
| tra:g | *ruined building* |
| tra:m | *copper* |
| trʌk t. | *to tear* |
| trʌn t. | *to fire* (a gun) |
| trʌŋ | *half* |
| tri:k | *dirty* |
| tro:g b. | *to burst* (of a bud) |

As in the case of k, the place of production is, I think,



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liable to be drawn slightly back by a back vowel, the result being a post-alveolar or palatal t.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thus in | go:t | *house* (when the o: is pronounced far back). |
| | ko:t | *fort* |
| | ku:to | *knee* |
| | mʊt | *fist* |
| and perhaps in | kʌt | *bedstead* |
| | bʌt | *stone* |

In addition to these a number of words have been quoted to me in which an initial t- is said to be produced slightly further back than the normal t. I cannot say that I note any appreciable difference in the sound in ordinary speech, but it is recognized by Shina speakers. The following are examples :—

| | |
|---|---|
| *t*ʌg | *rascal* |
| *t*ʌŋ t. | *to push, shove* |
| *t*ər b. | *to fall* (of leaves) |
| *t*ər t. | *to cut* (wood, etc.) |
| *t*əri: | *polo-ball* |
| *t*e:ro | *crooked* |
| *t*i:n | *a "tin"* |
| *t*ʊru | *wooden vessel* |

Of these *t*ʌg is to be compared with Hind. ṭhʌg,

*t*e:ro „ „ „ ṭe:ṛha

and *t*i:n is the Hind. ṭi:n, English *tin*

This sound does not in my opinion approximate to a Cerebral, nor can it be rightly described as such. See further below, § 71.

For all practical purposes this slight variation from the normal may, I think, be ignored.

28. **p.** The normal p sound in Shina calls for no remark. It does not differ apparently from the English sound. Thus :

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| | |
|---|---|
| paːr | *beyond* |
| puːč̣ | *son* |
| luːpoːɪki | *to light* (lamp, fire, etc.) |
| šiːpi | *forearm* |
| lʌp | *mouthful* |
| lɪp t. | *to fling away* |

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a final sound is p or b. Thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| čərʌp *or* čərʌb t. | *to cut, trim* |
| dərʌp „ dərʌb | *wooden trap for chikor* |

Perhaps the sound is an unvoiced b, but more probably it is p, as there seems to be a general tendency for words in Shina to end in a voiceless, in preference to a voiced consonant. Final p for b appears in loan-words. Thus:

saːɪp for ṣaːḥɪb
aiːɪp „ ʻaːɪb
jiːp cf. Hind. jiːbh
cf. duːt, also duːd cf. Hind. duːdh

P replaces final f in kuːlʊp *lock* for Arabic qʊlf.

*Voiced.*

29. g. Follows the general analogy of k. It may be more or less advanced in the guttural position, but it does not become palatal nor ultra-velar.

In some cases it may, like k, be followed by a y glide, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| gyɛ ‖ gɛ | *having gone* |
| gyɛn plur. gyɪmaːɪɛ | *wife* |

There is some uncertainty as regards final -k and -g. Some individuals, including Sf., appear practically to reject final g altogether:

| | |
|---|---|
| dok b. ‖ doːg b. | *to meet* |
| kiːk ← P. χiːg | *inflated skin for raft* |
| prik d. ‖ prig d. | *to jump* |
| traːk ‖ traːg | *ruined building* |
| troːk b. ‖ troːg b. | *to open* (of bud) |

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30. **d.** The normal Shina **d** is alveolar and does not call for any special remark.

Final **d** is either non-existent or rare in Shina.

There is a **d** which is produced slightly further back than the normal **d**. It corresponds to post-alveolar **t**. I think I can detect a slight difference, but it is not of practical significance.

The following, marked *d*, may be cited on the authority of Sf. :—

| | |
|---|---|
| *d*a: t. | *to take up on the shoulders* |
| but, dɑ: fɛro.ɪki | *to overturn* |
| *d*ʌdʌŋ | *teeth-chattering* |
| *d*ʌdər | *tumbled mass of boulders* |
| but, dʌdər b. | *to shiver* |
| *d*ʌm bɛ wa: | *come along all together* |
| but, du dʌm | *twice* |
| *d*a:ki | *loins, waist* |
| *d*idi:ŋ | *hard, smooth ground* |
| *d*o:ko | *hole in the ground* |
| *d*ʊk b., *d*ok b. | *to meet* |
| but, do:k | *gum* |
| *d*uku:ri | *hut, shelter* |

Apart from this *d*, a decided cerebral **ḍ** exists. See below, § 69.

31. **b.** Shina **b** calls for no special remark. As has already been stated, it is doubtful if **b** occurs finally, while medially it occurs but sparingly in native Shina words.

Medially it sometimes alternates with **w, v.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| E.g. | ʌba:to (Sf.) | *slack, lazy* |
| | ʌbʌte:$^{i}$ \|\| ʌwʌte:$^{i}$ | *slackness* |
| | čɪbo.ɪki \|\| čɪvo:.ɪki (Sf.) | *to place* |

*Examples of* **b** :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| initial | ba:li | *string* |
| | bʌno.ɪki | *to put on* (clothes) |
| | bilɛ̀n | *medicine, gunpowder* |
| | bo:la | (head of) *polo stick* |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| medial | bʌbʌlá b. | *to float* |
| | bʊbu:lo | *lukewarm* |
| | dʌbo:n | *master* |
| | dʊbo.iki | *to be unable* |
| | gʌbu:n | *bottom* |

Medial **m** in loan-words is liable to be converted into **b**, but this is not considered correct :

E.g. **gʊba:n** || **gʊma:n** *suspicion, belief*

cf. the obviously earlier borrowing

**lʌbʌn** *skirt* which may be referred to P. **da:mʌn**, and again cf. **Afγ. lʌmʌn.**

## Fricatives

*Voiceless.*

32. **χ**. The voiceless guttural spirant as in Scots *loch*. This sound does not appear to be native to Shina.

Doubtful instances are :

**χʌlawo.iki** *to make dough into balls*

**mʊχi.a:n** *verandah*

In the former, however, **χ** tends to pass into **h**; thus **hʌlʌwʊmʊs**, and in the latter it alternates with **k mʊkʰi.a:n.** It is possible that both words are of foreign origin :

**mʊχi.a:n** may be equated with Khowār **mʊχu.ɛn.**

In loan-words **χ** is frequently retained, as the Shina-speaker is capable of pronouncing it, but generally it is transmuted into **k**. Some allege that there is a difference between **k**, *ex* **χ**, and ordinary **k**, but I doubt it.

*Examples—*

| | |
|---|---|
| **a:kʊn** \|\| **a:χʊn** | *akhund, mulla* |
| **kʌt** \|\| **χʌt** | *letter* |
| **kaiya:l** \|\| **χaiya:l** | *thought, intention* |
| **ko:ni** = **χu:ni** } **kʊnda:r** = **χu:nda:r** } | *murderer* |
| **kʊš t.** \|\| **χʊš t.** | *to like, approve* |
| **kʊša:n** \|\| **χʊšʰa:n** | *happy* |

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but usually

| | |
|---|---|
| **mištə χair χairiyat hʌna?** | *is all well?* (stock phrase for "how do you do?") |
| **mʌχmʌl** | *velvet* |

33. **f.** This sound is somewhat difficult to deal with. It is doubtful if pure **f** ever occurs *initially* as distinguished from the very common sound which is preceded by a more or less distinct sound of **p** and which may be represented by **pf** or **ᵖf**.

This **f** sound is replaced by some by aspirated **p**, i.e. **ph** or **pʰ**, while by others it is pronounced almost like a pure **f**.

Medially pure **f** occurs in a few words:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| E.g. | **bʌfu:r** | *down* of ibex or ducks |
| | **lʌfa:** | *pace, step* |
| | **nifai.o.iki** | *to arrive* |
| and in **ma:fɛr** beside **ma:pɛr** | | *middle-aged, elderly person* |

It is also found in loan-words.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| E.g. | **kʌfʌn** | *shroud* |
| | **sʌfa:** | *clean* |

I know of no case of final **f** in a Shina word.

For the discussion of **ᵖf** see below, § 54.

*Voiced.*

34. **γ.** The voiced guttural spirant as in German "Tage". This, again, like **χ**, is not a sound native to Shina, though the following two examples have been quoted to me:

| | |
|---|---|
| **hi:n ərzʌm be:in** | *the snow gives under foot* |
| **γʊl** | *fine broken straw,* or *straw dust* (chaff?) left after winnowing |

**γ** may be preserved by individuals in loan-words, but it is ordinarily changed to **g**, or when final to **k**.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thus: | **ka:gʌz ← ka:γʌz** | *paper, letter* |
| | **gaib ← γaib** | *invisible* |
| | **gʊla:m ← γʊla:m** | *slave* |
| | **bʌge:r ← bʌγair** | *without* |
| | **ba:lɛk ← ba:lɪγ** | *adult* |

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(Sf. says ɣaibi: *hidden*)

kʌlte *mistake, error, lie* seems to be an acclimatized form of Arabic ɣʌlʌṭ, ɣʌlʌṭi.

kʌlte rai.o:.iki is the regular expression for *to lie.*

35. δ. I do not think this sound, the *th* of the English *this*, exists in Shina. I have once or twice used the symbol, but have always eventually had to change it to d or l.

36. w, v. These sounds, approximating to the English w and v respectively, both occur in Shina.

The ordinary sound is w, not, I think, so much rounded as in English, and v, as far as my observations have gone, occurs only in a few instances in association with i or ɪ. Some persons use only w.

Neither of these sounds occurs finally.

*Examples*—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| v. | vi.o:.iki | *to throw, spread, etc.* |
| | vi.ajo:iki | *to be open* |
| | čivo:.iki; imper. čivi: | *to place, set down* |
| | (also with some speakers čɪbo:.iki) | |
| w. | wʌlo:.iki | *to bring* |
| | wai.i, we:.i | *water* |
| | wai.o:.iki | *to come* |
| | ʌwa | *yes* |
| | ʌwajo:.iki | *to be necessary* |
| | ʌwe:lu, ɛwe:lu | *year* |
| | šəwa:rm | *polo ground* |

w also frequently occurs as a glide:

| | |
|---|---|
| bawi: plur. of bau | *thing* |
| jʌwɛt dat. of ja: | *brother* |
| sɛwi (Sf.) \|\| sauwi plur. of sɛʷo \|\| sao | *bridge* |
| ṣɛwo (Sf.) \|\| šau.o | *blind* |
| šũ:wi plur. of šũ: | *dog* |

Medial w/v alternating with b has been mentioned above, § 31.

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## Sibilants

37. Voiceless **s** in Shina is alveolar.

Voiceless **š** is palatal. There is also a cerebral **ṣ**. The two sounds are discussed further on, §§ 59–62.

Voiced **z** is the voiced equivalent of **s**.

Voiced **ž** is similarly the voiced equivalent of **š**. It is used by some to replace **j (dž)**, or as an alternative to it. Other speakers, including Sf., do not use this reduced sound at all, but always the full **j (dž)**.

There is also a cerebral **ẓ**, to which the same remarks apply. It corresponds to the cerebral **ḍ (ḍž)**. These sounds are discussed fully further on, §§ 66–8.

Here it is only necessary to note a few points regarding **s** and **z**.

Final **s** is sometimes found corresponding to medial **z**.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **mo:s** | *meat* | locative | **mo:zər** |
| **ma:s** | *month* | nom. pl. | **ma:zi** |
| **ba:s** | *halt for the night* | gen. **ba:zeⁱ** | pl. **ba:zi** |

On the other hand, **z** may occur finally as in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **dɛ:z** (not **dɛ:s**) | *day* | pl. **dɛ:zi** |
| **di:ⁱz** | *pit* | |

and in loan-words; while **s** may be retained medially as in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **da:s** | *open country* | loc. **da:sər** |
| **giyu:s** | *widow* | pl. **giyu:si** |
| **tis** | *fault* | pl. **tisɛ** |

From this it seems legitimate to draw the conclusion that in the **mo:s** type of word the **z** is the essential sound. For the unvoicing of other voiced sounds when final see §§ 28, 29.

## Nasals

38. **n.** The normal **n** sound in Shina appears to be alveolar as in English. It occurs in all situations—initial, medial, final.

In the search for cerebral **n**'s I sometimes think I have noticed a peculiarity, not of the nature of cerebralism, and have come to the conclusion that it is in most

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circumstances the result of the speaker's endeavouring to make the sound clear. To produce the required emphasis a stronger current of air than usual is driven down the nasal passage and is apt to be continued when the n-closure is relaxed.

It is possible also that n is sometimes post-alveolar.

39. ŋ. Guttural ŋ is common. It does not occur initially. Medially it usually stands between vowels; but in a few cases it is immediately followed by g, occasionally by k, and at least once by s. It occurs principally as a final.

It is sometimes difficult to say whether there is a full ŋ or only a nasalization, of a guttural character, of a vowel.

Medial ŋ is frequently produced by the addition of an inflectional suffix to a word ending in ŋ.

*Examples—*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Medial (original) | a:šiŋaiyo | *suddenly* |
| | bʌŋut | *loophole* |
| | čʌŋul | *tripod* |
| | duŋhərɛ tɛl | *a kind of oil* |
| | jiŋa:t | *stone shoot on a hill* |
| | kʌŋər | *sword* |
| | lʌŋi:duk | *something that has happened, is past* |
| | šʌŋa:li | *chain* |
| | šuŋo | *voice* |
| Followed by a consonant: | | |
| | a:ʌŋgər (L.W.) | *blacksmith* |
| | ʌŋga:ro | *Tuesday* |
| | brʌŋsa | *shed, shelter-hut?* |
| | pfʌŋkɛ | *advantage, benefit* |
| | kuŋkuro:čo (perhaps kũkuro:čo) | *cock* |
| | lʌŋgər | *permanent practice of giving food as alms* |
| | po:ŋko | *footstep, step* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| rʌŋgi:nɛ ʧi:lo | *a kind of black piece-goods* |
| zʌŋgər | *rust* |

These are the principal instances of medial ŋ I recollect having met with.

The word for "**chikor**" is, I think,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | kã:kʌs | rather than | ka:ŋkʌs |
| So also | pʊmũ:ko | *first* fem. | pʊmu:.iki |
| In | ʧʊmʊnkʲər | *marriageable girl* (cf. Khowār ʧʊmʊtke:r) | |
| and | mʊnkʲər (L.W.) | *denying* | |

the nasal is the ordinary alveolar n.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Medial*, derived | ʧi:riŋɛt | (*on*) *the day after to-morrow* |
| | ki:ŋʌwa:r | *to a side* |
| | -siŋɛt | *till, up to* (time) |
| | -tʌŋɛt | *up to, as far as* |
| | trʌŋʌk | *a half* |

*Final.* Examples are very numerous :

| | |
|---|---|
| ʧi:riŋ | *day after to-morrow* |
| fʌtʌŋ b. | *to fall* |
| hu:ŋ d. | *to take oath* |
| na:ŋ | *lead* |
| ri:ŋ | *a piece of woollen homespun* ("pattoo") |
| sʌŋ | *light* (not dark) |
| tu:tʌŋ | *dark* |

40. ɲ. A distinct palatal ɲ is found in a few words in Shina. I have noted :

| | |
|---|---|
| a::ɲ | *here* |
| ko:iɲ | *where* |
| ma:ɲʸo | *hip* |

The palatal ɲ is specially noticeable where followed by an o as in the third case above and in the ablative forms of the two first, obtained by adding -o to them. In such cases there is something approximating to a y glide.

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I do not think the combinations n + j, n + č, or n + š are native to Shina. There is the loan-word

sʌtrʌnji *cotton carpet* ("durri")

but it is doubtful whether the n in it is palatal, so also

gʊnji *receptacle in the wall for putting money in*

40 (*a*). ṇ. An approximation to a cerebral ṇ occurs sometimes in the vicinity of another cerebral consonant. *Vide* below, §§ 72–6.

## Nasalization of Vowels

41. Nasalization of Vowels is very common in Shina and some individuals are specially addicted to it.

Where the vowel is long, the nasalization appears to me not always to begin simultaneously with the vowel, but to supervene at some point during its progress.

Nasalization occurs with vowels in all positions, and varies considerably in intensity. When strong it is not always easy to determine whether it is not a weak ŋ or n of the quality of the following consonant.

*Examples*—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initial | ã:ʂo | *tear* |
| | ã:tə | *flour* |
| | ã:ti | *bone* |
| | ãiya:r | *hail* |
| | aĩ.ər | *in the mouth* |
| | ũ:ču | *tongs* |
| Medial | bũ:yʌl | *earthquake* |
| | bu:yẽ:iʨo | *weaver* |
| | čã:lo | *wide* |
| | pfũ:ško | *empty* |
| | pũ:.ɛ | *moustache* |
| | pyõ:lo | *shoulder-blade* |
| Final | bri.ũ: | *rice* |
| | čĩ: | *pine-tree* |
| | dai.ĩ | *beard* |
| | hɛ:̃ | *yes* |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | kã: | *crow* |
| | ko:õ | *instep* |
| | pʌpa.õ | *thin wafer-like bread* |
| | po:.ĩ | *five* |
| | saiyõ: | *flour* (for journey) |

In such words as

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ʧĩ:ʂ | *mountain* |
| | kã:kʌs | *chickor* |
| | sõ:ʧi | *female* |
| | sũ:ʧo | *straight, true* |

the character of the nasalization appears to me to be affected by the quality of the succeeding consonant, and in the last two of them quoted I originally wrote a full nasal.

### Lateral

42. l. The ordinary l in Shina does not seem to differ essentially from the average English l, that is to say, it is alveolar and unilateral and probably varies between $l^i$ and $l^u$ (*vide* "Pronunciation of English", Daniel Jones, 1914).

*Examples*—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initial | la:o | *much, very* |
| | lɛl | *blood* |
| | liko:.iki | *to write* |
| | lo:ko | *swift, quickly* |
| Medial | di:lɛ | *bark of tree* |
| | fʊti:lo | *it broke* |
| | hʌlo:l | *nest, lair* |
| | pa:lo | *young* (of animal) |
| | šidʌlo | *cold* |
| Final | ča:l | *kid* |
| | ki:l | *ibex* |
| | mel | *buttermilk* |
| | na:l | *bride's party* |

I originally noted what I thought was a peculiar l in the speech of certain "Punyālis" **(Pũ:ye:.i)** and others. It

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seemed especially marked in the Imperfect of the verb *to be*, ʌsʊl, etc.

At first I diagnosed it as bilateral. I have failed, however, to detect any difference in Sf.'s speech between this l, other suspected l's, and the ordinary l, and on further study of Punyali speech I find the difference, if any, slight.

The l in question may with some people be bilateral; it is not voiceless.

Words which I have at one time or another stigmatized as having a peculiar l are :

| | |
|---|---|
| ʌsʊl, etc. | |
| mu:lai.i | *girl* |
| mʊzʊl | *pestle* |
| šʊmi:lʊn | *he is tired* |
| tʌnu:lo | *thin* |

In a few words l seems to be associated with an i or y sound. I am not certain whether this adventitious sound is to be regarded as appertaining to the l or to the vowel

| | |
|---|---|
| lo:$^{i}$lo, lo:$^{i}$lʸo | *red* |
| lo:$^{i}$li | *small-pox* |
| minɛlʸu:o | *beautiful* |
| (fem. minɛli:li, minɛli) | |

ROLLED

43. r. The normal r in Shina is, I think, post-alveolar, and is trilled. The trill is not always very marked, but it is distinctly perceptible

(1) When a word is carefully and slowly pronounced.

(2) When it is final.

(3) When it occurs initially in the combination tr-, which is more or less dental.

*Examples—*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initial | ra: | *raja, chief* |
| | rʌto.iki | *to prevent, stop* |
| | ri:l | *brass* |
| | ro, rɛ | *he, she* |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Medial | dərum | *up to now, yet* |
| | dorʌs | *hostage* |
| | gi:rpa | *sorrow* |
| | čʊro:.iki | *to place, put down* |
| Final | ʌga:r | *fire* |
| | mo:r | *speech, affair* |
| | ni:r | *sleep* |
| | tʊr | *whip* |

For examples of tr- see above, § 27.

44. Cerebral ṛ. I have found no examples of independent cerebral ṛ. See below, Cerebrals, § 71.

45. It is to be noted that there is a sound in Shina which on first hearing I personally mistake, as a rule, for r. This is found on closer examination to be a cerebral ḍ. It is recognized by the people as being a "d", not an "r". See below, § 69.

46. y. There is no marked difference between the y of Shina and that of English.

It occurs initially and medially. Initially, it is most frequently found followed by a back vowel. I know no case in which it is followed by i.

It seems probable that medially it only occurs as a glide. It appears most frequently between two back vowels. Between other combinations of vowels it is usually lacking, or optional and slight, but no strict rule can be laid down.

Personally, I should write (without a y glide) :

| | |
|---|---|
| mai.a:rɛ | *game animals* |
| pai.a:lo | *herdsman* |
| ba:.anɛt | *you are becoming* |
| rai.o:.iki | *to say* |
| dai.o:.iki | *to burn* (vb. trans.) |
| wai.o:.iki | *to come* |

In the three last the root appears to be ra-, etc., and the ai has resulted from a + y

| | |
|---|---|
| ni.o:.iki | *to squeeze* |
| vi.o:.iki | *to cast* |
| bo:.ĩ | *sleeve, roof-tree* |

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After **ai**, however, the glide is very near, and I have written

| | |
|---|---|
| **daiyum** | *I burn* |
| **baiyo:.iki** | *to sit* |
| **bai(y)umus** | *I sit* |
| **baiya** | *both* |

47. **y** has perhaps a philological value where it replaces medial **g**, as it frequently does in vulgar speech in verbal inflection. Thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **tiyas** | ... | **tɛ:gas** | *I did* |
| **tyu:** | ... | **tɛ:gu** | *he did* |
| **diyʌnus** | ... | **dɛ:gunus** | *I have given* |

48. The occurrence of an **ⁱ** or **y** glide after **k** and **g** has been referred to in §§ 26*b*; 29, above; its occurrence before **u:** has been mentioned in § 17, and its tendency to appear after **ɲ** in § 40.

It also appears in

| | |
|---|---|
| **pyõ:lo** | *shoulder-blade* |
| **su:ryo** | *in the day-time* |
| (**su:ri** | *sun, daylight*) |

and doubtfully in

| | |
|---|---|
| **lo:ⁱlʸo** | *red* |

With some speakers a similar glide tends to appear occasionally after **š**. This may be compared with its occasional appearance after the palatal **j (dž)**, as in **jʸɛk**, § 26*b*.

An example is **šʸʌŋ** b. for **šuŋ** b. (Sf.) *to awake*
and **šya:l** *wolf*

I draw attention to these various occurrences of **y** without intending to imply that they are all to be accounted for on one principle.

The following examples of **y** may be studied. The list of words with it as an initial is fairly comprehensive.

| | |
|---|---|
| **ya:ro:.iki** | *to cause to progress* (caus. of following) |

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yaiyo:.iki — *to proceed, walk, move*
yå̊r — *mill*
yʌmyå̊r — *handmill*
yʌp — *small irrigation channel*
yʌt — *reason*
yʌško — *equal, suitable*
yɛr — *in front*
yɛro — an interjection, "*look here!*"
yo — *barley*
yoja:lɛ — *twins*
yo:no — *winter*
yoza:li — *miller*
yu:lo — *separate, different*
yu:m — *liver* (?)
yu:n — *moon*
yu:to — *pair*
yʊdo:m — *yoke-strap*
yʊpo:.iki — *to compose* (a quarrel)
Medial bũ:yʌl — *earthquake*
bʊyɛt — *representation, petition*
bu:yo:.iki — *to weave, plait*
bu:yʊmʊs — *I weave*
bu.i:gʌs — *I wove*
bu:yəro:.iki — *to have* (something) *woven*
go:yɛl — *cow-house*
gũyo:rɛ — *cow-dung*
haiyo:n — *sign, token, present*
oyʌ́no — *hungry*
saiyõ: — *flour* (for journey)
uṣe:yõ — *hare*
yayo:.iki || yaiyo:.iki — *to proceed*
yaiyʊmʊs — *I shall go*
yaiyɛt — *you will go*
(i)yaiyɛn — *they will go*

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## Breathing

49. The Shina h is similar to the English "breathed glottal fricative" h.

It occurs initially. I know no certain example of its occurring medially in a true Shina word, and even in loan-words it tends to disappear. It may perhaps occur finally in a reduced form in a word like

aiʰ *mouth*

or with a voiceless plosive

e.g. hʌtʰ *hand*

but in neither case is it of serious practical import.

It is occasionally prefixed by some speakers, in the Cockney fashion, to words beginning with a vowel:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hʌgaːr | for | ʌgaːr | *fire* |
| hoṣeːyõ | beside | uṣeːyõ | *hare* |

*Examples of* h:

| | |
|---|---|
| hai t. | *to run* |
| hai(y)a t. | *to play* |
| hʌlwoː.iki | *to pacify, quiet* |
| hʌt | *hand* |
| hin | *snow* |
| hẽːṣ̌, hīːṣ̌ | *breath, sigh* |
| hoː t. | *to call* (to) |
| huːč̣ | *field terrace* |
| hyuːo ‖ hiːwo | *heart* |

Medial (all loan-words):

| | |
|---|---|
| mɛhərbaːni | *kindness, present* (from a superior) |
| mʌhər | *marriage gift* (given by bridegroom to the bride) |
| sihər | *magic* |
| mɛhnʌtgaːr | *bondsman* |



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## Compound Consonantal Sounds

50. The following compound consonantal sounds are of importance:

č (tš) j (dž)

with the corresponding Cerebrals.

ċ (ṭš) j̣ (ḍž)

and pf

č and j present in themselves no special difficulty. In their extreme forms they are easily distinguished from their Cerebral counterparts, but border cases occur which are not always easy to determine.

Some people usually reduce j (dž) to a simple ž; and that is sometimes replaced by y, but this is considered incorrect. (This suffix appears to be a reduced form of the adv. and prep. ʌjɛ, *up, upon.*)

As far as I have observed, there is no corresponding reduction of č to š. (It occurs in Chilasi.)

In certain cases final -č is preferred by some to final -j, e.g. in the suffix -č || -j = *on.*

Which is the essential sound is hard to determine; j appears to prevail when a vowel is added after it:

girɛč || girɛj, pl. girɛjɛ *a kind of bird of prey*

The following are examples of č and j. More will be found in §§ 63, 66, where the question of their relation to ċ and j̣ is dealt with.

| | |
|---|---|
| ča:r | *four* |
| čʌko:.iki | *to look* |
| mučo: | *before* |
| -kʌč | *in the possession of; to* (motion to a person) |
| jaro, žɛro | *old man* |
| iji:lu, ži:lu | *sheep* |
| mʌja | *middle, among* |

51. The power of combining a sibilant with a plosive is a matter in which languages differ considerably, and is therefore a characteristic trait.

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The following combinations occur in Shina:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sk | usku:n | *relation, kinsman* |
| st | a:sto:m | *act of justice, decision* |
| sp | ispao | *sweet* |
| šk | iška:ra | *wasp* |
| št | ašto:n | *groom* |
| šp | ašpo | *horse* |

These combinations do not occur initially, nor, at any rate as a rule, finally. I think I have heard

ʌšt for ʌš *eight*

52. It may be noted incidentally that at some time in the history of Shina or its ancestors an s or š sound before t was rejected. Thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| ã:ti | *bone*, cf. Skr. ásthi- |
| õ:ti | *lip* „ óṣṭha- |
| mʊt | *fist* „ muṣṭhí- |
| dit | *span* is to be compared with Khowar di:št |

53. Besides č (tš) and j (dž), the following combinations are to be found in which the plosive precedes the sibilant:

ʦ common in all positions, e.g. ʦo, *you*; miʦer, *stone marten*; pfuʦ, *dew*

ʤ I have only met with in dəru:ʤ, *hunting*; dəru:ʤ, *shikari, hunter*; dəru:ʤ šũ:, *hunting dog*

54. ᵖf. This sound fluctuates within wide limits, and is consequently difficult, or rather, impossible, to fix. I have at different times, and from different people, recorded it as

ph pʰ pf ᵖf and f

In most, if not all, cases, Sf. excludes ph and pʰ, and for practical purposes it is probably safest to compromise on ᵖf.

By pf, ᵖf, I represent an ordinary fricative f preceded by a slight, or very slight, explosion as for p. The sound is not to be equated with the German pf, in which the p element is much stronger.

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**ph** may perhaps be presumed to have been the original sound, and the spirants to be derivates from it which have not yet won universal acceptance. Compare the **ph** in Hindustani, which is generally pronounced **f** in N.W. India, though I do not remember to have met any grammar which admits this fact.

Was not **ph** recorded in various dialects of Old High German before the **pf** arising in the so-called "Second Sound-Shift" (from West Germanic **p** in certain positions) eventually established itself?

55. This sound, or series of sounds, appears not to occur finally, at least in any fricative form, while it is rare or doubtful in a medial position. This supports the theory of its being a variant of **ph** or **p**. (The High German **pf** arose only when initial in word or syllable.)

A few instances of medial pure **f** have already been given, § 33, above.

The **ᵖf** sound is very common initially:

*Examples.* (In all cases the **ᵖf** may be reduced to **f**. Cases where **ph** has been recorded are noted in parentheses.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Initial* | **ᵖfa:l t.** (also **pʰ**) | *to throw* |
| | **ᵖfʌkuzo:.iki (pʰ)** | *to open* |
| | **ᵖfʌl b. (pʰ)** | *to mount* |
| | **ᵖfʌš b.** | *to be finished* |
| | **ᵖfʌt t.** | *to leave, let* |
| | **ᵖfʌtʌko** | *bald* |
| | **ᵖfʌtu** | *after, afterwards* |
| | **ᵖfai.o:.iki** | *to tear* (verb trans.) |
| | **ᵖfɛro:.iki (pʰ)** | *to turn round* (vb. trs.) |
| | **ᵖfiti:k** | *vexed* |
| | **ᵖfunər (pʰ)** | *flower* |
| | **ᵖfurgo (pʰ)** | *feather* |
| | **ᵖfuto:.iki** | *to break* (verb trans.) |
| *Medial* | **dʌmᵖfus \|\| dʌmfus** | *cudgel* |
| | **ᵖfapər\|\|ᵖfaᵖfər\|\|ᵖfafər** b. | *to spin round* |
| | (the Medial sound is elusive) | |

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pfu:pul || pfu:pʌl *front part of head*

seem more correct than pfu:ful.

I have recorded

pi:pi, pʰi:pi, pfi:pi, fi:fi *father's sister*

Hindi, phu:phi

## Cerebrals

56. Having cleared the ground by the consideration of the other sounds of the language, we may now turn to the vexed question of Cerebrals.

First, I will state the definition of "Cerebral" to which I am working. Much perplexity and factitious disagreement is produced by a lack of precision in defining the exact meaning of technical terms used.

To ensure that the angels may be on my side, I will quote the definition given by Mr. Noël-Armfield, which I believe has the authority and blessing of the International Phonetic Association. It runs as follows:—

"A class of tongue-tip consonants . . . is that which is produced with the tip of the tongue somewhat curled back so as to come in contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth, that is somewhere about the junction of the hard and soft palates . . . Indian grammarians class these consonants as *Cerebrals*. The name for them in the terminology of Phonetics is *retroflex* or *cacuminal*." ("General Phonetics" by G. Noël-Armfield. Heffer, 1915, pp. 98–100.)

Further on, in his instructions for producing the Cerebrals, Mr. Noël-Armfield says: "The tip (of the tongue) must be pressed firmly against the highest part of the roof (of the mouth) to form the obstruction, and kept in this position for the greater part (sc. of the ?) stop. It then glides rapidly along the hard palate till it reaches the gum ridge, whence it falls as it were by its own weight on the floor of the mouth with a kind of flap."

57. I shall now proceed to state briefly the conclusions

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I have arrived at, and shall then give in detail the material on which these conclusions are based. This will, I think, make the material appear less of a confused jungle.

*Primary Cerebrals.*

1. There is in Shina a strong original Cerebral ṣ.

2. This in combination with t and d gives the Cerebral combinations ṭṣ and ḍẓ. ḍẓ is by some reduced to ẓ.

3. There is a distinct original Cerebral ḍ. It is not of as common occurrence as the sounds mentioned in 1 and 2.

4. The above four sounds occur in any situation quite independently of their surroundings.

*Secondary Cerebrals and Pre-Cerebrals.*

5. t, d, and r in direct contact with one of the primary Cerebrals are cerebralized.

6. n does not occur in such a situation, but in certain cases it may be similarly influenced by an original Cerebral in close proximity to it.

7. I have been unable to establish that the same process operates in the case of t, d, and r. It would seem that at the most they are slightly retracted. If it is desired to take notice of them they may be called Post-Alveolars or Pre-Cerebrals or Palatals.

8. Back vowels may in like manner tend to draw back the point of production of neighbouring sounds, and t, d, r, and n may, I think, be thus affected by contiguity with a back vowel. The resulting sounds, however, are certainly not Cerebrals. They, too, are at the most *Post-Alveolar*, or *Pre-Cerebral*.

58. I will now proceed to deal with each of the Cerebral sounds just mentioned in its relation to the corresponding non-Cerebral sound, attempting to ascertain whether the difference between them coincides with any difference between their cognates, where they exist, in other languages, particularly in Sanskrit, where the distinction between Cerebrals and non-Cerebrals exists; and how far, if at all,

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the Shina Cerebrals may be referred to any other source than that which has given birth to the Sanskrit Cerebrals.[1]

In this connexion I shall, where I can, draw attention to any relations existing between the vocabulary of Shina and that of Sanskrit.

I shall sum up my conclusions on these points after I have presented the material.

As my equipment for determining such philological matters is slender, I will provide a considerable body of material from which some better qualified scholar may be able to work out more far-reaching and more reliable results than I can hope to obtain.

In the lists given below, B. indicates that the word is also in use in the Burushaski language. Where B. is followed by another form, that form is the Burushaski equivalent of the Shina one in the main column.

It may be explained here that the two series of sounds š, ṣ; č, ċ; j or ž, ẓ or ż; ḍ, ḍ; ṇ, ṇ occur in Burushaski, but that the cerebrals, with the exception of ḍ, are not, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing, so decided as in Shina.

Burushaski is spoken by the people of the Hunza and Nagir states, and in a variant form by some of the population of the Yasin valley. It is supposed to have been the language of the people inhabiting the Gilgit region prior to the irruption into it of an alien race whose language was Shina.

The linguistic affinities of Burushaski have not been determined, but some theory has been advanced claiming points of resemblance between it and the Munda languages.

I may here just mention the existence of cerebral sounds

[1] The affinities of the sounds of Shina have, I do not doubt, been dealt with by Sir George Grierson, with his unrivalled learning, in his *Piśāca Languages of N. W. India*. Unfortunately, my copy of that valuable work is in Ireland, or at least is reported "missing" in that inauspicious country.

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in Wakhi, the Iranian language of Wakhan, and reserve fuller discussion for the end of this section.

59. ṣ.

This sound in its more pronounced forms is a strongly-marked cerebral and is then readily distinguishable from the typical š. But Nature does not favour hard and fast classification in Phonetics any more than she does in the natural sciences, Botany and Zoology, and intermediate forms are found which it is difficult to refer definitely either to the š or to the ṣ category.

In more than one instance I have transferred a sound from one to the other and then back again.

ṣiṣ *head* may be adopted as the extreme type word for ṣ, while šai.o:r *father-in-law* and diš *place* will serve as types of š.

*Examples—*

*Initial*

| š | | ṣ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ša: | *green vegetables* | ṣã: B. ṣa: | *respiration* (?) |
| ša:ko | *arm* | ṣa | *six* |
| ši$^{a}$a:l, šya:l | *wolf* | ṣa:ko | *noose, loop* (?) |
| ša:ru:ko | *autumn* | ṣa:l | *fever* |
| šʌk (L.W.) | *doubt* | ṣalu B. | *torch-wood (unprepared)* |
| šʌl | *100* | ṣʌk B. ṣək | *full* |
| šʌt | *power, strength* | ṣʌk | *nape of neck* |
| šai.o | *white* | ṣʌko:n d. | *to tie in a bow* |
| šai.o:r | *father-in-law* | ṣəruŋ | *kind of henna* (?) |
| šɛra | *big game* (ibex, etc.) | ṣɛ:wo fem. ṣe:i | *blind* |
| šəro | *autumn* | ṣi:ŋ | *horn* |
| ši$^{l}$e:lo | *generous* | ṣi:ṇ | *Shin* |
| šidʌlo | *cold* | ṣiṇ$^{l}$a | *Shina* |
| šipi | *forearm* | ṣido:.iki | *to strike* |
| šĭ:ti B. ši:ti *floor* | *dais round three sides of room* | ṣo:.iki ṣo$^{u}$lu | *to affix* |

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| š | | ṣ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| šo B. šu:a | *good, better; yes* | B. ṣulto (?) | *twig, shoot* |
| šoŋ B. šʌŋ | *care* | ṣo:to | *throat* |
| šũ: | *dog* | ṣũ: t. | *to smell* |
| šu:lo B. šu:li | *muzzle of gun* | ṣuḍu:.iki | *to whistle* |
| šu:.o | *boy* | ṣyu: t. | *to whistle* |
| šu.o:.iki | *to dry* (vb. trs.) | | |
| šugu:lo B. | *friend* | | |
| šumi:lunus | *I am tired* | | |
| šušo:.iki | *to become dry* | | |
| ppc. šu:ko B. | *dry* | | |
| šuti | *corner* | | |

*Medial*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʌša:to B. | *weak, thin* | ã:ṣo | *tear* |
| ʌšpo (ašpo) | *horse* | kʌṣʌp B. ɣʌṣʌp | *magpie* |
| ʌšto:n | *groom* | kiṣi B. | *line* |
| bʌšo:.iki | *to play* (musical instrument) | mʌṣo | *voice* |
| bišo:.iki | *to rest* | oke:ṣo | *slope up, ascent* |
| dʌmši t. B. | *to approve* | ṣī:ṣo | *ear of corn* |
| gušpu:r B. | *aristocrat* | uṣa:rin | *debtor* |
| hu:ši t. B. d. | *to plunder* | | |
| i:ša B. | *sluice* | | |
| išpi:t B. šipi:t | *lucerne* | | |
| kušulo B. | *broken* | | |
| li:šo:.iki | *to hide* (vb. intrs.) | | |
| muš'a: | *man, "vir"* | | |
| nišo:.iki | *to go out* (of fire) | | |
| o:ši | *wind* | | |
| o:šo, aošo B. aušo | *guest* | | |
| pʌšo:.iki | *to see* | | |

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| | š | ṣ |
|---|---|---|
| tɛši | *top of roof* | |
| tušo:.iki | *to be sated* | |
| tuša:r B. | *very much* | |
| yʌško B. yʌški | *equal, suitable to* | |

*Final*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʌš (ʌṣ ?) | *eight* | ba:rʊṣ B. pfəri:ṣ | *duck* |
| ʌš, aš | *to-day* | biṣ | *poison* |
| ʌbʌš B. | *unfavourable* | čī:ṣ B. či:ṣ | *mountain* |
| bʊš | *is not known* | hē:ṣ B. hi:ẓ | *breath, sigh (?)* |
| diš B. | *place* | kʌṣ t. | *to wipe* |
| pfaš b. | *to be finished* | kī:ṣ t. | *to push, pull* |
| pfʊpuš | *hearth* | lʌṣ t. B. | *to lick* |
| laš | *shame* | maiyu:ṣ B. | *buffalo* |
| nɪš, nʊš | *is not* | nu:ṣ pl. nuja:rɛ | *daughter-in-law* |
| praš | *rib* | pa:ṣ | *manure* |
| subʌš B. | *favourable* | ro:ṣ loc. ro:ṣər | *anger* |
| ušuš b. B. u:š | *to shiver* | šʌṣ | *mother-in-law* |
| | | ṣiṣ | *head* |
| | | tʌṣ b. B. | *to slip* |
| | | u:ṣ B. u:š (?) | *debt* |

(*To be continued.*)

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# Some Remarks on Free Will and Predestination in Islam, together with a translation of the Kitabu-l Qadar from the Sahih of al-Bukhari

By Professor ALFRED GUILLAUME

THE problem of reconciling man's free will with God's omnipotent will and prescience has exercised the minds of the theologians of those religions which claim to present an almighty and a moral god to their votaries. In the following pages my aim is to show how the Muhammadan dogma of Determinism, despite the revolt of the most vigorous thinkers of the early Muslim church, was developed and consolidated; to indicate in more detail than earlier writers how dependent that reaction was on Byzantine Christianity; and how completely عقل has been put to flight by نقل in the traditions universally accepted as authentic.

Although the subject has been comprehensively dealt with elsewhere, I may be forgiven a passing reference to some of Muhammad's statements in the Quran. It has long been notorious that he made no attempt to grapple with the difficulty his self-contradictory revelations on this subject caused to subsequent thinkers; indeed, it may be confidently asserted that the intellectual problem and the moral issues involved were not apparent to him. "All men would believe did God so will and none believes but by God's permission" (Sur. x, 99 ff.). Over and over again we read that God leads man either in the way of salvation or of perdition—no reason for His action being assigned in either case. He it is who opens man's heart to the Quranic message or renders him blind and deaf to its revelation. It would seem from Sur. vi, 149, that the obvious retort was made by the unbelievers that they were what God had made them, and His was the responsibility, not theirs. To this Muhammad can only reply that they are without knowledge and are liars.[1]

[1] D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Muhammadanism*, London, 1914, pp. 46 ff.

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"Prophets are not theologians," said the late Professor Goldziher; and certainly Muhammad was no exception. The righteousness of God and His scrupulousness in rewarding those who do well is emphasized in iv, 123; a moral purpose underlies the creation of heaven and earth, and none shall be wronged by God (xlv, 21). Such passages, taken by themselves, show that Muhammad would have shrunk in horror from attributing arbitrariness and injustice to the deity. Yet, as will be seen, this is the conclusion from the orthodox doctrine of God if we accept as a premise "All who punish others for what they have themselves ordained and effected are unjust".

Disposed as the Semitic mind is to accept the arbitrary decrees of a despot—celestial or terrestrial—a new religion which left nothing to the free will and choice of the convert could hardly hope to make its way. If one were damned already why put forth effort? A religion must have something to offer. And Muhammadanism, like Judaism and Christianity its parents, offers eternal salvation to those who believe. Forgiveness of sins, true guidance and paradise are the portion of those who believe in the Prophet's message (Sur. xlvii). Those who die fighting in the way of God may count on an eternal reward; moreover, a bargain may be struck with God: help Him and He will help you (iii, 24). Such a message could not fail to produce a contempt for death in those who accepted Muhammad as a prophet.

Valuable as fatalism is in a time of war, there were devout men in peaceful avocations who found a doctrine of resignation to the decrees of an inscrutable providence unpalatable. The statement that "God makes whom He will to err[1] and whom He will He guideth and ye shall be called to account for your actions" (xvi, 95) left men the victims of an unrighteous

[1] Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 92 ff., points out that *aḍalla* should be translated *allows* to err rather than *makes* to err. But if this and the many similar verses can be thus withdrawn from those that predicate *irreleiten* of God, an imposing number still remains on which Islam has based the dogma of predestination.

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God. If God had predestined certain men to damnation and hell, then the Prophet's call to repentance was an invitation to such men to rebel against the decree of God!

In the centuries that elapsed between the redaction of the Quran (A.H. 30) and the publication of the first authoritative collection of traditions (*c.* 245) a school arose which in its comprehension of moral and ethical truth is almost unique in the whole course of Muslim theology. This school's connexion at the Umayyad court of Damascus with the Christian theologians Johannes Damascenus and his pupil Theodorus Abū Qurra has long been known, and passing references have often been made to the influence of Christian theologians on the tenets of the early Mu'tazilites. But what is so remarkable is that orthodox Islam, as it is reflected in the *ḥadīth* literature, shows such slight traces of any modification of the Quranic doctrine of predestination.

The first protest against determinism was made in Damascus as early as the end of the seventh century. A number of pious and thoughtful Muslims began to teach that man had a free will and possessed power (*qudra*) over his actions; hence they were known as Qadarites.[1] The saintly lives of the early Qadarites, who gave themselves up to prayer, meditation, and study and the practice of an ascetic life, show that the movement was a genuine revolt of the human soul against an immoral conception of the universe. Qadarism, at any rate in its early days, was not primarily a speculative and philosophical rebellion against the orthodox dogmas of Islam. The sect became identified with the Mu'tazila (i.e. those who separate themselves) or the "people who maintain the divine unity and justice", whose tenets have been admirably summarized by Macdonald[2] and need not be recapitulated here.

[1] It is probable that their name is to be derived from *qudra* rather than from *qadar* (as Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, London, 1903, p. 128); for *qadar* properly applies to a decree of God. See Lane, p. 2495, col. 3 *ad fin.*; and also *Al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, p. 12.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 135 ff. See also Al-Shahrastani *in loc.*

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So thoroughly did the orthodox reactionaries stamp out the literature of this sect that until comparatively recently we had to rely on them alone for a statement of Mu'tazilite doctrines. But the text of the Kitābu-l Milal wal Niḥal by Al Mahdī lidīn Allah Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Al Murtaḍā (A.H. 764–840), published by Sir Thomas Arnold,[1] provides material invaluable for a study of the Mu'tazila, written as it is by a sympathizer. The writer's object is to show the reasonableness of the Mu'tazilite dogmas, and at the same time to prove that they were not innovations; hence the first "class" of authorities begins with Ali and the other rightly guided Caliphs. The writer is at great pains to show the absurdity of the belief that man's evil actions are decreed by God, and he reconciles a belief in God's foreknowledge and God's omnipotence in the same way that Jewish and Christian theologians did long before his day.[2] Thus he says :—

(*a*) كان ذلك (crime) فى علمه انهم يفعلونها ولم يحملهم علم الله على فعلها

God knows that men will commit crimes, but his (fore)-knowledge does not impel them so to do.

And again : As one cannot escape the domain of heaven and earth, so one cannot escape the domain of God's knowledge ; and the one is no more the instigator of crime than the other (pp. 8 and 9).

(*b*) God wills nothing but that which is good (p. 12)[3] ان الله لا يشا الا خيرا.

(*c*) Everything happens by the decree and predestination of God except evil works (المعاصى "disobediences").

[1] Op. cit.

[2] For the Jewish view cf. Ab. iii, 24, "Everything is foreseen but free will is given" הכל צפוי והרשות נתונה.

[3] In Judaism cf. Ber. 60*b*. All that God does is for a good purpose.

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The dependence of the Murjiites, Qadarites, and Mu'tazilites on the Greek theologians of Damascus was first pointed out by von Kremer [1] as long ago as 1873; and he refers to the model dialogue between Christian and Muslim, written by John of Damascus, as a proof that discussion went on in the eighth century between the Christian theologians, who stood high in the caliph's favour, and their Muslim fellow-subjects. He has shown how the Murjis, like many Oriental Christians, scouted the idea of eternal punishment in hell, and that the preoccupation of the Qadarites with the nature and attributes of the deity was precisely that of their Christian contemporaries. The doctrine that man has a free will is expressed in almost identical words by John and the Mu'tazilites quoted above (*a*): "illud quoque scire opportet, Deum omnia praescire sed non omnia praefinire."

But the extraordinary similarity between the thought and language of Johannes Damascenus and his Muslim imitators does not end here. In the *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* (which might well bear the same title as the book of Bukhari translated below) we find the Christian expressly denying that God is the author of evil; but that it is of the devil and of man's own will to evil; while of good he says: "omnium bonorum neminem dicimus esse causam praeter quam Deum" [2] (cf. (*b*) and (*c*) above). If we compare the dialogue in John with that given on page 49 of the *Mu'tazila* we cannot escape the conclusion that the Mu'tazila employed in their disputations with their orthodox brethren the same arguments and the same means of promulgating their doctrines as the Christians did in their controversies with the Muslims. The following examples will illustrate this:—

(1) *Mu'tazila.* (Arnold, p. 49.)

Abu-l 'Abbās al Ḥalabī: Tell me about the devil. Did he wish that Pharaoh should be an unbeliever? Abu-l Ḥusain al

[1] *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 7.

[2] *Bibliotheca Veterum patrum . . . cura Andreae Gallandii*, p. 272.

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Khayyāṭ: Yes. Al Ḥalabī: Then the devil overcame the will of God. Abu-l Ḥusain: That is not a necessary assumption. For God (may He be exalted!) said: "Satan promises you poverty and commands you to act unseemly, but God promises you pardon and favour." Therefore it is not necessary to assume that the command of the devil overcame the command of God. So it is with the will: for if God had willed that Pharaoh should believe against his will he would have believed (sc. but God did not influence Pharaoh's will).

*John.*

Saracenus: Quem dicis causam esse malorum? Christianus: Eum scilicet qui ex sententia sua diabolus est, ac nos etiam homines. Sar.: Cujus rei gratia? Chr.: Propter liberum arbitrium.

(2) *Mu'tazila.* (Arnold, p. 8.)

(*a*) The people are fornicators, winebibbers, and murderers, and they say: "Our crimes lie in God's (fore)knowledge; therefore we must needs commit them."

(*b*) 'Umar asked a thief why he stole, and the man replied: "God decreed thus concerning me." Thereupon 'Umar commanded that he should have his hand cut off and then be scourged: the first for the crime of theft, and the second for uttering a lie against God.

*John.*

Christianus: Quoniam enim Deus praecepit, ut tu inquis, fornicatorem fornicari et furem furari et homicidam caedem facere, mercede digni sunt hujusmodi, voluntatem enim Dei fecerunt.

(3) The teaching of Bishr ibn Al Mu'tamir (*taulīd* and *tawallud*) of a primary cause acting on the first object which goes on to affect others is reminiscent of John's argument with the Saracen. The latter asserts that as God "format infantes in uteris mulierum", He must in some cases be a fellow-worker with adulterers, and therefore an author of

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evil. The Christian is made to reply that it is written that God created all things in the beginning, and only then was He the immediate cause of phenomena. Afterwards man and nature work, as may be seen from the words "And Adam begat" and "The earth brought forth", and so on.

But the controversy that most clearly marked off the Mu'tazila from their co-religionists, and finally brought about their overthrow, was their affirmation that the Quran was created. Orthodox Islam maintained that it existed from all eternity, and, as the word of God, was uncreate. "Whatever proofs of this doctrine may have been brought forward later from the Quran itself, we can have no difficulty in recognizing that it is plainly derived from the Christian Logos, and that the Greek Church, perhaps through John of Damascus, has again played a formative part," says Macdonald.[1] This may be so, but the following passage from John (which incidentally contains the earliest non-Muslim reference to the Mu'tazilites, and has, I believe, been unnoticed hitherto by scholars) rather suggests that John's Muslim contemporaries did *not* borrow the idea from him.[2] It would seem that the identification of the Muslim scriptures with the Logos is already an established dogma, and that those who dissent therefrom are ostracized.

[1] Op. cit., p. 146.

[2] The use of the Bible in these controversies is a subject that calls for further investigation. It is quite clear from the way in which Scripture is turned against the Christians that the Muslims were familiar with the Old Testament at least. (Al-Naẓẓām, the Mu'tazilite, is said to have known by heart the Quran, the Taurāt, the Anjīl, and the Zubūr.) It may be that in some cases the adversary was a Jew—such a one is referred to in *Joannis Hierosolymitani Narratio* (Gallandi, p. 270, *ecclesiae Dei hostis*). The doctrine that the Torah was created before the foundation of the world is, of course, Jewish; cf. *Mid. Rab.* on Gen. i, 1. The tone of the *Disputatio* hardly suggests that the Christian was disputing with an apostate, though in the days of the first Umayyad caliphs the line between Christians and Muslims was by no means clearly drawn. (See on this point Lammens, *Etudes sur la régne du Calife Omayyade Mo'awiya . . . Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrout, 1906, p. 54.)



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*John.*

Si interrogeris a Saraceno dicente : Quem ais esse Christum ? Responde illi Verbum Dei. Nihil in hoc aberrare arbitror, quoniam et Verbum dicitur a scriptura et Sapientia et Brachium et Virtus Dei . . . Tu vero vicissim interroga eum dicens Quid vocatur a scriptura Christus ? . . . Respondebit tibi dicens A scriptura mea Spiritus et Verbum Dei dicitur Christus. Et tunc dic illi tu quoque : Spiritus Dei et Verbum a scriptura tua increata dicuntur an vero creata ? Ac ubi responderit creata esse, dic ei : Ecquis creavit Dei Spiritum et Verbum ? Quod si ad incitas redactus dixerit tibi, Deum illa creasse, regere . . . te interrogo : Antequam crearet Deus Verbum et Spiritum non habebat Spiritum neque Verbum ? atque declinabit a te non habens quid respondeat. *Haeretici enim sunt qui hoc affirmant apud Saracenos maximeque sunt abominabiles et propudiosi ; et si huncce volueris traducere apud reliquos Saracenos timebit te admodum.*

The relation of Islamic theology in the formative period to that of the contemporary Christianity of Syria deserves closer attention than it has hitherto received.[1] But we will turn now to the foundation and support of orthodoxy. The following translation of the Book of Predestination from the Ṣaḥīḥ of Al Bukhārī [2] will best illustrate the treatment Mu'tazilite doctrines have received at the hands of the orthodox party. As a self-contained book of some length it may serve as an introduction to the *ḥadīth* literature, hardly second to the Quran in its importance for the study of Muhammadan origins, on which I hope soon to write at greater length.

[1] Practically all the tenets of the earlier Mu'tazilites are to be found in John's writings : besides those mentioned there is, e.g., the explanation of anthropomorphisms in the scripture and the assertion that the qualities in the divine essence must be expressed by negations or relations.

[2] I gratefully acknowledge Professor Margoliouth's kindness in reading my translation and suggesting alterations which I have everywhere adopted.

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## The Book of Predestination [1]

1. Bāb concerning Predestination.

(*a*) Abu'l Walīd Hishām ibn 'Abd il Mālik informed us [2] (saying): Shu'ba informed us (saying): Sulaimān al Ā'mash told me as follows: I heard Zaid ibn Wahb on the authority of 'Abd Ullah [3] say: The Apostle of God (may God bless and preserve him,[4] for he is the Veracious and the Verified) told me as follows: Verily (each) one of you is assembled in his mother's womb forty days; then he becomes a clot for a similar period, and then a lump of flesh for the same period. An angel is sent to him and given four commands with reference to his sustenance, the duration of his life, and he is to be wretched or happy. By Allah! each one [5] of you may do the works of the people of hell so that between him and it there lieth but a fathom or a cubit, and that which has been written shall overcome him, and he will do the works of the people of paradise and shall enter therein. And verily a man may do the works of the people of paradise so that between him and it there lieth but a fathom or a cubit, and that which has been written shall overcome him, and he will do the works of the people of hell and shall enter therein. (Variant: Adam [i.e. Ibn Abi Iyyās] said: "except a cubit.")

(*b*) Anas ibn Mālik. The prophet said: God commands an angel concerning the womb. The angel says: Lo, Lord, a drop! a clot! an embryo! And when God wills to decree its creation the angel says: Is it to be male or female, wretched

[1] Kitābu'l Qadar 82. *Le recueil des Traditions Mahométanes*, par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismaïl el Bokhāri, publié par M. Ludolf Krehl, continué par Th. W. Juynboll, Leyden, 1908, vol. iv, p. 251.

[2] *Haddathanā*. The expression implies that the authority to recount this tradition was given with a general licence; consequently the original narrator could not always control the form in which his traditions were promulgated. See Goldziher, *M.S.*, vol. ii, pp. 189 ff.

[3] i.e. Ibn Mas'ūd. The *isnād* will be omitted in future, only the name of the original guarantor being given.

[4] The customary blessing on Muhammad will be omitted throughout the book.

[5] Textual variant, or "a man" of you.

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or happy, and what is to be its sustenance and duration of life, O Lord ? In the mother's womb the answer is written.[1]

2. Bāb. The pen is dry (that wrote) according to the (fore)-knowledge of God, and the saying "According to (fore)-knowledge God leads him astray" (Sur. xlv, v. 22). And Abū Huraira said: "The Prophet said to me 'The pen is dry (that wrote) of what will befall thee'."[2] Ibn 'Abbās said: With regard to the words *lahā sābiqūna* (Sur. xxiii, v. 63) the meaning is that those who hasten after good deeds happiness has hastened unto them.

(*a*) 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣain. A man said: "O Apostle of God, are those (destined) to paradise known from those (destined) to hell ?" "Yes," replied he. The man answered: "Then of what use are deeds of any kind ?" He answered: "Everyone does that for which he was created or that which has been made easy for him."

3. Bāb. "God knoweth better what they would have done."

(*a*) Ibn 'Abbās said: The Prophet was asked about the children of idolators (*mushrikīn*). He replied: "God knoweth better what they would have done."

[1] The word "drop" (*nutfa*) suggests that the form of the tradition (*a*) in the *Mishkāt* (p. 12) may be the original, though it reads rather like a conflation: "Verily *the creation* of each one of you who is assembled in his mother's womb forty days is a drop." The same recognition of the origin of man's life, but in a nobler context, will be found in *Pirqē Ābhōth*, pereq iii, 1. The source of both these traditions is to be sought in the Jewish Haggādah, cf. *Yelammedenu* (*Midrash Tanḥuma*), Lublin, 1879, p. 261: "In the embryo sex, constitution, size, shape, appearance, rank, livelihood, and all that will befall the creature save its moral nature are preordained." Cf. also *Niddah*, 16*b*, where the angel presents the *ṭippah* before God and asks what it is to be: strong or weak; wise or foolish; rich or poor; but he does not ask whether it is to become a wicked or a righteous man. The Kanzu'l 'Ammāl (vol. i, p. 29), which refers this tradition to both Bukhārī and Muslim, agrees in the main with the version given in the *Mishkāt* (Bombay, 1880).

[2] The many references to writing require some elucidation. It would seem that here the *lauḥ maḥfuẓ* or preserved tablet is meant. The Quran, uncreate and existent before all worlds, was inscribed on this tablet, as were the deeds and thoughts of men: all that has been and is to be, the believer's faith and piety, the kāfir's unbelief and impiety, are decreed by the writing on the preserved tablet.

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(*b*) Abū Huraira : The Apostle of God was asked about the offspring of idolators. He replied : "God knoweth better what they would have done." [1]

(*c*) Abū Huraira. The Apostle of God said : "None is born but in the religion of Islam. It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian just as you breed cattle. You do not find maimed cattle unless you yourselves first maim them." They said : "O Apostle of God, have you considered the case of him who dies as a little child ?" He answered : "God knows better what they would have done." [1]

4. Bāb. "The command of God is destiny predestined" (Sur. xxxiii, v. 38).

(*a*) Abū Huraira. The Apostle of God said : "A woman shall not ask that her sister be divorced so that she may enjoy her share of conjugal rights.[2] Let her marry, for verily she shall have what has been decreed for her."

(*b*) Usāma. I was in the company of the prophet when the messenger of one of his daughters came—Sa'd and Ubay ibn Ka'b and Mu'adh were with him at the time—to report that her son was at the point of death. He sent word to her : "To God belongeth what He taketh and to God belongeth what He giveth. Everyone (departeth) at the appointed time. Let her therefore be patient under bereavement and earn the reward of patience."

(*c*) Sa'īdu-l Khudrī. The Prophet said : Every living soul whose coming forth into the world has been written by God must come into being.

(*d*) Ḥudhaifa. The prophet preached us a sermon in which

[1] *Bimā kānu 'āmilīn.* The meaning is : This is not a matter for you to inquire into, for God knows better what their actions would have been had they lived ; and therefore their eternal destiny will be decided in the light of His omniscience. In these two *ḥadīth* we have an excellent example of Bukhārī's faithful adherence to his principle. The second *ḥadīth* adds nothing to the first ; yet it is not a mere variant because the *isnād* is entirely different throughout. Consequently both traditions, being duly authenticated, must *ex hypothesi* be held genuine utterances of Muhammad.

[2] *Istafragha fulānun mā fī ṣaḥfatihi* is a proverbial saying meaning "So-and-so took as his share (or exhausted) what was in his bowl".

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he spoke of everything that will happen until the hour of the resurrection. He that knoweth it knoweth it; and he that is ignorant of it is ignorant thereof. If I see a thing which I have forgotten I shall recognize it just as a man knows the face of an absent acquaintance and recognizes him when he sees him.[1]

(*e*) 'Ali. We were sitting with the prophet who had a stick with which he was writing on the ground. He said: "There is not one of you whose resting place in hell or paradise has not been written." Whereupon one of the people said: "Then may we not (abandoning effort) trust in (our destiny), O Apostle of God?"[2] He replied: "No! Do (good) works for everything has been made easy."[3] Then he read (Sur. xcii, v. 5): "He that giveth to the needy and feareth," etc.

5. Bāb. "Works (are to be judged) by their results."

(*a*) Abū Huraira said: We were present with the Apostle of God at Khaibar when he said of one of those who were with him and professed Islam: "This fellow is one of the people of hell." When battle was joined the man fought with the utmost bravery, insomuch that he was covered with wounds and disabled. One of the Companions of the prophet came up and said: "O Apostle of God, do you see that the man you said was one of the people of hell has fought with the utmost bravery in the way of God[4] and is covered with wounds."

[1] This implies that not only has everything been decreed by God but that the whole course of the history of posterity was revealed by Him to the prophet. The *Midrash Rabba* on Ex. xxxi contains an account of how God showed Moses all the kings, principal men, and prophets who would appear in the generations until the hour of the resurrection.

[2] The *Mishkāt* adds to the two words *afalā nattakilu* the gloss *'alā kitābinā wanada'u-l 'amal*, i.e. "May we not abandon ourselves to what has been written of us and forsake (good) works?"

[3] Or prepared. See *Al-Nihāya in loc.*

[4] *Fī sabīl Illah.* The surprise of Muhammad's followers is due to the supreme merit attached to the act of fighting unbelievers. In Sur. iii, 163, there is the proclamation: "Do not reckon those who are slain *in the way of God* to be dead: nay, alive with their Lord are they sustained." Cf. Sur. ii, 149. To fight in the way of God is synonymous with joining in the *jihād*. For the meaning given to the phrase in later times see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, pp. 387 ff.

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The Prophet replied: "Nevertheless, he is one of the people of hell." And while some of the Moslems were on the point of doubting, lo the man, in anguish from his wounds, put forth his hand to his quiver, plucked out an arrow, and pierced his throat therewith. Some of the Moslems then ran to the Apostle of God and said: "O Apostle of God, God has confirmed thy saying. So-and-So has pierced his throat and killed himself." The Apostle of God said: "O Bilāl, rise and proclaim: Only believers shall enter paradise. Verily God strengtheneth this religion with an impious man."

(*b*) Sahl. The prophet looked at a man who did most service to the Muslims on a raid he made in company with the prophet, and said: "He who would see one of the people of hell let him look at this fellow." So one of the people followed him—now he was the most violent of men in contending with the idolators—until he was wounded, when he proceeded to hasten his death by putting his sword point to his breast so that it came out between his shoulders. The man quickly went to the prophet and said: "I bear witness that thou art the Apostle of God!" He said: "But why?" The man replied: "Thou saidst of so-and-so, 'He who would see one of the people of hell let him look at this fellow.' Now he was one who did the Muslims most service, and thou knewest that he would not die thus.[1] And when he was wounded he hastened his death by suicide." Thereupon the prophet said: "Verily the slave may do the works of the people of hell when he is really one of the people of paradise. And he may do the works of the people of paradise when he is really one of the people of hell. Actions are to be judged by their results."

6. Bāb. A vow delivers a slave to fate.

(*a*) Ibn 'Umar. The prophet forbade vows,[2] saying: "Verily they cannot frustrate anything though something is extracted from the avaricious thereby."

[1] i.e. that he would not meet his death in the *jihād*.

[2] The blessings of paradise are expressly promised in the Quran to those who fulfil their vows (Sur. lxxvi, v. 7), *yūfūna binnadhri*.

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(*b*) Abū Huraira. A vow brings nothing to a son of man that has not been decreed for him. Nevertheless, a vow does precipitate a man towards (his) destiny, and it has been decreed that something shall be extracted from the avaricious thereby.

7. Bāb. There is no power and no might save in God.

(*a*) Abū Mūsā. We were raiding with the Apostle of God, and whenever we climbed or ascended a height or went down into a valley we lifted up our voices and shouted "Allah Akbar!" The Apostle of God approached us and said: "Restrain yourselves, O men. For ye do not call to one who is deaf or absent, but ye call to one who hears and sees." Then he said: "O 'Abd Allah ibn Qais, I will teach thee a saying which is one of the treasures of paradise, 'There is no power and no might save in God.'"

8. Bāb. The Protected is he whom God protects (عصم) (in Sur. xi, v. 45, the word عَاصِمَ is the equivalent of مَانِعَ). Mujāhid said: سَدًّا (in Sur. xxxvi, v. 8, "we have placed before and behind them an obstacle" means) a barrier against the truth. They repeatedly fall into error. The word دَسَّاهَا[1] (Sur. xci, v. 10, in "Miserable is he who has corrupted it" [i.e. the soul] means) أَغْوَاهَا misled.

(*a*) Sa'īdu-l Khudrī. Everyone who is appointed caliph[2] has two kinds of intimates: one advises him to do good and incites him thereto; the other suggests and incites to evil. The protected is he whom God protects.

9. Bāb. It is a necessary lot of (the people) of a city which

[1] On the form of this word and the rival meanings given to the verse, see Lane, p. 878, col. *a*.

[2] This anachronism need cause no surprise. It is to be explained by Muhammad's foreknowledge; cf. 2 (*d*) *supra*.

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we have destroyed that they shall not return[1] (Sur. xxi, v. 95). None of thy people will believe save those who have already believed (Sur. xi, v. 38). "And they will beget only impious unbelievers" (Sur. lxxi, v. 28).

(*a*) Ibn 'Abbās. The word حِرْم in Abyssinian means وجب.

(*b*) Ibn 'Abbās. Nothing seems to me more insane[2] than Abū Huraira's report that the Prophet said: "God has written every man's portion in adultery. It must certainly befall. Now it is adultery of the eye to gaze; it is adultery of the tongue to utter (the thought thus engendered); the appetite longs and desires and the body consents or denies." (Here follows the isnadic authority for the *ḥadīth* of Abū Huraira to which Ibn 'Abbās takes exception.)[3]

[1] This is the interpretation of the verse generally accepted by the native authorities. Ibn Jumāna (quoted by Lane, p. 554, col. 3) uses the word حَرَامٌ as equivalent to وَاجِبٌ. The ordinary meaning "forbidden" would seem to make the following لا redundant. But see Rodwell and Sale *in loc.* Some native authorities read حِرْم. Although Arabic supports faintly Ibn 'Abbās' explanation, the Ethiopic lexicon does not. Probably "ban" (Heb. חֵרֶם) is the meaning.

[2] أَشْبَهَ بِاللَّمَمِ. Following the Nihāya I take this to be the meaning. Cf. *Muh. Stud.*, p. 49, for an unfavourable judgment on Abū Huraira. Al Qasṭallānī explains it as "a venial sin".

[3] This tradition is obviously an expansion of Matt. v, 28. It is interesting to notice that the compiler of the *Mishkāt* (p. 12) omits Ibn 'Abbās' fair comment on Abū Huraira. Contrary to his usual custom, too, he gives Muslim's version as well as that of Bukhārī. The former, which is rather more full, runs: "Man's lot, so far as adultery is concerned, has been written. It must certainly befall. The adultery of the eye is to gaze; of the ears to listen; of the tongue to speak; of the hand to seize; of the foot to step forward; the heart longs and desires and the body consents or denies." Muslim's version obscures the point. Bukhārī has transmitted a tradition

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10. Bāb. We have made the vision that we showed thee a cause of dissension for men (Sur. xvii, v. 62).

(*a*) Ibn 'Abbās. This is the vision of the eye which the Apostle of God was shown when he was conducted on the night journey to the temple of Jerusalem.[1] He said: "The tree which is cursed in the Quran" is the tree of Al Zaqqūm.

11. Bāb. Ādam and Moses argued before God (to Him belong might and majesty).

(*a*) Abū Huraira. The Prophet said: "Adam and Moses were arguing, and Moses said: 'O Adam, thou art our father. Thou hast brought loss upon us and caused us to be excluded from paradise.' He replied: 'O Moses, God chose thee by His word and wrote for thee with His hand. Do you blame me for a matter which God decreed concerning me forty years before He created me?' And Adam confuted Moses three times." (The same tradition is reported with a change of two names in the intermediaries between Abū Huraira and the compiler.) [2]

to the effect that unlawful desire is as the sin of adultery; whereas Muslim, by irrelevantly introducing ears, hands, and feet, simply describes the physiological course of the sin.

[1] For a full account of the vast growth of tradition which sprang up on the subject of the Mi'rāj see Asin Palcios, *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Commedia*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 8 ff.

[2] The original form of this *ḥadīth*—which clearly presupposes considerable knowledge of the products of Jewish midrashic fancy—is expanded in Muslim's version (quoted in the *Mishkāt*, p. 11) so that the vulgar may easily understand its point: "Adam and Moses argued before their Lord and Adam confuted Moses. Moses said: 'Thou art that Adam whom God created with His hand and breathed into thee of His spirit and made His angels prostrate themselves before thee and made thee to dwell in paradise. Then didst thou bring men down to the earth in thy degradation.' Adam replied: 'Thou art that Moses whom God chose with His apostleship and with His word and gave thee tables in which is the explanation of all things and favoured thee with His confidence. Then how long was the Torah written before I was created?' Moses replied: 'Forty years.' Adam replied: 'Then do you find in it the words "And Adam disobeyed his Lord and went astray"?' 'Yes,' said he. Adam rejoined: 'Then do you blame me for doing something that God wrote that I should do forty years before He created me?' The Apostle of God said: 'Thus Adam confuted Moses.'" An interesting discussion of this *ḥadīth* will be found in *Al Mu'tazila* (p. 46), where it is condemned as *khabar bāṭil*.

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12. Bāb. None can withhold what God giveth.

(*a*) Warrād, the client of Al Mughīra ibn Shu'ba. Mu'āwīya wrote to Al Mughīra as follows: "Write for me an account of what you heard the prophet say at the end of the prescribed prayer." Al Mughīra then dictated to me: "I heard the prophet say at the end of the prescribed prayer, 'There is no God save God alone; he is without associate. O God, there is none that withholdest what Thou givest and none that giveth what Thou withholdest, and good fortune will not profit the fortunate in place of Thee.'"[1] Ibn Juraij said 'Abda told him that Warrād told him of this. "Then," said he, "I afterwards went on a mission to Mu'āwīya and heard him laying commands on men in accordance with these words."

13. Bāb. He that taketh refuge in God from the misery that overtaketh him and from the evil of fate.[2] And God's Word: "Say: I take refuge in the Lord of the Dawn from the evil He hath created" (Sur. 113).[3]

(*a*) Abū Huraira. The prophet said: "Take refuge in God from grievous adversity, from misery that overtaketh, from evil fate, and from the reviling of enemies."

14. Bāb. (God) intervenes between a man and his heart (Sur. viii, v. 24).[4]

[1] This is the probable meaning of the words (taking the preposition *min* as the equivalent of *badala*, i.e. the wealth or good fortune that cometh of Thee). Zamakhsharī understands this to mean "instead of the obedience and submissiveness due to Thee". Others interpret *minka* as *'indaka* "Will not profit with Thee". Others, "will not defend him from Thee." See Lane, p. 385.

[2] *Qaḍā* is used of a decree of God which is universal in application, and so here of some misfortune suffered by the victim when coming under a law of nature. *Qadar* means generally a man's own particular fate and destiny.

[3] This is one of the texts that the Mu'tazilites read differently. By the slightest possible alteration in the punctuation it was possible to say: "I take refuge in the Lord of the Dawn from evil which he hath *not* created." Instead of شَرِّ they read شَرٍّ; the following ما could then form a negative relative sentence. (See Qasṭallānī, Bulaq, 1285, p. 397; quoted by Goldziher, *M.S.* ii, p. 240.)

[4] The commentators understand these words to mean that God turns man from his desire by influencing his will; cf. Sur. xxxiv, v. 53.

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(*a*) 'Abd Ullah. The prophet used often to take an oath "No, by the Reverser of hearts!"

(*b*) Ibn 'Umar. The prophet said to Ibn Ṣayyād: "I have a riddle to ask of thee."[1] He replied: "Smoke."[2] The prophet said: "Go away, for thou shalt not exceed thy measure (*qadr*)."[3] 'Umar said: "Give me permission to strike off his head!" The prophet replied: "Let him alone. If it is he (the Dajjāl) you cannot do it, and if it is not he then you will gain nothing by killing him."

15. Bāb. Say "Nought will befall us save what God has written for us" ("written" here means) "decreed" قضى (Sur. ix, v. 51). Mujāhid said: (In Sur. xxxvii, v. 162, the word) بِفَاتِنِين means بِمُضِلِّين; (ye are not able to) seduce means "lead astray", save those of whom God has written that they shall burn in Gehenna. "He decreeth and guideth" (Sur. lxxxvii, v. 3) means "He decreeth misery and happiness and He guideth the sheep to their pastures".

(*a*) 'Āisha said that she asked the Apostle of God about the plague.[4] He replied: "It is a punishment which God sends against whom He wills. And God makes it a mercy to believers. There is not a servant in a plague-stricken country who remains therein without removing thence in patient belief, knowing that nought will befall him save what God has written for him, but receives the reward of a martyr."

16. Bāb. We should not be guided aright were it not that God guideth us (Sur. vii, v. 41). Had God guided me, verily I had been of the godly (Sur. xxxix, v. 58).

[1] Or, "There is something that I have concealed from thee."

[2] الدُّخ. Qasṭallānī explains that he wished to say دخان, but was unable to utter it, after the custom of soothsayers who snatch their words. The traditions on this legendary person are collected in the *Mishkāt*, p. 470.

[3] The word would seem to have this meaning here; cf. the similar expression *jawaza qadrahu*.

[4] This subject is more fully discussed in the Kitabu-l-Tibb, No. 30, *Bāb mā yudhkaru fi-l-Ṭa'ūn*. *Krehl*, iv, p. 59.

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(*a*) Al Barā ibn 'Āzib. I saw the prophet on the "day of the Trench" helping us to remove the earth, saying the while:

"If God were not out Guide, then we should stray
From His straight paths and should not fast nor pray.
Then keep us strong and calm in danger's hour;
Stablish our feet by Thy almighty power.
The idolators have wrong'd us, we sought peace,
But they, rebelling, fight and will not cease."

Had we no knowledge of any formal protest against the awful doctrine of predestination, with its implication that God first decrees and effects a man's transgression and then punishes him eternally for what he could not by any means avoid, the very vehemence of the traditional utterances recorded by Bukhari would lead one to suspect that so much emphasis and stress on predestination as a principle of the divine economy could not be spontaneous. And it is certain that here, as throughout the *ḥadīth* literature, school doctrines are clothed in the form of traditions put in the mouth of the prophet in order to secure their recognition as dogmas binding the conscience of the faithful.[1]

It is impossible to find in the foregoing book one clear statement that man is left to work out his own salvation even aided by divine revelation. There is perhaps a suggestion in Bāb 3 (*c*) that heredity and environment are contributory causes to damnation, while 4 (*e*) suggests a connexion between good works and salvation; and Bāb 13 speaks of God as a refuge from calamity and evil fate. But these faint voices are lost in the chorus that proclaim man's fate predestined from the womb. Almost every page of the Arabian Nights, with its allusion to man's destiny written on his brow—the "writing" has become as it were localized—witnesses to the enormous influence predestination exercised on Muslim minds.

As we have seen, the Quran itself can be made to give considerable support to a doctrine of salvation through faith

[1] See on this point Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, pp. 88–130.

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and good works; and therefore the all but complete disappearance of a sane and moral conception of the character of God and of man's relation to his Maker provokes inquiry. The Quran, like the sacred books of the Jews and Christians, contains statements which might fairly be held to support the doctrine of Determinism or of Free Will; yet Islam, in spite of the opposition of enlightened minds within it and of much of the teaching of Muhammad himself, stands alone in its assertion of Predestination. A full discussion of the forces which eradicated a wholesome view of Providence from canonical *ḥadīth* would involve a history of the theological controversies of the first few centuries; but it may be of interest to record the principal factors which deleted all trace of Mu'tazilite doctrines from the Kitabu-l Qadar.[1]

(1) The source of the views of those who championed the cause of man's free will and maintained that God could not act arbitrarily, that he could not do evil and was under a moral compulsion to act in righteousness, was tainted. It must have been notorious that those ideas sprang from men who had free intercourse with Christian theologians. Indeed, it is not without significance that as Mu'tazila doctrines were born in an age when relations with Christians were genial and unimpeded, as in the days of the Damascus caliphate, so under Ma'mun, when the sumptuary laws against Christians had fallen into desuetude, learning, scholarship, and religious philosophy attained their highest point of development.

(2) The weight of the Government was thrown against the Mu'tazilites. The Umayyads, who wished to keep the empire united and tranquil, discouraged all opposition to a patient acquiescence in the *status quo*. They claimed to reign by the *qadar* and will of God as his vicegerents. And it was a corollary—since Islam has no dividing line between things religious and secular—that any speculation as to man's freedom to think and act for himself was likely to promote

[1] It is not our purpose to investigate the influence of Mu'tazilite doctrines on orthodox philosophers.

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a ferment among people none too well disposed towards the Umayyad house. Consequently, those who have always been branded by the Muhammadans as a godless dynasty served orthodoxy well by crippling a sect which would have done more to preserve a connexion between morality and religion than any other theological school which has ever arisen in Islam. God Himself in the orthodox system cannot be cleared of the charge which the Mu'tazilites brought against the God of their opponents' theology; for there is no inherent reason why He should act in equity and righteousness.[1]

(3) The Mu'tazilites afterwards adopted many extravagant notions which brought them into ill odour with the people; and in controversy with their opponents the issues became confused.

(4) The terrible bigotry, cruelty, and intolerance exhibited by the Mu'tazilites and their supporters in the short-lived day of their triumph under Ma'mun and his successors brought about a popular reaction which was so thorough as to sweep away practically all trace of their voluminous writings.

*February*, 1923.

[1] I am entirely at a loss to understand the ground of Baron Carra de Vaux's statement (the italics are mine) in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* [Article "Fate" (Muslim)], vol. v, p. 794: "It is true that there have been scholars who taught fatalism in Islam, and that the books of Muslim theologians and the Quran itself contain propositions apparently inculcating fatalism. At the same time *it must be remembered that the doctrine of fatalism has always been expressly repudiated by orthodox Islam, which believes in the free will of man*, although it encounters serious difficulty in reconciling this with the all-powerful will of God," unless orthodox tradition is to be ruled out of court.

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# The Babylonian and Persian Sacaea[1]

By S. LANGDON

ACCORDING to Strabo, xi, 8, 4, the Sakai, a Sythian tribe, built a temple to the Persian deities Anaitis, Omanus, and Onadatus, and celebrated yearly the festival τὰ Σάκαια,[2] which the people who inhabited Zêla celebrated even in his own day. The passage affords evidence for the celebration of a festival at Zêla in Pontus as late as the beginning of our era. For some reason Zêla, far removed from the old home of these Persian deities, had long been the seat of these Persian cults, from which fact alone it had any importance at all. Anaitis, or the old Persian Anâhita, "the undefiled," was a river goddess, and probably identical with the Elamitic goddess Nahunti. This old Iranian deity, Anâhita, was also a goddess of love and beauty,[3] the Venus or Artemis of Persian religion, and consequently an identification with the Babylonian Ishtar, "queen of heaven," was at once made, as soon as the cults of Babylonia became known to the Persians in the sixth century, and perhaps even earlier. But Strabo, who obviously believed that this Persian festival was connected with the Sacae or Sythians both historically and philologically, gives another explanation of its origin. Cyrus, he says, was defeated by the Sacae and devised this ruse to overcome them. He hastily retreated, leaving behind his camp and all his equipment. The Sythian Sacae pursued him, captured his abandoned camp, in which Cyrus had purposely left much wine and food, and gave themselves over to drinking and feasting. When they had become completely impotent in drunkenness and debauchery, Cyrus fell upon them and destroyed them utterly. Attributing his victory to the national goddess,[4] he instituted a festival in memory of that day called *sakaia* (Σάκαια). Wherever a temple of this goddess stood, it was ordered that the "festival

[1] Paper read at the Centenary of the *Société Asiatique*, Paris, July, 1922.
[2] Var. τὰ Σάκα.
[3] Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, 129.
[4] Anaitis.



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of the *sakaia*" (ἡ τῶν Σακαίων ἑορτὴ) be celebrated, when men and women drank day and night lying together in lascivity.[1]

Strabo has left no information concerning the length of this festival, and, more serious matter still, he says nothing about the season in which it was held. The tale concerning Cyrus is only a myth derived from the erroneous assumption that the *sacaea* was derived from the Scythian tribe the Sakai, and hence Strabo calls it the "Sakaian things", or the "feast of the Sacae". Athenaeus in his *Dipnosophistae*, 639 *c.*, quoting Berossus, says that in the month Lôos, on the sixteenth day, the festival *sacaea*[2] was celebrated *at Babylon*. At that time the masters were ruled by slaves, and one of them governed the house, being clothed like a king. This bogus king was called *Zôgánes*.[3] The Babylonian festival lasted five days. On the other hand, Dion Chrysostomus, in *De Regno*, iv, 67, says that the festival[4] was Persian, and at that time they chose a malefactor and set him on the king's throne. He was permitted to rule the land and sport with the king's wives. Afterwards he was scourged and hung. Frazer, in his *Golden Bough, Scapegoat*, 306 ff. *et passim*, makes much of this privilege of licence with the king's wives, and concludes that the "King of Misrule" was a real king for the short period of the carnival, and was slain as a substitute for the king himself. He has made much of this theory of the slaying of a king at the end of each year in the history of religion, and holds that the whole institution of the *sacaea* and similar carnivals, in which a fool became a bogus

[1] Strabo, xi, 8, 5. [2] ἑορτὴν Σάκαια, var. σακέαν.

[3] Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*[2], p. 10, n. 4, suggests that this is the Babylonian word *sukallu*, a vizier or minister, derived from the Sumerian *sukkal*. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 68, connects it with the word *šaknu* "governor", construct *šakan*, *šakin*, Hebrew *sāgān*, Aramaic *signā*. Sayce's suggestion is apparently the correct one, although it is not mentioned by Zimmern.

[4] ἡ τῶν Σακῶν εορτή, var. τῶν Σακκῶν. These variants all point to an original ἑορτὴ σακέα and to a Babylonian original *isinni sakkûti* "feast of the fools", or *ûm sakkûti* "day of the fools", or *isinni sakki* "feast of the fool".

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king, arose from the desire to find a substitute for the king at the end of each year. We now know the history of Sumerian and Babylonian religion for a period of 4,000 years, and there is nowhere the slightest trace of the practice of slaying a (divine) king at the end of each year as a ritual of sympathetic magic to propitiate the powers of nature. A few of the kings of Isin in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries, in the period when the cults of deified kings was at its height, were actually identified with the god Tammuz, who died and was resurrected each year.[1] This might be explained by Frazer's theory, but it cannot be regarded as a probable explanation.

Our best Greek source is Berossus, and he assigns the festival to Babylon and to the month Lôos, whose precise place in the year has not been determined. It is generally identified with July–August, or, in any case, a late summer or early autumn month. That would seem to rule out any connexion with the Babylonian *zagmuku*,[2] or New Year festival held at the spring equinox in the month Nisan. But it will be seen presently that in the late period the New Year festival of Nisan, called both *zagmuku* and *akitu*, actually contained features unmistakably connected with *sacaea*. That in no way disproves the connexion with an autumn *sacaea*, for the old Sumerian calendar contained two New Year festivals, one in the spring and one in the autumn, and the festival of the *zagmuk*, mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea and identical with month "festival of Bau" at Lagash, was clearly an autumnal festival.[3] Moreover, the ancient calendar of Umma contained a name for the seventh month *min-éš*, or month of

[1] See my *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 26. "Tammuz" is now known to have been the name of a prehistoric Sumerian ruler of Erech, identified with the older Abu, the dying god of Sumerian religion.

[2] See for this word my *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 372. The original Sumerian word *zag-mu* occurs early (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.*, 80, v, 1; 84, iii, 5; 72, viii, 11), and seems to be pre-Sargonic (Genouillac, *Tablettes Sumériennes Archaïques*, p. xvii).

[3] See my *Archives of Drehem*, p. 12, n. 2, and p. 15; Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender*, 34 (second New Year at Nippur); Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 86–99 (second New Year at Erech, month Tešrit, seventh month).

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the second festival. In all these calendars of the Sargonic and post-Sargonic period the year undoubtedly began at the spring equinox, and the second New Year fell at the autumn equinox. Since the terms *zagmuku* and *akitu* originally designated the autumn New Year, it seems certain that the prehistoric Sumerians began the year in the autumn. It is entirely fallacious to discuss the periods and character of the Babylonian New Year festival exclusively on the basis of the *zagmuk* or *akitu* as celebrated at the city of Babylon in the late period. When the year universally began in the spring, the old terms *zagmuk* and *akitu*, applied originally to the autumn New Year festival, became current terms for the great New Year festival at Babylon and in Assyria. But Assyriologists seem to be obsessed with the idea that the cults and calendar festivals of other cities had no influence upon contemporary peoples. In fact, an old New Year festival of the *akitu* at Erech, a much more ancient and influential city than Babylon, was held in the autumn. In any case, the *akitu* or New Year celebration held in honour of Ishtar at Erech is frequently mentioned in texts of the Persian period. It is highly probable that it was an autumn festival, connected like the festival of Ishtar of Arbela with the rising of Sirius in the month of Ab.[1] The old autumn festival of the mother goddess Bau at Lagash and of Ishtar, goddess of love and licentiousness at Erech, seem to be well documented. A celebration with a carnival of the Lord of Misrule was most probably held at the autumnal New Year festival from most remote antiquity in honour of the marriage of the god Ningirsu and the goddess Bau at Lagash, and in honour of the queen of love, Ishtar, at Erech. At the latter seat of one of Sumer's most ancient cults the festival survived until the last century before our era, and it was from there that the carnival passed into Persia under the patronage of Anaitis. The calendars at Ur and Erech both contained two New Year

[1] *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 169. On the *akitu* of Ishtar at Erech, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 111–18.

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festivals,[1] and when Berossus assigns the *sacaea* of the city of Babylon to an autumnal season it is certain that this city also celebrated a New Year festival in the autumn.

We possess rather full details of the *zagmuk-akitu* Nisan festival at Babylon for the first six days of this eleven day celebration, and some details of the rituals of the last six days.[2] A ritual and pantomime of the death and resurrection of Bêl-Marduk formed part of the New Year celebration at Babylon and in Assyria.[3] The tablets which describe the *zagmuk* at Babylon are only partially recovered, and if they contained a description of the sacaea it is yet to be found. But even these incomplete sources permit the inference that a carnival of a similar kind was held during this spring festival. It originally belonged to the older autumnal New Year festival, but was probably transferred to the spring *zagmuk*. One of the important details of the ritual of the fifth day was the temporary abdication of the king of Babylonia. On that day the king went in the early morning to the chapel of Marduk in the great temple Esagila after the high priest had finished the prayers assigned for matins on that day of the festival. The high priest met the king at the door of the chapel, but did not permit him to enter. The king's crown and sceptre were taken from him, together with all his royal garments. These were taken into the chapel and placed on a hassock before Bêl. The high priest returned to the king kneeling at the doors of Bêl's chapel. He smote the king's cheek, boxed his ears, and scourged him. If the king wept the reign of the next year would be prosperous. If the king wept not the reign would end suddenly in disaster. The king was now introduced into the chapel before Bêl, to whom he addressed a penitential prayer professing his humility and virtue. He had received

[1] See ibid., p. 87.

[2] Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 129–48.

[3] The texts of this important ritual were excavated at Assur and translated by Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*[2], 14–21. I have recently recovered two more fragments in the British Museum, and a new edition of the entire ritual is given in my *Babylonian Epic of Creation*.

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his royal power from Bêl; to Bêl it had been surrendered. Temporarily the king of Babylonia and of all Western Asia was reduced to the rank of a layman, scoffed at, and punished by Bêl's vicar upon earth. The high priest now spoke to the royal penitent, promising him Bêl's blessing and the augmentation of imperial power. The royal insignia were restored to him.

We have here, at any rate, definite information concerning the yearly abdication of the king. The ritual allows us to infer that this act was based upon the belief in the derivation of royal authority from Bêl. Yearly this authority must be renewed, and yearly the king must resign his power for a brief moment to receive it again from Bêl. There is absolutely no intimation that the king was put to death in the more primitive ritual. It was during this brief ritual that the whole social order was inverted. A bogus king was installed, and slaves ruled their masters. The custom was ancient, for it is referred to in the Sumerian inscriptions of Gudea, patesi of Lagash about the twenty-seventh century. In the inscription of Gudea, Statue B, vii, 26–34, it is said that when the temple Eninnû was completed for seven days obedience was not observed. The maids made themselves like their mistresses, and the slave was the equal of his master. The strong and the weak slept side by side.[1]

In the celebration of the death and resurrection of Bêl, a ritual held during the Babylonian *zagmuk* of Nisan, one of the acts consisted in a mad race of the celebrants in the streets of Babylon, and in all the sacred places where this ceremony obtained. The commentary on the pantomime says that when the celebrants ran a frenzied race in the streets it referred to the pursuit of the storm bird and demon Zû by Ninurta. Now Zû symbolized the winter darkness and Ninurta was the spring sun. Ninurta was sent forth by the sun-god Ashur against the dragon of winter and he returned, saying, "Zû

[1] Meissner in his article "Die Entstehung des Purimfestes": *ZDMG.*, vol. l, 296 ff., first connected this passage with the *sacaea* carnival.

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is conquered." And Ashur spoke unto Nusku, the messenger of the gods, and said, "Hasten unto all the gods and announce the tidings." The racing and uproar in the streets at the New Year festival symbolized the conquest of the spring sun over the winter season, and the hastening messenger of the sun-god who reported the glad news to the gods. By combining the acts of both rituals the origin of the *sacaea* seems to be fairly evident. The bogus king who ruled for five days represented the winter, and he became a king because the real king was compelled to abdicate, originally for a period of five days.[1] The carnival and licence permitted at this festival appear to have originated in two disparate sources, the theory of the yearly abdication and reinstatement of a king and the myth of the conquest of winter by the spring sun. The dying season of cold and darkness was represented by a fool and jeered at by the throng, who greeted the beneficent spring with hilarity. In fact, the Persians had a similar festival of their own, celebrated in Aṭaro (November), called the *Kūsah barnišin*, or, in Arabic, *Rukūb al-kasai*, "The ride of the beardless one"; according to Gray, in *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, v, 873, the old Persian festival was also held in the spring. A simpleton, chosen as a bogus king, rode naked upon a horse, holding a fan and complaining of the heat. He was escorted by the king's servants, and demanded tribute from everybody. He had the right to seize everything in any shop which refused tribute, and from a pot of reddened water he bespattered all who refused him *dirham*. The people pelted him with snow and ice. The contributions received before the first prayers went to the king (at 7 a.m.), and the contributions before the second prayers (11 a.m.) were retained by himself. He was then beaten and scoffed. Sir James Frazer properly interpreted this Persian festival as a celebration of the passing

[1] Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii, 353, adduces a Sabean inscription to prove that the king of the saturnalia-sacaea carnival held his office during five days at the end of the year as interrex, the real king abdicating at the end of 360 days or twelve lunar months; the bogus king held office during the remaining five days of the solar year.

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of winter. See for the ceremony Hyde, *Historia veterum Persarum*, 249–51, and Albiruni, ed. Sachau, in *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 211.

The corresponding *sacaea* borrowed from Babylonia, and more especially from the autumnal festival, is clearly connected with the *zagmuku*. The difficulties which scholars have found concerning the date recorded by Berossus were self-imposed. There were, in fact, two New Year festivals in ancient Babylonia, and the Persian *sacaea* came from Erech rather than Babylon, since it was associated with Ishtar-Anaitis and not with Marduk. As for the derivation of the word σακκαια, it may be said at once that any connexion with the word *zagmuku* is most improbable. I have suggested in a previous note a derivation from the word *sakku*, fool. The bogus king was known not as a fool, but as *šaknu* or Zôganes, or governor. *Sakku* may have been a title of the bogus king, however, and at present it appears to be the only plausible conjecture.

The problem of the corresponding Hebrew feast of Pûrim, also held in the spring, has been thoroughly dealt with by Dr. Johns in Cheyne's *Encyclopedia Biblica*, J. A. McClymont in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Haupt in his brochure *Pûrim*, Meissner in *ZDMG.* L, 296 ff., and by Frazer in his *Golden Bough, Scapegoat*. The word *pûrim* is now known to mean "lots", and is derived from the Sumerian loan-word *pûru*, a stone bowl. Hesitation on this point is now entirely dispelled by the recently recovered Assyrian law code which contains the phrase *pur-šu iṣalli*, "he shall cast his lot." It is clear that the Hebrew Pûrim was also derived from the Babylonian New Year festival when the gods assembled to decree the fates or lots for the ensuing year. The historical myth to explain the origin of this festival in the Book of Esther involves other problems which conduct us far outside the scope of this article.

*October*, 1922.

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# The Religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani

By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

[*References to Firishta are to the Bombay text of 1831.*]

Firishta records[1] that Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh of Bījāpūr, the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty, on learning that Shāh Ismāʿīl I, Ṣafavī (1502–24), had established the Shīʿah religion in Persia, caused the call to prayer and the *Khuṭbah* to be recited, in the month of Ẕī-'l. Ḥijjah, A.H. 908 (June–July, 1502), in the Shīʿah form, and attempted to establish that faith as the state religion of Bījāpūr. He adds that Yūsuf was the first sovereign in India to make such an attempt. This does not necessarily mean that he was the first Shīʿah monarch in India. All that it means is that he was the first monarch of that religion who attempted to force his people to conform to his own faith.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, made a strange error in describing the rebellion in the Dakan, in A.D. 1347, as a Shīʿah revolt, and its leader ʿĀla-al-dīn Ḥasan, Bahman Shāh, as a Shīʿah by religion. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this theory was invented for the purpose of dividing the history of Islām in India into four arbitrary periods, which Mr. Wheeler described as the Sunnī, the Shīʿah, the Ṣūfī, and the Sunnī revival; but the history of the progress of Islām in India cannot be so conveniently arranged, and it is quite clear, from the records which have been preserved, that Bahman Shāh and the first seven kings who followed him on the throne of the Dakan, were orthodox Sunnīs, and that the Sunnī religion was established throughout the Dakan until Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh disturbed the establishment in Bījāpūr.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler is not a safe guide on this subject.

[1] ii, 18.

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He asserts [1] that the historian Firishta was a Shī'ah, although Firishta's remarks [2] on the Shī'ah custom of cursing the first three Caliphs clearly indicate to which sect he belonged, and in describing [3] the establishment of the Shī'ah religion in Aḥmadnagar in A.D. 1537–8, by Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, at the instigation of Shāh Ṭāhir, he says: "He omitted the names of the three Caliphs from the *Khuṭbah*—May God be our refuge and preserve us [from the like]!"

But although the Bahmanī dynasty was, like other dynasties of contemporary origin, Sunnī, Aḥmad Shāh Valī, the ninth king of the line, adopted the Shī'ah religion. His conversion was purely a personal matter, and he alienated no portion of his subjects by attempting to establish the religion of his adoption.

He had always shown an inclination for the society of holy men. In A.D. 1399, in the reign of his brother and predecessor, Fīrūz, the saint Sayyid Muhammad Gīsū Darāz, whose shrine is still the best known in the Dakan, came from Dihlī and settled at Gulbarga. He was at first received with much honour, but the accomplished and cultured Fīrūz soon wearied of the rude and unlettered saint, and treated him with neglect. Aḥmad, simpler and more devout than his brother, built a hospice for Gīsū Darāz, and was unremitting in his devotion to him. The misfortunes of Fīrūz in the latter part of his reign were attributed by many to his neglect of the saint, and Aḥmad certainly enjoyed the active sympathy of Gīsū Darāz in his intrigues to supplant his brother.

When Fīrūz, towards the end of his reign, fell sick, he was persuaded by his ministers, Hūshyār 'Ain-al-Mulk and Bīdār Niẓām-al-Mulk, that his brother, Aḥmad, aspired to the throne, and that, unless steps were taken to curb his ambition, Ḥasan Khān, the king's son, stood but little chance of succeeding his father. Fīrūz thereupon resolved to blind his brother, but Aḥmad, becoming aware of his intention, fled with his son, 'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad, and took refuge in the

[1] Vol. iv, p. 84, n. 6. [2] ii, 18. [3] ii, 212.

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hospice of Gīsū Darāz. The saint, on being requested to read the *Fātiḥah* (the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*) for the fugitives, removed his turban, bound one half of it round the head of the father and the other round the head of the son, and assured them that they should both, in due course, ascend the throne. The hospice was not likely to remain a safe refuge for long, and Aḥmad, having made his preparations, fled the next morning with a body-guard of 400 horse, accompanied by his devoted partisan, the merchant Khalaf Ḥasan of Baṣrah, probably a Shī'ah.

While he was still hesitating whether to withstand the army sent against him by his brother, he is said to have been decided by a dream which he dreamed as he was reposing under a tree during his retreat. A man dressed in the habit of a *darvish* appeared to him and placed on his head a green crown [1] of twelve points, saying, as he did so, "This is the crown of sovereignty which one of the *shaikhs* who sits in seclusion has sent for you." The crown of twelve points was symbolical of the twelve *Imāms* of the Shī'ahs.

Aḥmad's troops defeated the royal army, chiefly by means of a stratagem resembling that of the Gillies' Hill at Bannockburn, and the citadel of Gulbarga was eventually surrendered to Aḥmad, who was recognized as king by Fīrūz. Fīrūz died very shortly afterwards, on 2nd October, 1422, and was said to have been suffoçated by his brother's orders.

Aḥmad Shāh, on his accession to the throne, distinguished Sayyid Muhammad Gīsū Darāz with an even greater measure of his favour, with the result that the cult of the saint became the fashion among all classes. The predecessors of Aḥmad on the throne of the Dakan had been disciples of the family of Muhammad Sirāj-al-dīn Junaidī, but Aḥmad forsook the representative of this family and became the professed disciple of Gīsū Darāz, on whom he bestowed large endowments which were long enjoyed by his descendants.

[1] The hat of a *darvīsh*, to which this name is given.

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Early in his reign Aḥmad himself earned the title of *Valī*, or "saint", by the prompt answer to his prayer for rain, which terminated a famine which had already afflicted his kingdom for a year.

He had certainly not adopted the Shī'ah religion in 1429, for in or very shortly after that year he approached Naṣīr Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, with a proposal for a marriage between his son and heir apparent, 'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad, and Naṣīr Khān's daughter. The marriage was one of policy, for the design originated in Aḥmad's desire to act as arbiter between the small state of Khāndesh and the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa, but a newly converted, and therefore zealous, Shī'ah would not have sought a bride for his son in a family which vaunted its descent from 'Umar the Discriminator, who is especially anathematized by Shī'ahs.

At some subsequent period in his reign Aḥmad heard the fame of the Shī'ah saint, Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh of Māhān,[1] near Kirmān in southern Persia, and sent a mission composed of Shaikh Ḥabīb-Allāh Junaidī, Mīr Shams-al-dīn of Qum, and others to Kirmān to act as his proxies in demanding admission to the circle of the saint's disciples. Ni'mat-Allāh sent in return Shāh Mullā Quṭb-al-dīn of Kirmān with a box which, he said, contained something which he had long held in trust for Aḥmad Shāh. On Quṭb-al-dīn's arrival at court Aḥmad recognized him as the *darvish* whom he had seen in his dream under the tree, and when Quṭb-al-dīn informed him that he had been commanded to convey to him a crown which Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh had held in trust for him since a certain date, but had hitherto had no opportunity of delivering, Aḥmad, in a state of great excitement, said: "If this is a crown of twelve points my dream has come true." Quṭb-al-dīn calmed him and replied: "It is, indeed, a green crown of twelve points, and I am that person who, by command of the saint, appeared to you in your dream."

The king then embraced the *mullā*, seated him beside him,

[1] Now always pronounced Māhūn.

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and opened the box, which was found to contain the "crown" described. Firishta quotes the following verse:—

شاه در هند و شیخ در ماهان * تاج بخشی چنین کنند شاهان

"The king in India, and the Shaikh in Māhān—
Verily thus can (true) kings bestow crowns."

Ni'mat-Allāh, in the letter which he wrote with his own hand to the king, styled him "the greatest of kings Shihāb-al-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, Valī (the Saint)", and Aḥmad, whose modesty had hitherto restrained him from assuming the title bestowed upon him by public acclamation, no longer hesitated to use it in the *khuṭbah* and in all official documents.

Aḥmad now sent to Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh another mission, consisting of Khvāja 'Imād-al-dīn of Samnān and Saif-Allāh of Gulbarga, with a request that one of the Shaikh's sons might be sent to India to act as a spiritual guide to the king, but the saint had only one son, Shāh Khalīl-Allāh, living, and could not spare him, so sent instead Khalīl-Allāh's son, Mīr Nūr-Allāh, who was received with great honour and was entitled by the king *Malik-al-Mashā-ikh*, or "King of *Shaikhs*". On the spot where the king received him a village, named Ni'matābād, and a mosque were founded, and Aḥmad bestowed on him one of his daughters in marriage.

On the death of Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh in A.H. 834[1] (A.D. 1430–31), his son Khalīl-Allāh visited India with his other two sons, Shāh Ḥabīb-Allāh Ghāzī and Shāh Muhibb-Allāh, and it is believed in the Dakan that he remained at Bīdar until his death, for a shrine known as that of Khalīl-Allāh *Butshikan* is there pointed out as his tomb, but the myth appears to be a fiction of reverence, and the shrine to be a cenotaph, for Khalīl-Allāh's grave is in his father's beautiful shrine at Māhān, where the traveller is ever welcome. Habīb-Allāh and Muḥibb-Allāh seem to have settled permanently in India,

[1] The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* (King's translation, p. 57) places the saint's death in A.H. 843 (A.D. 1439–40), but this is evidently a mistake, for Aḥmad Shāh was himself then no longer living.

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and both received royal brides, the former a daughter of Aḥmad himself and the latter a daughter of his son, 'Alā-al-dīn Aḥmad. Ḥabīb-Allāh received a grant of the town of Bīr and adopted the profession of arms, receiving from Aḥmad Shāh the title of Ghāzī on account of his numerous campaigns against the infidels. Muḥibb-Allāh occupied a hospice outside the town of Bīr.

The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* [1] tells a story which indicates Aḥmad's religious belief. Sayyid Nāṣir-al-dīn of Karbalā visited his court and received from him, besides other valuable gifts, a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalā. As he was returning homewards, he passed through the camp of Shīr Malik, one of the leading nobles of the kingdom and sister's son to Aḥmad. As the Sayyid did not salute Shīr Malik with sufficient ceremony, the latter caused him to be pulled from his horse and the Sayyid returned to court and complained of the indignity which had been put upon him. Aḥmad Shāh at once summoned Shīr Malik and, to the horror of the courtiers, caused him to be trampled to death by an elephant, without even giving him an opportunity of defending himself, remarking as the execution proceeded, "Thus only can insult to the descendants of the prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islām is incumbent on all." It may be inferred from Aḥmad's benefaction to Karbalā that he was already a Shī'ah, and though Sunnīs respect Sayyids, it is improbable that a Sunnī monarch would have carried his respect to such lengths as these.

Aḥmad's tomb at Bīdar proves conclusively that he was a Shī'ah. The interior of the dome is decorated with inscriptions arranged in concentric circles, of which the innermost calls down blessings on Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah, and the Twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah—'Alī al-Murtaḍā, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, 'Alī Zain-al-'Ābidīn, Bāqir, Muḥammad Ja'far, Mūsā Kāẓim, 'Alī b-Mūsā al-Riḍā, Muḥammad Taqī, 'Alī al-Naqī, Ḥasan

[1] King's translation, pp. 64, 65.

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al-'Askarī, and Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The first three Caliphs are nowhere mentioned in any inscription in the tomb.

The second and third inscriptions, counting outwards, are lists of the names of holy men, the second of twenty-one and the third of twenty-four. Each begins with the name of Muḥammad and ends with that of Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh, and they probably represent one the natural and the other the spiritual line of descent of Ni'mat-Allāh from Muḥammad.

To those acquainted with the history of the relations between the Sunnīs and the Shī'ahs during the past three or four centuries it may appear strange that a Shī'ah king should have been able to rule quietly and without opposition over subjects of whom the majority were Sunnīs, but the difference between the two sects is mainly academical, and from the time when the right of succession to the Caliphate ceased to be a question of practical politics until the establishment of the Shī'ah religion in Persia by Shāh Ismā'īl I Ṣafavī, Sunnīs and Shī'ahs, excepting occasional quarrels, seem to have agreed to differ; but the adoption of the Shī'ah faith as the state religion of Persia was a political move expressly calculated to create religious, as well as political, differences between the Persian and the Ottoman empires, and it was with the object of embittering relations between the two that the Ṣafavī Shāhs, after securing the allegiance to their own faith of almost all their subjects, and persecuting the few who remained staunch to the Sunnī tenets, introduced the foolish custom of publicly cursing the first three Caliphs and of burning the second in effigy. These customs exasperated the Sunnīs, and the reprisals which followed permanently estranged the two sects, but before the misplaced zeal of the Ṣafavīs produced these results Sunnīs and Shī'ahs were able to live together in amity. The great Tīmūr was a Shī'ah who ruled over Muslim subjects of whom the great majority were Sunnīs, and it is no part of a Shī'ah's duty to force his religion where it is unwelcome, or to run any risk in attempting to propagate it. On the contrary, he is permitted to take refuge in *taqiyyah*,

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which consists in denying or even reviling his religion among those to whom it is distasteful.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in describing the rebellion of the southern provinces against Muḥammad Tughluq as a Shī'ah revolt, was perhaps misled by the later history of the Muslim kingdoms of the Dakan. The Bahmanī kingdom remained a Sunnī kingdom as long as it lasted, but at the end of the fifteenth century it fell to pieces, and of its dominions were formed the three greater kingdoms of Bījāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, and Golconda, and the two smaller kingdoms of Berar and Bīdar. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb Shāh, the founders of the dynasties of Bījāpūr and Golconda, were Shī'ahs, and although Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, founder of that of Aḥmadnagar, was a Sunnī, his son, Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, was converted to the Shī'ah faith, and the dynasty remained thenceforward Shī'ah. The two small Sunnī kingdoms were absorbed by their more powerful neighbours and the Shī'ah religion thus became established throughout the Dakan, but this did not happen until about 300 years after what Mr. Talboys Wheeler described as the Shī'ah revolt. The custom of reviling the first three Caliphs prevailed in Golconda and Bījāpūr after the absorption of Aḥmadnagar in the Mughul Empire, and furnished Aurangzīb with a pretext, of which he stood in little need, for proceeding to extremities against them.

*3rd April, 1922.*

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# The Pictures, etc., of the Royal Asiatic Society

By W. FOSTER

IT is perhaps not unfitting that the recent centenary festivities should be supplemented by a brief survey of the various objects of interest which the Society has accumulated during the hundred years of its existence. Apart from the intrinsic value of many of the items, the collection includes portraits of most of the scholars who were prominent during that period in Oriental research—amongst them many of the Society's office-bearers. It also testifies to the liberality of our members in the past; and it seems a mere act of justice that, after commemorating those who have benefited the Society in other ways, we should spare a little attention for those who have presented the artistic treasures that decorate its premises.

Let us begin our survey with the Council Room on the ground floor. Immediately inside the entrance, on the side nearest to the windows, we find a portrait of Lieut.-Col. William Lambton. This was painted at Hyderabad in 1822 for G. Lamb by William Havell, and was presented to the Society in March, 1828 by Sir William Rumbold. Lambton was the founder of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, and the present year is the centenary of his death, after twenty-five years of steady labour at his great task.

Close by this portrait stands an antique coat of chain armour presented by Col. Knox-Niven. It was dug up near Rawalpindi, close to the reputed site where Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander the Great, was buried.

Between the windows is a plaster bust of Brian Hodgson, the well-known scholar and the donor to the Society of many Sanskrit MSS. The original bust, which was made in 1844 by T. E. Thornycroft, is in the possession of the family, and a photograph of it is given in Sir William Hunter's biography of Hodgson.



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Next we come to a portrait in oils of the Earl of Munster, presented by the artist, James Atkinson. The Earl, better known perhaps as Col. George Augustus Frederick Fitzclarence, was a son of William IV. He saw a considerable amount of military service, both in the Peninsular War and afterwards in India, where he acted as A.D.C. to the Marquess of Hastings. Sent home by way of Egypt with dispatches, he published in 1819 an account of his journey, which is still read. He took much interest in Oriental subjects; joined the Society on its formation; became a member of the Council in 1825; was a Vice-President for many years, and was elected President in 1841—a year before his death. He also played an active part in the management of the Oriental Translation Fund, and was President of the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. This sustained interest in all matters relating to the East was perhaps one of the reasons that caused Lord Munster to be looked upon for a time as a likely successor to Lord William Bentinck, when the latter resigned the post of Governor-General of India.

Passing by the fireplace, which, as it does not belong to our Society, cannot claim our attention, in spite of its interesting wood carvings and its Dutch tiles, we come to a large and striking portrait of Ernest Rénan, by Edwin Long, R.A. There does not appear to be any record of the circumstances in which this painting came into the possession of the Society.

On the other side of the room we find an oil painting, presented in April, 1828, by Sir Alexander Johnston, representing the reception by Governor Falk of the ambassadors sent to Colombo by the King of Kandy in 1766 to sign the treaty of peace by which that monarch ceded to the Dutch East India Company the whole of the sea coast of Ceylon. In front of this picture stand several objects of interest. In the centre is a plaster cast from a black basalt stone presented to the British Museum in 1860 by the Earl of Aberdeen. The inscription, which is in archaic Babylonian, belongs to the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.). This cast is flanked on

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either side by two models in black marble, each 13 inches high, of Egyptian obelisks at Heliopolis and Zan. These were presented in 1832 by Capt. P. Rainier, C.B., R.N. On the right of the group is placed a frame containing a cast of the seal of Sarvavarman, of the Maukhari Varmans (sixth century A.D.). The seal was found at Asirgarh. It is described in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. iii, p. 377, and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, p. 220.

Leaving the Council Room, we proceed to examine the works of art in the Hall. In one corner we find an interesting relic in the shape of a framed letter from King William IV, dated 20th July, 1830, consenting to become the Patron of the Society. The next object that presents itself, deservedly occupying a place of honour, is a marble bust of Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the founder of our Society and its first Director (1823–37). This bust, presented as the result of a subscription raised amongst the members in 1837–8, is a replica, probably by Henry Weekes, of the bust by Sir Francis Chantrey in the India Office Library. A photograph of it forms the frontispiece of the centenary volume. Behind may be noticed a small engraved portrait of Sir William Jones, who founded the Bengal Asiatic Society. This engraving, which is reproduced as the frontispiece to Jones's collected works, and again in Lord Teignmouth's biography of him, was presented by Col. Francklin in 1836.

Proceeding round the Hall, we find in a recess by the window a plaster bust of Sir Radha Kant Deb, K.C.S.I., the well-known Sanskrit scholar. This bust is a copy of one by Edward Geflowski, now in the Town Hall, Calcutta, and was presented to our Society in 1872 by the Radha Kant Deb Memorial Committee. Another copy was given at the same time to the India Office, where it was placed in the Library. On the table is a cast of a stone bowl with Hittite characters. The original bowl, now in the British Museum, was found at Abu Habba, the ancient Sippar, in Babylonia. The cast was formerly the property of the Society of Biblical

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Archæology. Hard by is a stone figure of Ganga, seated on a crocodile.

As we ascend the stairs we notice a coloured engraving showing Shuja-uddaula, Nawāb of Oudh, and his sons, including his successor, Āsaf-uddaula. This is the work of E. Renault, based upon a painting by Tilly Kettle, and was published in 1796. Next we come to an oil painting by a Persian artist depicting a couple of Persian ladies; this was a gift from Sir Gore Ouseley in 1828. We then reach the largest of the Society's pictures, representing the Peshwa Mādhu Rao, with his minister, Nāna Farnavīs, and two attendants. This painting, which was presented by the wife of General Robinson in 1854, may be confidently identified as the work of James Wales. At some time or other it has been taken off its stretcher and folded in four—a fact which suggests that it was part of the loot of the last Marātha War. The centre of the folds was at or near the left eye of the Peshwa, which has had to be retouched in consequence.

Near this picture is a cast of a stone pillar, now in the Brussels Museum, which was dredged up in Ostend Harbour, having probably been brought home as ballast by some ship trading to the East Indies. It is a record of the Chola dynasty of Southern India, and bears an inscription of the reigning king, Rājendra Deva, in his seventh year (about A.D. 1058). The cast was procured through the good offices of Mr. Robert Sewell.

Behind this pillar hangs a frame containing a full-size copy of the inscription on the tomb of Hāfiz at Shirāz. This drawing was presented to the Society by Sir Frederic Goldsmid. A translation of the inscription will be found in Professor Browne's *Year Amongst the Persians* (p. 280). On a window-ledge is a gilded wooden figure of Buddha; while in front of the companion window are two more images of him, both in alabaster. All three were given in 1837 by Col. J. Hopkinson. Between the two windows hang a couple of water-colours, supposed to have come from the collection of

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Col. Colin Mackenzie. One represents the Kutb Minār, near Delhi; the other a group of Hindu temples.

At the top of the stairs is a cast of a stone slab found at Hamath, with a Hittite inscription; while standing on this cast is another of a stone lion, covered with Hittite characters. This lion, Dr. Hall tells me, was found at Mar'ash, and is now, he believes, at Constantinople. Both these casts were formerly the property of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Over the lion hangs a water-colour drawing of Tirumala's Mantapam at Madura; while on the other side of the doorway is another view of the same building. The second drawing is known to be the work of an Indian artist, Alagheri Sare Naig, and we shall probably be safe in ascribing the first to him also. Beneath the second picture, on the left of the door, is a black stone block with a Sanskrit inscription, an account of which has been given by Dr. Barnett in the Society's *Journal* for 1915 (p. 505). This stone came from the collection of General Stewart.

The short passage to the left contains a sculptured stone from Java, presented by Mr. Van der Palni in 1832. It represents a fruit-tree with two figures, male and female, one on either side, the whole surrounded by two snakes. Above this is placed a picture representing the Court of Fath Ali Shāh of Persia, who is shown seated on his throne, surrounded by his sons and courtiers. The six figures in European dress are Sir Gore Ouseley, Sir Harford Jones, and Sir John Malcolm on the right of His Majesty, and General Gardanne, M. Jouannin, and M. Jaubert on his left. Turkish, Arab, and Indian envoys are also included in the picture. This painting appears to be a copy made by Robert Havell (and subsequently engraved by him) from one in the possession of Thomas Alcock, of Kingswood, which had been copied from the original on a wall in the palace at Nagaristān.

On either side of this painting, arranged in two groups of four each, we find a series of Indian paintings representing the eight Dikpatis or Lords of the Cardinal Points (the sun,

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moon, and principal planets). At the end of the passage hangs a large photograph of Dr. John Muir, C.I.E., the first Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, and founder of the chair of Sanskrit at Edinburgh. This has been reproduced in the centenary volume. Underneath is a plaster cast given by Sir Walter Budge in 1922, bearing an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.

Entering the Lecture Hall, through a door elaborately carved, we find on the right a water-colour drawing presented in 1856 by Sir George Thomas Staunton. It represents the reception by the Chinese Emperor Kienlung in 1793 of the British embassy under Lord Macartney. The ambassador is seen on the right, clad in the robes of a Knight of the Bath; and by his side is Sir George Leonard Staunton, in the scarlet gown of a Doctor of Laws of Oxford University. The page in attendance on the ambassador is Staunton's son, the donor of the picture. The drawing was the work of William Alexander, who was attached to the embassy as artist, and who afterwards became Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. It has been reproduced in Staunton's account of the embassy, and again in a recent work entitled *Our First Ambassador to China*.

Between the two front windows is a marble bust of General Sir Henry Worsley, G.C.B., a generous donor to the Society. The bust was the work of William Behnes, and the cost was defrayed by the proceeds of a subscription among the members in 1837-8. Behind the bust is a photograph of Lord Reay, our late President.

Between the windows and the first of the two fireplaces hangs an oil painting presented by Sir George Thomas Staunton in 1834. It is the work of a Chinese artist, and depicts a judicial inquiry held at Canton in 1807, to investigate a charge of murder brought against some seamen of the *Neptune*. The inquiry, which resulted in a verdict of accidental homicide, was held in the hall of the English factory, in the presence of the Select Committee. In a pew on the left are

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represented Capt. Rolles, R.N., Sir George Thomas Staunton, and John William Roberts, Thomas Charles Pattle, and William Bramston (the three members of the Select Committee). These facts are taken from an interesting article by Dr. Morse in the Society's *Journal* for October, 1922; to which we may add that a lithograph by Gauci (of which the Society possesses a copy) was based upon this painting.

On the other side of the fireplace we find an oil painting which forms a rather incongruous feature of the collection. It represents a Brahminy bull, and was given to the Society by Mr. R. Clarke in 1832. Its chief interest is as a specimen of the work of George Chinnery.

The next picture we come to is a water-colour drawing by J. Stephanoff, representing the High Court of Justice at Kandy in Ceylon. A trial is taking place before two judges, and many of the figures appear to be likenesses. On the back is a note referring to an engraving made from this painting by W. Bennett, and stating that the picture was intended to commemorate (1) the establishment of the High Court, and (2) the abolition of domestic slavery in Ceylon. The name of the donor is not recorded, but probably we shall not be wrong in surmising that it was Sir Alexander Johnston.

Beyond the second fireplace hangs an oil painting given by Sir Alexander in July, 1828. It portrays the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke with the two Singalese priests who were taken by Johnston to England in 1818 at their earnest request in order to be instructed in the learning of the West. Dr. Clarke offered to undertake this task, and they studied with him for two years; after which they returned to Ceylon, where one became Translator to Government and the other was employed by the Wesleyan missionaries settled in that island. In presenting the picture, Sir Alexander said that it contained excellent likenesses of the only two Buddhist priests that had been in England up to that time.

Next to this picture is placed an Indian painting of a Rājput prince on horseback at the door of a house, with attendants.

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On the other side of the door leading into the Library are two more Indian water-colours, depicting respectively (1) a nobleman and eight ladies in a garden, and (2) the Rās Mandal, with figures of Krishna and the Gopis. On the back of the second of these pictures is an equestrian portrait of a Mughal noble. We next encounter a marble bust by Richard Westmacott of Dr. George Henry Noehden, of the British Museum, who was the Society's first Secretary. Then we come to an Indian drawing of a Hindu lady with a child on her lap; and beyond that to a large portrait in oils of Horace Hayman Wilson, the celebrated Sanskrit scholar, librarian first at the East India House, and then at the India Office, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Director of this Society from 1837 to 1860, and President from 1855 to 1859. This portrait was painted in 1840 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Watson Gordon, and was presented to the Society by its members. An engraving was made from it by William Walker, and a reproduction will be found in the centenary volume.

To the left of this painting hang three Burmese water-colour drawings of King Theebaw of Burma and his wives. These were a gift from Mr. W. Judson Addis in July, 1880. Then comes a copy of the well-known engraving by Charles Turner of Thomas Daniell's picture of the Darbar at Poona in 1790, when the ratified treaty was handed to the Peshwa by Sir Charles Malet. This engraving was presented to the Society in 1830 by Mr. William Huttman. The next object of interest is an Indian painting given by Major Charles Stewart in 1834, depicting the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr at Agra. In addition to the Emperor, thirty-nine members of his court are represented, and in most cases named; among them are the Princes Parwez, Khurram, and Shuja. The picture, which was brought to England in 1776 by Col. Alexander Champion, has been attributed to Abdu-s-Samad, a painter of Jahāngīr's time, but this is now doubted. A description of it will be found in the first volume (p. 325) of the Society's *Journal*. Next to this is another Indian painting, representing Bhīm Singh of Mewār on horseback, with attendants.

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Continuing our progress round the room, we next meet a pair of oil paintings in one frame, presented by Sir Charles Forbes in 1836. The persons represented are Jamsetjee Bomanjee and Nowrojee Jamsetjee, two well-known master shipbuilders in the Bombay Dockyard between 1792 and 1844. Round this picture are grouped three small water-colour drawings. The first is a view at Ajanta, from the entrance of one of the cave temples; the second depicts Bombay Harbour at sunset as seen from Malabar Hill. Both these sketches are by James Griffiths, and they were given by Mr. W. F. Sinclair in 1883. The third water-colour, which is unfinished, was presented by Mr. R. P. Fulcher in 1824; its subject is the interior of the temple of Govind Deva at Brindāban.

I have now described briefly the contents of the hall and the two principal rooms, and little remains to be said about the works of art in other parts of the building. The Secretary's room has upon the mantelpiece a painted figure of Ganesha, given by the late Dr. Fleet, while near by is a circular bronze plaque of Sir Richard Burton. Above these hang several engraved portraits and photographs, as well as a pen-and-ink sketch by A. D. Butler (1856) of Col. Rowlandson, the Professor of Hindustani at Addiscombe Military Seminary. Above these again is a large Burmese painting of the King of Ava's palace, presented by Lieut.-Col. Burney in March, 1841. In another part of the room will be found a water-colour drawing of the fort of Hindoli, in the Bundi State. The Librarian's room contains a photograph of a bust of Thomas Manning, the well-known Chinese scholar and friend of Charles Lamb. His collection of Chinese books was presented to the Society by his executors in 1841.

On the back staircase and in the lobbies appertaining thereto will be found a large number of pictures, mostly photographs or engraved portraits. Time will not permit me to mention more than a few of these. The top lobby contains, amongst other pictures, an oil painting presented by Major-General Hardwicke in 1827, depicting "The Sheep-eater, as

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he exhibited at Fatehgarh in 1796". An account of the performance was given in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. iii, p. 379. This rather unpleasant production was lithographed, and the Society possesses a specimen print, also presented by General Hardwicke. Descending the stairs we notice another oil painting, given in 1834 by Capt. Melville Grindlay, representing a Bairāgi (Hindu devotee); two Indian drawings of Jagannāth, presented by General Hardwicke in 1829; a water-colour drawing by G. R. Sarjent of the Grant Medical College at Bombay; a large plaster medallion of Sir Walter Elliot, given by his widow; a signed photograph of King Chulalonkorn of Siam, sent by himself to the Society; and a photographic reproduction of a drawing by William Daniell of the Queen of Kandy, of which an engraving will be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. Another item not to be missed is a water-colour drawing representing Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India, with his peon and his two Indian assistants. This appears to be a copy of the oil painting by Thomas Hickey (1816), now in the India Office.

In the window recess stands a plaster bust of Lord Metcalfe, by E. H. Baily (1843). The original bust was formerly in the Metcalfe Hall at Calcutta, but has recently been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall in the same city. Other copies are to be found in the India Office Library and the Oriental Club.

So far I have dealt merely with the items that are exposed to view. In addition the Society has a large collection in portfolios of Indian, Siamese, Singalese, and Burmese drawings which still await expert examination. It also possesses a number of drawings in water-colour, sepia, pencil, and pen and ink by European artists, including Lieut. J. Harris, Joseph Perry, William Daniell, Dr. George Lynch, Capt. J. Low, and Lieut. W. E. Lynch, besides numerous engravings, plans, lithographs, and photographs. Finally there is a portfolio, given by Colonel James Tod, containing, amongst

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other drawings, the materials for the illustration of his well-known *Annals of Rajasthan*. These are particularly interesting, including as they do the original drawings (many by Capt. Waugh), and in some cases the drawings made from these by professional artists, with proofs of the resultant steel engravings.

I have now run in a summary fashion through the whole collection, leaving fuller information to be sought, by anyone desirous of it, in the manuscript catalogue prepared by the late Dr. Codrington, and now preserved in the Society's library. That catalogue, which has served as a basis for my paper, was the outcome of a movement started in 1914, when the Council, on the initiative of Sir Percy Sykes, nominated a committee to compile a detailed catalogue for issue in printed form. The committee consisted of Sir Percy Sykes, Mr. Crewdson, and myself; and on the lamented death of Mr. Crewdson his place was taken by Mr. Longworth Dames. Dr. Codrington took a lively interest in the scheme, and with the assistance of Miss Hughes (now Mrs. Frazer) drew up a list of the pictures, etc., adding such details as he could collect from the scanty records of the Society. The committee met several times, and a good deal of labour was bestowed upon the work. Delay was caused by the war, and by the Society's removal to fresh premises; and finally a standstill was imposed by two very different reasons. In the first place the strained condition of the Society's finances rendered it unlikely that funds would be available for printing the catalogue; and secondly it was found that a large proportion of the Oriental pictures could not be properly described without expert assistance of a laborious character. Whether these obstacles will be overcome at some future date remains to be seen. Meanwhile I have offered as a stopgap this cursory sketch.

*December, 1923.*

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## KARSA, KARSAPANA

On page 366 of the volume of this *Journal* for 1916 Mr. F. W. Thomas writes: "The word *karṣa* in the sense of a certain weight, whence the coin *kārṣāpaṇa* = *paṇa*, etc., is regarded by Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6) as 'probably indigenous, as it is derived from *kṛish*, to mark or furrow'. This view is no longer tenable." He bases this opinion on the occurrence of *karša* in Old Persian and of *karṣa* in Aramaic, and holds that the word in Sanskrit is an importation from Western Asia.

In Aramaic the word occurs in documents of the Persian period. It does not seem to be of Semitic origin, and it reasonably may be inferred that its use in Aramaic is due to its employment by the ruling race. We thus have to consider *karṣa* from the point of view of Iran and India.

In Sanskrit the root *kṛṣ* means: (1) "to draw, attract, drag, pull"; (2) "to draw or make furrows, to plough." The noun *karṣa*, in addition to the meaning of a particular weight, has the sense of "drawing, dragging, ploughing, a furrow, a scratch".

In Modern Persian the verb کشیدن means "to drag, bring, bear, carry; hang (a man on a gibbet)" and also colloquially "to weigh" (Phillott, *Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary*, 1914; Wollaston, *English-Persian Dictionary*, 1894).

The primary meaning thus is "to drag". Now, in Greek, ἕλκειν σταθμόν is "to draw down the balance", i.e. "to weigh so much", and the verb is used absolutely in the intransitive sense of "to weigh". Further, the noun ὁλκή constantly is used for "the weight" *par excellence* sc. the drachma (F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*,

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p. 207 ff.), an exact parallel to the Old Persian *karša* and Sanskrit *karṣa*. It, therefore, is submitted that there is no necessity to suppose importation from the West.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

[It is not very clear what Mr. Codrington understands to be the facts. The Sanskrit *kṛṣ* and the Iranian *karš* have not the meaning "weigh" (a modern Persian colloquialism is certainly not in place), and therefore there is no possibility of deriving *karṣa* therefrom in that sense. Moreover, *karṣa* never means weight. Being found in Aramaic documents of the sixth century B.C. in Egypt, the word is clearly not derived from India, and there is no evidence of its having come from Persia; my contention, however, was merely that it came to India from Western Asia, which need not exclude Persia. In a passage to which I referred, Professor Williams Jackson notes the word on a weight of Darius.

The Greek ὁλκή seems to be cited as an analogy merely, and we should also note that for this word the meaning *drachma* is quite late; Liddell and Scott cite Sextus Empiricus and Galen only. For σταθμός the meaning "balance" is secondary to that of "measure".—F. W. T.]

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## A GRANT OF THE VAKATAKA QUEEN PRABHAVATIGUPTA: THE YEAR NINETEEN OF PRAVARASENA II

During a short visit to Poona Sardar Abasahib Muzumdar, on behalf of the Bhârata-Itihâsa-Saṃśôdhaka Maṇḍala there, handed over to me four copper plates for decipherment and taking estampages, two for the Maṇḍala, one for my reading, and two to illustrate an article in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. On examining the plates, measuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., I found that they contain a most valuable grant of the Gupta period, viz. one of Prabhâvatiguptâ, daughter of Chandragupta II, and the chief queen of Śrî Mahârâja Rudrasena (II) of the Vâkâṭakas. The most interesting point is that she calls herself

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the mother of Mahârâja Śrî Dâmôdarasena Pravarasena. Another important point is that the record is dated in the nineteenth year of the reign of Pravarasena प्रवरसेनस्य राज्यप्रशासत[1] संवत्सरे एकोनविंशतिमे, the actual date being the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. In the grant of the same queen edited by Professor Pâṭhak and Mr. K. N. Dikshit (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 40) the date given is the 12th day of the bright half of Kârttika in the thirteenth year. The editors remark: "This might be either from the accession of Rudrasena II or from that of the young prince in whose name the queen mother was ruling; the former supposition appears to be more probable." On the analogy of this grant of the same queen it is reasonable to infer that the thirteenth year is that of Divâkarasena. But who was this Divâkarasena? Was he the same person as Dâmôdarasena or Pravarasena? Dr. Fleet has edited two grants of Pravarasena II, viz. the Chammak and Siwani copper-plate inscriptions, both of his eighteenth year (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, pp. 235–49). These grants were made at Pravarasena's command or instructions (वचनात्). The present record is of his next year.

To judge from the wording of this grant, as also from the other, one is inclined to believe that Prabhâvatiguptâ was more proud of her paternal relations, the imperial Guptas, than of her connexions with the Vâkâṭaka family.

The grant is issued from the feet of the god of Râmagiri, which appears to Râmtek in the Central Provinces. The Bhaktakâbhôgakshetra is conferred on the Brâhmans of the Taittirîya Śâkhâ of the Pârâśara gôtra. They are the inhabitants of Aśvatthanagara.

The dûtaka is Vevanda Svâmin, and the writer of the grant Prabhusiṃgha (Prabhusiṃha).

I have given my preliminary readings of the text in my article read before the Bhârata-Itihâsa-Saṃśôdhaka Maṇḍala

[1] [राज्यं प्र°°तः? or राज्यप्रशासन?—F. W. T.]

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for me. The grant will be edited in full in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere. I am indebted to the Secretaries of the Maṇḍala for kind permission to publish this summary of a most valuable record.

Y. R. GUPTE.

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## SURESVARA AND MANDANA-MISRA

In the April number of the *Journal* of this year I drew attention to some facts showing that the current view which identifies Sureśvara with Maṇḍana-Miśra is in all probability erroneous. There is another piece of evidence pointing to the same conclusion. The extensive metrical commentary, known as Vārttika,[1] of Sureśvara on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, has been summarized by Vidyāraṇya in his *Vārttika-sāra*.[2] On page 573 of this work we find the opinion of the author of the *Brahma-siddhi* cited, as that of "a knower of the true teaching of the Veda" (*veda-rahasya-vit*), in support of a certain interpretation of the well-known *Upaniṣadic* formula *neti neti*. We know that the *Brahma-siddhi* was written by Maṇḍana-Miśra, and the commentator on the *Vārttika-sāra* also mentions him as its author.[3] Now, the *Vārttika-sāra*, as its name implies, purports to be an abstract of the views of Sureśvara: and, if Sureśvara were identical with Maṇḍana-Miśra, there would be no point at all in the citation of the opinion in question. The reference here should, therefore, be to an authority other than Sureśvara.[4]

[1] Published by the Ānandāśrama, Poona.

[2] Published in the *Chowkhāmba* Series, Benares. Regarding the authorship see st. 3 at the beginning of the printed commentary on the work (page 1).

[3] The same interpretation of *neti neti* is alluded to in the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka*, i, 250, and is ascribed to Maṇḍana in the commentary on the work named *Subodhinī* (see *Ānandāśrama* Edition, vol. i, p. 227).

[4] The matter in dispute here, viz. the precise significance of negative statements like *neti neti* as compared with positive ones like *Tat tvam asi*, is of importance in the history of *Advaita*. It points to a doctrinal difference between the schools of Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana-Miśra, and may furnish a further argument for holding that Sureśvara was not the same as Maṇḍana-Miśra. But we do not urge it, as we are not aware of any specific reference

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By the way, the reference to Maṇḍana-Miśra in the *Vārtika-sāra* throws light on the authorship of the *Śaṅkara-Vijaya*,[1] which identifies him with Sureśvara.[2] As has long been suspected, it cannot be ascribed to Vidyāraṇya; for, if what we have stated above is correct, Vidyāraṇya, who as the author of the *Vārtika-sāra* knew that the two were distinct, could not have identified them in another work of his.

M. HIRIYANNA.

MYSORE.

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## THE TERMINATION *WAIH* IN THE PERSIAN PROPER NAMES

The termination *waih* was frequent in the Persian proper names of the Islāmic times, and seems to have produced an archaic and naturally foreign sound in the ears of classical writers.

The origin of the final *hā'* is difficult to determine. Is it a euphonic excrescence after the weak letter *yā'* preceded by the heterogeneous vowel *fatḥa* ?—the process of the combination of the heterogeneous vowels with the weak letters is well known to all Semitic scholars, and has given rise in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic to extremely complicated rules known in the last language as قواعد الاعلال—, or is it an addition used for the purpose of accentuating the weak consonantal sound of the *yā'*, resembling what generally happens with the هاء السكت, with the feminine demonstrative هذه, and in exclamations such as يا اسفاه ?

to this difference in the works of Sureśvara, although his immediate disciple Sarvajnātman, the author of the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka*, alludes to it (see i, 250–6).

[1] Published in the *Ānandāśrama* Series.

[2] See e.g. Canto x, st. 74 ff.



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There is a tendency among some modern scholars to consider this *hā'* like a quiescent *tā'*, to move the penultimate *yā'* with a *fatḥa*, while giving an homogeneous vowel to the *wāw*; e.g. to the form *Bābuwaih* (the name of the well-known Shī'ah writer, Ibn Bābuwaih al-Ḳummi) they prefer *Bābūyah* (cf. Brock. i, 287, etc.). I believe, however, that this last orthography is not the right one, for the following reasons:—

1. The name *Bābuwai* was borne by many Persian Christians (cf. the East Syrian Patriarch of A.D. 457–84), and the Syriac letters of the name leave no doubt whatever as to the right pronunciation of the word: ܒܒܘܝ. Further, in Christian Arabic documents the word is very often written in the MSS. as بابوي, and sometimes as بابواي, with an *aliph*. When the Syrians feel, like the Arabs, the difficulty of pronouncing a *wāw* with an heterogeneous vowel, they simply drop this last letter; so this very word has also the form *Bābai*—a name borne by many Persian Christian writers, the best known of whom is Bābai the Great (A.D. 569–628).

2. If we were to adopt the form *Bābūyah*, we would be obliged to extend the process to all the names that have the same termination. We would have, for instance, to write *Sībūyah* for *Sībawaih*, *Miskūyah* for *Miskawaih*, *Khālūyah* for *Khāluwaih*, etc., and this in spite of the fact that in all the Christian Persian documents written in Syriac, and preceding by centuries the beginning of Arabic classical literature, a *yodh* invariably ends such words.

A. Mingana.

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## PUBLIC HEALTH IN ANCIENT CHINA

The personnel and duties of five departments, constituting the State Medical Service under the Chou dynasty, are set forth in the *Chou li*. Whether this elaborate organization actually existed in its entirety outside the pages of official regulations is conjectural, and so is the precise date of its inception. Probably it was not solely the invention of the

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Chous; and, even if the scheme were drawn up during the latter centuries of their rule, one guesses that something of the kind was in being before they rose to imperial dignity in 1122 B.C. This surmise is supported by the ancient tradition that Huang Ti some thousand and five hundred years earlier investigated the nation's health, thus establishing the principle that the emperor's responsibilities extended to the physical welfare of his subjects. An instinct for conservatism in administration, as in other directions, has always characterized the Chinese. Indeed, down to the establishment of the Republic twelve years ago the standards formulated in the *Chou li* have been venerated as providing models for guidance in official and social life. Doubtless many of the institutions outlined in the *Chou li* were heritages from former ages, though amplified and organized by the genius of the dynasty. The Huang Ti legend supports the belief that the State Medical Service had an ancient origin. It is contained in a book entitled *Su wên* 素 問. The exact date of the book is unknown, but probably its contents represent very old oral tradition committed to writing some centuries B.C. We see the Yellow Emperor taking council of his chief medical advisers about the health of his subjects. Incidentally, it is interesting to find the general decadence of society, as it existed four and a half millenia ago, being deplored; for disparagement of present-day conditions coupled with glorification of the past is an ever-recurring phenomenon familiar to us as to the Chinese. The opening passage runs thus:—

"He [i.e. the Yellow Emperor] asked the Celestial Preceptor [i.e. Ch'i Po], saying: 'We have heard it said that men in the remote past all lived to be a hundred without enfeeblement of their mental or bodily functions. But nowadays the span of human life is only half that and all man's faculties decay. Are the times changed, or is man himself at fault?'

"Ch'i Po replied: 'They who lived in the far-off past were men who knew *Tao*. They modelled themselves on the *Yin* and the *Yang* [the two great principles of the Universe],

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and they lived in harmony with the course of Nature. Food and drink they took in moderation. Their mode of life was well regulated, and they never wore themselves out with misdirected activity. Hence they were able in the flesh to consort with spiritual beings, and complete the full term of a natural lifetime, amounting to a hundred years before they departed.

"'Present-day man is different. Spirituous liquors are his drink. His habit is perverted, and he gives himself up to drunkenness and sexual indulgence. His passions exhaust his vitality, and his dissipations destroy his finer nature. Not knowing how to restrain his lust, his spiritual self lacks guidance. Thinking of nothing but pleasure, he sets at naught the [simple joy of] living. His whole mode of life is undisciplined, and that is why he dies at fifty.'"

Ch'i Po was chief of the Court physicians. His name coupled with that of the Yellow Emperor are still commonly current in a phrase used for the traditional art of healing, and he occupies in the Far East very much the same position as Asclepius does in the West. It is noteworthy that he is called by a title, Celestial Preceptor 天師, which is generally associated with the so-called Popes of Taoism. Chang Tao-ling, the first of these hereditary pontiffs, included a system of faith healing among his doctrines.

W. Perceval Yetts.

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## THE *INDIAN ANTIQUARY*

With the object of securing the future existence of the *Indian Antiquary* and enlarging its scope, a small private company has been formed to take over the Journal from its sole proprietor, Sir Richard Temple, who has agreed to remain as Governing Director of the new company. This Journal is now in its fifty-second year and holds an important place in the annals of Indian historical, epigraphical, and archæological research, numbering among its contributors many distinguished scholars of the East and West. The new

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company appeals to all who are interested in India's history to send donations or subscriptions to the Journal. The former may be sent to Sir R. Temple, Bart., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 9 Pall Mall, and subscriptions (Rs. 20 yearly) to the Superintendent, British India Press, Bombay, or to Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, W. The Journal is deserving of the support of all scholars.

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## FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis novembre 1922, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. van Vollenhoven (sécrétaire-trésorier).

2. Grâce, d'une part, à la vente satisfaisante des publications de la fondation, d'autre part à l'appui hautement apprécié du " Leidsch Universiteitsfonds " (fonds universitaire de Leyde), le bureau a réussi à s'acquitter de sa dette. Il a même pu accorder une subvention à M. le prof. Wensinck à Leyde, pour la Concordance des recueils de traditions mahométanes qui a été entreprise, sous sa direction, avec la collaboration de plusieurs savants.

3. Il reste des six publications de la fondation un certain nombre d'exemplaires qui sont mis en vente, au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur Brill aux prix marqués : (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde du Ḥamâsah de al-Buḥturî (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) Kitâb al-Fâkhir de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) Streitschrift des Ġazâli gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) Book of the Dove de Bar Hebraeus, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; (5) De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10.

*Novembre, 1923.*

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

REMINISCENCES. By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, D.Litt., LL.D., D.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 485 pp., 1 plate. London: Macmillan, 1923.

A most admirable book—a book by a scholar as wide-read and an Orientalist as renowned as any country can produce, and withal an acute observer of the men and the things around him. Those who have known Professor Sayce as a raconteur are probably not surprised at the entertainment provided for us in this volume, but for the outside world, who only knew him from his books upon Biblical archæology and kindred subjects, and the learned papers which he has written, these *Reminiscences* must come as a revelation.

Noteworthy are our veteran Assyriologist's earliest recollections, including his spiritualistic experiences at a time when he could not have been a spiritualist, and the cult (if we may so name it) was yet in its infancy. Professor Sayce's long connexion with Assyriological studies makes it difficult to realize that he was first appointed to the chair of Assyriology in 1891. The conditions were that he should have no duties either of residence or of teaching, though it was understood that he should give some lectures each year upon the subject. It is needless to say that he has done more than fulfil these conditions, as the world of Assyriological students well knows.

But this book is not only the record of a great scholar and antiquarian—it is also an account of the peregrinations of a great traveller. After dealing with his childhood, growth, and after-life, Professor Sayce relates his travels on the Continent and ultimately in the East—Egypt, Palestine, Africa, Cyprus, the Soudan, and the Far East. Of all these places he has many good stories to tell and adventures to relate. He was on the Continent when the Franco-German war broke out, and was, at Nantes, taken for a Prussian spy.

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Referring, later on, to the Old Testament Revision-Committee, of which he was a member, he describes the various suggestions for translations which were made, and the objection of the American committee to the words " did Milcah bear " on the ground that they sounded like " did milk a bear ". His visits to America and Japan also furnish material for much interesting matter.

But the wealth of names contained in this work is embarrassing. We find therein men of every stamp and of almost every class. Of G. Smith, the printer-Assyriologist, he speaks in high praise. There is also a good sketch of Dr. Birch, Smith's old chief and mine, whose reputation on the Continent as an Egyptologist and pioneer translator stood exceedingly high. Among other archæologists prominent in their originality he refers at length to that genial American, Mr. Cope Whitehouse, who identified the depression known as the Wady Rayyân with Lake Moeris, which, he thought, could be again filled with water and used for irrigating Egypt's sandy wastes. His theory that the great pyramid had been built from the top downwards was at first put forward as a joke. Cope Whitehouse's gay and laughing manner always made it difficult to tell whether he was serious or not.

I should like to write more about this picture of scholastic life during the last 70 years, but space is restricted, and a reviewer can only recommend the reader to read the volume itself. It should attract all Orientalists and every man interested in English—or British—scholarship. For the world at large, moreover, it is the revelation of a charming personality.

Die Entstehung der Manichäischen Religion und des Erlösungsmysteriums. Von I. Scheftelowitz. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 86 pp. Köln, Giessen : Alfred Töpelmann, 1922.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of this well-reasoned monograph, in which the author covers and deals with every

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aspect of Manichæism. Especially interesting are the author's references to the influence of Babylonian beliefs on the teaching embodied therein. Among these was the worship of the seven planets, some of which bear Babylonian names (noteworthy is Dlibat, Venus, for *Delibat*, which is generally transcribed *Dilbat*). A version of the Babylonian Tiawathmyth was also adopted by the Manichæans, in which the Dragon of the Deep attacks the source of light, and Merodach, acceding to the prayers of the gods, fights with her. The result was as in the Babylonian account with which we are all acquainted—her defeat and division into two parts to form the waters above and beneath the firmament. The book is full of interesting details, and a good contribution to the literature of the subject.

BABYLONIAN PROBLEMS. By Lieut.-Col. W. H. LANE, with an Introduction by Professor S. LANGDON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxvi + 350 pp., 29 plates, 2 maps. London: Murray, 1923.

In this book Col. Lane deals with the site of Opis, ancient Mesopotamia, the march of the 10,000 from the Babylonian Gates to Opis, the invasion of Mesopotamia by the emperor Julian in A.D. 363, and the size and the defences of Babylon. Quotations from inscriptions and records, in a series of 20 appendices, support his arguments. They deal with the history of Sennacherib, the Cyrus Cylinder, the Nabonidus Chronicle, and numerous references to, and descriptions of, Babylonia and the neighbouring lands from Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Biblical sources. It will be easily understood that a work covering such an extent of ground as this must be of considerable value, the more especially as it is the production of one who is well acquainted with the tract from personal inspection and exploration.

The site of Opis is dealt with in the first three chapters, which deal with the authorities for and against the identification proposed; describe the ground and the ruins from a

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military point of view; and finally treat of the various ruin-mounds in the district. A number of interesting sites, mostly small, are described, and the author in the end comes to the conclusion that a comparatively small mound called Tel Abir is the site of Opis. He admits, however, that the pick of the explorer can alone settle the question satisfactorily. Of the other noteworthy chapters which this book contains, that describing Babylon and its ruins is probably the most valuable. In this the wall from Opis to Sippar (Abu-habbah), Babylon's reservoir, the Araḫtu canal, the topography of the city in general, and the military operations undertaken at the time of its capture, are discussed. It is impossible to refer to all the details, but from what has been said it will be seen that this is a book of the first rank for the information which it gives. Professor Langdon's Introduction, dealing mainly with all the names which Opis has borne since its foundation, is most interesting, and shows that scholar's grasp of his subject.

DIE ASSYRIOLOGIE, 1914–1922. Wissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse in Bibliographischer Form. Von ERNST F. WEIDNER. 9×6, x+192 pp. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922.

An exceedingly useful classified list of Assyriological publications for the years referred to. Notes of the contents of papers, etc., are in many cases given. The subjects seem to be very correctly divided, though in the case of papers and books of mixed contents this has not always been an easy matter. It is a publication which allows a searcher to see what has been published on any given section of Assyriology, and, as such, deserves the thanks of all interested in the subject.

ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR, with Chrestomathy and Glossary. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, viii+122 pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

Although a small book, this Grammar contains all the information needed by the beginner to enable him to read

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most of the simpler inscriptions, and some of the more difficult ones. The signs in the syllabary are well chosen, and the chrestomathy contains a good selection of extracts in the Assyrian character. The author's reputation as a popularizer in the best sense of the word is a guarantee of the excellence of the work.

I.D. 1215. A HANDBOOK OF SYRIA (including Palestine). Prepared by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 723 pp., 14 plates. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920.

In this work of 723 pp. we have a mass of information concerning the Holy Land and the districts immediately connected with it. As the book is very concise and full of detail, it is difficult, within the compass of a short notice, such as this is, to deal with its contents with any degree of completeness. That it is a very important work may be judged from even a superficial examination of its contents. Especially interesting is the historical notice of the district; but the traveller and the merchant will naturally find the descriptions of the country, its products, manufactures, and climate of greater value. Chapters xi–xxi are devoted to the *Jebel Ansarieh*, the Lebanons, the Damascus-plain, Judea, Samaria, etc. There is an excellent index, and 15 half-tone views. The book is a mine of information for all interested in the Holy Land.

HISTORICAL SITES IN PALESTINE, with a short account of Napoleon's Expedition in Syria. By Lieut.-Com. C. L. TRUMPER, R.N.R., M.R.A.S. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 138 pp., 3 maps. Cairo and Jerusalem, 1921.

This is a useful little book giving descriptions of 430 towns and sites in Palestine by one who is well informed upon the subject. The index, however, contains no less than 1,100 names. There are three maps. The long description of Jerusalem is good. The paper wrapper of the cover has a

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picture of the Garden-Tomb, which ought to be cut away and placed within the book. This is an interesting little handbook—much material in a small space.

Der Alte Orient, 23 Jahrgang, 2 Heft. Hethitische Gesetze aus dem Staatsarchiv von Boghazköi (um 1300 v. Chr.). Unter Mitwirkung von Dr. Johannes Friedrich übersetzt von Dr. Heinrich Zimmern. 9×6, 32 pp. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1922.

A very interesting contribution by two well-known German Assyriologists to a very interesting series of booklets. These laws are similar to those of Assyria and Babylonia already known. They deal with murder, manslaughter, assault, and slaves; theft, breach of trust, cattle-mutilation, burglary, arson, etc. In both documents translated the laws largely refer to agricultural matters, such as one might expect to find in the district of Boghaz Keui. The date of these and other similar fragments seems to have been the thirteenth century before Christ. There is an introduction of two pages, in which it is pointed out that a reform in Hittite law took place somewhat earlier than this date. The book is a useful contribution to our knowledge.

T. G. Pinches.

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The Dīnkard. By Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Vol. XVII, Book IX; Contents of the Gathic Nasks, Part I. Bombay: British India Press, 1922.

It is half a century since this, the first edition of the Pahlavi text of the Dīnkard, the most extensive work of the Middle Persian literature, began to be published. The first volume, dated 1874, was edited by the then Parsi High Priest, Peshotan Dastur Behramji Sanjana, who continued the publication until the time of his death after the issue of the ninth volume in 1900. With Volume X the publication was continued by his son, the present learned High Priest, in 1907. This seventeenth volume, dated 1922, carries on the work of

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editing and translating as far as the middle of the ninth book of the original. We are thus within measurable distance of the completion of this most extensive and important work which consisted altogether of nine books. When E. W. West published his review of Pahlavi literature in the *Grundriss* (1896) he reckoned that the portions then extant contained about 169,000 words, only books iii to ix being known, and the earliest chapters of the third book lacking some pages at the beginning. The Dīnkard, as is well known, is a miscellaneous collection of all kinds of information concerning the doctrines, customs, traditions, history and literature of the Mazdean religion under the Sasanian dynasty, which was the golden age of that faith. According to its own statement it was commenced somewhere about A.D. 813 and 833, and was completed by the well-known Atūrpāt about 880. That it was composed at the time when Irān was ruled by the Sasanian dynasty appears clearly from the manner in which the royal authority is spoken of in several passages, where the sovereign is considered as the adherent and protector of the Zoroastrian religion and even as holding the supreme authority both civil and religious, which could only have been at a time when the Mazdean religion was the national cult. The nation is still divided into the traditional four subdivisions, as in the Avesta, here styled *māno, vīs, zand, matā* (household, village, tribe, country). It is also significant that there is no mention of Islam, and that the three false religions expressly condemned are Judaism, Christianity, and Manichæism. Attacks are directed against the Christian doctrines, but nowhere is there question of Mohammedan teachings. The nation is still called the people of Irān, and the duty of their kings is to attack the "Romans", i.e. the Byzantine Greek Empire.

The seventeenth volume of the series now issued shows the very great advance made by Parsi scholarship during the half century that has elapsed since the appearance of the first. The edition of the text is, as before, followed by a double version, one in English and one in Gujarati. In the earlier

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volumes the editor was responsible for the Gujarati version, which was afterwards rendered by another Parsi scholar into English. Native scholars had not yet assimilated the scientific methods and results of Western scholarship, particularly of our great English Pahlavi scholar, Dr. E. W. West. They had to depend upon the frequently inaccurate and misleading traditional interpretations of a sacred language, which had been to a considerable extent forgotten. In 1884, whilst utilising the earlier volumes of the Dīnkard for comparative purposes, I felt myself obliged to work over several of the most important passages which experience had shown to be so incorrectly rendered that they could not be utilised as they stood. West led the way by his critical translation of several portions of the Dīnkard in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxxvii and xlvii, containing versions of books v, vii, viii, and ix. It is sufficient to compare the last few volumes of the present series to see what great advance has been made in Parsi scholarship. The last three volumes of the series, viz. xv, xvi, and xvii, are of especial interest inasmuch as they give us the eighth and ninth books, already translated by West, which profess, and apparently correctly so, to give a summary of all the twenty-one nasks or books which made up the original Avesta, of which it is known that only one (*Vendidād*) survives complete. These conscientious summaries of the lost nasks are therefore of quite exceptional importance. Scholars will be thankful for this valuable publication and will congratulate the learned Dastur upon having brought his laborious task so near to completion, and will hope that another volume may probably conclude the whole, which will be a worthy monument to the modern Zoroastrian scholarship.

I note that the editor rather happily renders the title Dīnkard as "the encyclopædia of the Religion", a phrase suggested by a recent well-known publication in this country. The book is indeed encyclopædic, though without that orderly arrangement which we are accustomed to. It is rather an agglomeration of very miscellaneous treatises, and, in fact,

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as I pointed out years ago, one chapter, the longest of all, is really nothing else than a complete medical treatise forming an *enclave* in book iii.

The Trustees of the Jamshedji Jijibhoy Translation Fund, under whose patronage this, as the preceding volumes, is published, are deserving of thanks for their munificence in this and so many other publications.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

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THE ORIGIN OF BIBLICAL TRADITIONS. By ALBERT T. CLAY. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 224 pp. Yale and Oxford University Presses, 1923.

Professor Clay has just published a very interesting book embodying the lectures he has been giving at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. They are by way of answer to the criticisms passed upon his recent attempt to discover traces of a Western Semitic origin in the Creation and Deluge legends of Babylonia, and at the same time a defence of his theories regarding an "Amorite" empire and an "Amorite" civilization which antedated that of Babylonia.

Out of his stores of Assyriological knowledge the Professor has brought forth much that is new and much also that is true. Whether we agree or not with its conclusions and conjectures, the work is full of suggestiveness, and the author is rightly insistent on the fact that some of his earlier theories, such as the "Amorite" origin of the Isin dynasty, have been verified by subsequent discovery. But I think that minor details, some of them of very doubtful character, have confused his general outlook. He has, indeed, dropped the hypothesis of an "Amorite empire", but the conception which lay behind it remains, though not clearly expressed. This is that the culture which we associate with Babylonia had its source, not in Babylonia, but among the Western Semites.

Such a view, however, is contrary to archæological fact. The basis of that culture was literary, bound up with the use

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of the clay tablet and the cuneiform script. And both the clay tablet and the cuneiform script were essentially Babylonian. Wherever they penetrated the language of Babylonia, more or less influenced by its surroundings, went with them, as well as necessarily the literature to which the script had given birth. Even in Palestine we have as yet found no tablets inscribed in the native language, though such must have existed as they did in Mitanni and Asia Minor. Even in that essentially West Semitic district of "the land of the Amorites", the kingdom of Khana, the language of all the tablets hitherto discovered is Babylonian. Many years ago I endeavoured to show that a considerable part of the earlier portions of the Old Testament has been translated from cuneiform texts written in the Babylonian language, and the proofs of it which I found in the existing Hebrew text are of exactly the same nature as those which Professor Clay urges on behalf of the "Amorite" origin of the Deluge story.

But because the early culture of Western Asia was Babylonian, it does not follow that there were no West Semitic elements in it. There was give and take, and the very fact that Babylonia was conquered and ruled by two "Amorite" dynasties—possibly three, though the names of the kings of the dynasty of Mari do not seem to be Semitic—means that West Semitic names, words, deities, and other cultural elements entered into the language and literature of the country. In the north, indeed, the West Semitic dialects came to be used in place of the literary Babylonian as is evidenced by the Cappadocian tablets of Kara Eyuk and the private letters of the Assyrians. But were the Amorites Semites at all? The "country of the Amorites" doubtless came to signify all the country westward and to a certain extent northward of Babylonia, and so included the population which we call Western Semitic. But as late as the age of Sargon of Akkad "the land of the Amorites" is still defined as extending only from Beth-Sin or Harran to Talbis (*Talbesh*) and Sumer, that is to say, as equivalent to the land of Mitanni,

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and the only early king of it whose name we know and who was conquered by Naram-Sin bears the Mitannian name of Akwaruwas. The excavations at Assur have shown that the primitive Sumerian stratum in Assyria was followed by a Mitannian one, and the Semitic era did not begin till after the conquest or expulsion of the Mitannians. So, too, the cities of northern Syria bear Mitannian names, like Khal-pa (Aleppo), Tuni-pa, Tisini-pa, and the like, and as late as the time of the Hittite king Khantilis (1850 B.C.) the *Khar-lus* or Mitannians were still in possession of Aleppo. The patronal deity of Aleppo did not become Hadad until the Assyrian period; in earlier days he bore the non-Semitic name of Mer, while his consort never lost her Mitannian name of Sala even in Assyria.

Professor Clay has made out a good case, I believe, for the "Amorite" origin of the Creation story, which in its present form is a glorification of Merodach. In my Hibbert Lectures I doubted whether it was really older than the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and though the discoveries at Assur have proved that to be a mistake, I am still sceptical as to the antiquity of the introduction and references to Ansar, and believe that even in its earliest form the poem is not anterior to Khammurabi. The names of the gods Gaga, Nikkal, Khani, not to speak of Lakhma and Lakhama, certainly belong to the "Amorite" region, and Professor Clay's reference to the story of the contest between Kronos (El) and Ophioneus recorded by Pherecydes is much to the point. Khani, however, was not Semitic but Mitannian, as the more correct nominatival form of the word, Khanis, shows; the word signified "king" according to *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, 51, R. 11. Professor Clay, again, is certainly right in holding that the various forms under which the word corresponding to the Hebrew *tehom* is found indicate that it was of foreign origin, but I cannot follow him in another argument to the effect that because a word is met with once or twice only in Babylonian literature it was not only borrowed by the



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Babylonians from elsewhere, but the fact also indicates the foreign origin of the document in which it occurs. It is only necessary to apply the argument to English poetry or the works of Dr. Johnson to discover its fallaciousness.[1]

Hence his attempt in this way to prove the "Amorite" origin of the Deluge story must be pronounced a failure. One of his philological arguments, for instance, turns on the question whether the word for "fig" is written *teina* or *teita*, a purely immaterial matter since the one form denotes the male and the other the female fig. The fig, it is true, was not indigenous in Babylonia, but it was already known there in the time of Sargon of Akkad (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, December, 1915, p. 239).

But the Professor's main argument against the Babylonian origin of the story is strangely inverted. Because heavy rains were exceptional in Babylonia and common in Palestine, therefore, he argues, the story must have originated in the latter part of the world. It is obvious that just the converse must have been the case, and that it was only in a land where a deluge of rain is exceptional that such a story would have arisen. He goes on to remark that in Egypt where the Nile inundates the valley every year there was "curiously enough" no tradition of a deluge; it would have been curious, however, if there had been, for the inundation was an annual and regular phenomenon. On the other hand, the Hebrew version of the tradition lays stress on "the fountains of the great deep" being "broken up", which is ignored in the Babylonian account; this is natural if the tradition came from Babylonia, where there was a "great deep", while in Palestine there was nothing of the sort. There is not even a tide in the Mediterranean.[2]

[1] That *khubur* in the Creation story is West Semitic must be admitted, but it proves the West Semitic origin of the story no more than the use of the cognate *khabiri* "confederates" in K 890 (first published by Brünnow) proves the West Semitic origin of the Assyrian hymn in which it occurs.

[2] I can, however, furnish grist for the Professor's mill. According to an early geographical list (KTAVI. 183. 12, 25) Surippak, the city of Ziûsuddu, the Chaldæan Noah, was in the land of the Shuhites (*Sukhi*) on

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I am at one with Professor Clay in believing in the antiquity of the Old Testament records and in his "Euhemeristic" view of early Babylonian history, and consequently fully admit the important part played by the Semitic element in the evolution of Western Asiatic culture. Some of the kings in the first post-diluvian dynasty of Babylonia already bear Semitic names. But that culture had its earliest home on the alluvial soil of Babylonia, where the clay tablet was invented and the pictographs of the script became the cursive writing which we call cuneiform. Excavation has shown that its primitive neolithic population, related probably to that of Susa, was conquered by the Sumerians who, if they brought the vine with them, must have come from the Armenian highlands, and with whom, at any rate, the civilized life of the country began. Then came the Semitic infiltration from the west, and possibly also from the north-west, and brought with it the far-reaching modifications of the old culture which influenced not only Babylonia, but Assyria, Elam, Mesopotamia, and Palestine as well. In Palestine, as we now know, the earlier neolithic inhabitants were superseded by Semites, who brought with them the use of metals and the practice of cremation. There is no reason any longer to doubt the truth of the tradition reported by Justin (xviii, 3, 2) that they came from "the Assyrian Lake".

But it must be remembered that "Semites" and "Semitic languages" are not convertible terms. The speakers of the "Parent-Semitic" itself will not all have belonged to the same race. The "Amorites" of the Egyptian monuments had no racial connexion with Hebrews or Syrians. They were a blond people with blue eyes related probably, as I pointed out nearly forty years ago, to the Kelto-Libyans. Were they identical with the "Amorites" of Naram-Sin?

the Euphrates and not far from Hit. The treatise *De Dea Syria* tells us that at Membij the chasm was shown into which the waters of the Flood were drained, and the local hero of the Deluge bore the name of Sisythes, i.e. Ziûsuddu.

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Professor Clay will have to revise his Egyptian dates, which are impossible. Archæology has shown that the Egyptian Middle Empire was coeval with the Babylonian dynasty of Akkad (see *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 103), and at Jebêl a statuette of the early Sumerian period (3500 B.C.) has been found among the relics of the fifth and sixth dynasties of Egypt.

A. H. Sayce.

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Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders. By Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xi + 132 pp., 30 full-page photographic illustrations. London: Constable & Co., 1921.

The ten mosques described in this book form a series extending from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, and thus representative of the Fatimid, Aiyubid, Mamluk, and Turkish periods. They are not among the most celebrated mosques of Cairo, but, as the excellent illustrations show, they have beauties rivalling, if not indeed at times surpassing, those of the mosques which are of higher renown and more on the beaten track of sightseers. The descriptions of the buildings indicate features of note and omit superfluous detail: the ordinary visitor will find in them just the information he will want. The founders of the mosques in most cases had adventurous careers. Their stories are told in a way that supplies the historical setting without which much of the attraction of the monuments cannot be realized. The book is written in a clear and pleasant style and is nicely printed and turned out. It will be acceptable to anyone who appreciates Muhammadan art, whether he is able to use it as a guide in the mosques themselves or not. The author acknowledges indebtedness to Capt. Creswell for most of the photographs.

A. R. Guest.

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RELATION D'UN VOYAGE DU SULTAN QAITBAI EN PALESTINE ET EN SYRIE, TRADUIT DE L'ARABE. Par Mrs. R. L. DEVONSHIRE. Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, t. XX. Cairo, 1921.

This article is a translation of a text published in 1878 by R. V. Lanzone, containing the narrative of a progress of the Mamluk Sultan Qaitbai (A.D. 1468–95) through Palestine and Egypt. The author was one Abu'l-Baqa Ibn Ji'ān, about whom Mrs. Devonshire collects some information, chiefly from the Chronicle of Ibn Iyās, where his death-date is given as A.H. 902. The Biography of Qaitbai which is preserved in a Bodleian MS. terminates A.H. 877, five years before this Progress, which is of the year 882. The translator has illustrated the Sultan's route with a map, and furnished explanations of most of the matters in the text which require elucidation. Though the itinerary is little more than a series of rough notes dealing with the doings of the Sultan at the various places which he visited, it is of considerable interest as illustrating the customs of the Mamluk court and its methods of administration. The author is decidedly more instructive than the Bodleian Biographer, who is a rhetorical panegyrist, and probably quite untrustworthy.

The translator has appended a version of the summary account of the same Progress given by Ibn Iyās.

There is some room for correction both of text and translation in the case of the verses cited, but in the main both translation and comments appear to be felicitous.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE. By RENÉ GROUSSET. 2 vols., large 8vo, 308 + 400 pp. Paris: Les Editions G. Cres & Cie., 1922.

These two volumes describe the history of all Asia, except the north region. The history is not a detailed account of cities, kings, wars, and the other doings and happenings which occupy the life of a kingdom, but rather a broad-viewed

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survey of the conditions and people of the various countries, of the large and salient events that constituted landmarks in their existence, of the genesis and development of those events, and of their significance and influence in the general history of mankind in those countries and in the regions connected with them. All this is treated of with reference to the governments, policies, civilizations, arts, literatures, religions, and commerce, so far as present knowledge permits, as displayed in the problems that faced the various nations, the conflicts between their different ideals of policy and culture, and their reciprocal influences resulting in success or failure.

The first volume deals with all the ancient kingdoms of Western Asia, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites, Phœnicians, Iranians, etc.; with Alexander and the various Greek monarchies that followed, the Asiatic reactions against Hellenism, and the Persian dynasties; and so to Islam and the Mohammedan conquests and all that followed in their train, including the Crusades, till the taking of Constantinople.

The second volume treats of India, China, and Indo-China. In India are described the religious conditions of the earliest times, the Greek invasion, and all the results of Greek and Buddhist influences, the irruptions of the Central Asian hordes, and the triumph of Brahmanism, till the establishment of Mohammedanism in North India, with a general survey of South India till the sixteenth century. In China are set out its ancient conditions, philosophies, and political position, the vicissitudes that followed, caused by the irruptions of barbarian tribes and the struggles with them, the Chinese dynasties and their influence in Central Asia, down to the twelfth century. Finally it is shown how the civilization of Indo-China was affected in its west and south by India, and in its north-east by China, till about the seventeenth century.

Each division of the history is supported by a bibliography of the main works about it, and the exposition is elucidated by sketch-maps (rather rough) of the Asiatic countries concerned at different epochs. The work evinces wide reading,

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and presents in a clear and attractive way a broad and philosophical view of the part played by Asia in the history of the world in all its important features and large secular tendencies.

F. E. P.

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THE GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BURMA. Translated by PE MAUNG TIN and G. H. LUCE. Issued by the Text Publication Fund of the Burma Research Society. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiv + 179, 1 map. London: Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press), 1923.

This volume comprises the 3rd, 4th, and 5th parts of the above-mentioned chronicle, and goes down to the fall of Pagan, towards the close of the thirteenth century. The work was compiled by a committee appointed in 1829, and is based on a comparative study of a variety of older sources, including some inscriptions as well as historical works in Burmese. It contains, of course, a considerable percentage of legend; in fact, it is largely a repertory of folk-lore, and its dates will have to be overhauled by reference to contemporary epigraphical evidence, with which in some cases they do not agree. But it is a spirited and interesting work, and throws much light on the mentality of the Burmese as well as on their history. The collaboration of Professors Pè Maung Tin and G. H. Luce is a guarantee of the accuracy of the translation, which has been done into admirable and most readable English and is prefaced by a scholarly introduction reviewing the historical literature of Burma critically and in some detail. It is to be hoped that circumstances will permit the joint authors to continue the work of translating the remainder of this interesting chronicle in due course and as soon as may be.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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## Works on Indonesia

MUDRA'S OP BALI: HANDHOUDINGEN DER PRIESTERS. Teekening door TYRA DE KLEEN. Text van P. DE KAT ANGELINO. 11 × 8¾, pp. 66, plates 60. 's Gravenhage: "Adi-poestaka" Uitg. Mij en Alg. Boekh., 1922.

This interesting work constitutes Band XV of *Kulturen der Erde*, issued by the Folkwang-Verlag G.M.B.H. of Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, and consists of numerous admirably drawn illustrations of ritual postures of the Balinese Hindu and Buddhist priests, preceded by an explanatory text which also deals with Balinese religion as a whole and throws a good deal of fresh light on the subject. It is to be noted that the ritual language used in Bali is archaic Javanese interspersed with corrupt Sanskrit: rubrics are in the former tongue, mantras in the latter. It was no easy task to induce the suspicious priests to reveal their professional mysteries, and much credit is due to the authors who performed the achievement and have recorded the results in this book. The peculiar evolution of the two great Indian religions in Bali is a fascinating subject, calling for much further investigation, but we have here a very valuable instalment of such research.

DJÅWÅ. Driemaandlijk Tijdschrift uitgegeven door het Java-Instituut. 11½ × 8¾, 9 Nos. Weltevreden: G. Kolff, 1921–3.

This new periodical deserves a note of welcome. It is most beautifully produced, and though mainly concerned with Java, it contains many articles of more than merely local interest. I observe in particular a plate of a seventh century inscription in Old Malay (or, at any rate, a closely cognate language) found at Palembang (Vol. I, No. 1), which has since been edited in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. II, Pars 1, a translation of Canto XLIV of the Bharata Yuddha, which is based on the Mahābharata (Vol. I, No. 2), and several articles on Indonesian music and art.

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF MALAYAN PEOPLES. Being Three Essays on Kinship, Marriage, and Inheritance in Indonesia. By G. A. WILKEN. Translated by G. HUNT. With an Introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN. ( = Papers on Malay Subjects, Second Series, No. V.) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 172. Kuala Lumpur: published by the Committee for Malay Studies, 1921.

These essays, originally published between 1883 and 1891, are still standard authorities on the above-mentioned subjects, and include detailed accounts of the marriage systems (varying from matriarchy to an extreme form of patriarchy) existing in Sumatra, as well as a general survey, from the same point of view, of Indonesian sociology as a whole. The originals being in Dutch, it was felt to be desirable to provide an English translation for a wider circle of readers.

Having been asked to notice this work in the *Journal*, I have complied with that request; but as I supervised the translation myself, I am in no position to criticize it, and can only commend the book on the ground of the importance of its contents.

THE WRITING OF MALAY. By C. H. POWNALL. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 10. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1923.

The author of this pamphlet, being distressed by the diversities of the systems now in use for the transcription of Malay, advocates their supersession by Dr. Wilfrid Perrett's "Peetickay" system, wherein the vowels are ingeniously indicated by lines written at various angles, and some new consonantal signs are introduced. Unfortunately, this system, even if it entirely supplanted the existing English and Dutch methods of Romanization, would not produce the uniformity of spelling which appears to be Mr. Pownall's chief desire. (It is curious, by the way, that he entirely ignores the English system of Romanization approved by Government and only gives prominence to the decidedly defective missionary spelling.) The fact is that there are more local differences in

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the pronunciation of Malay than the author of this pamphlet seems to be aware of, and a transcript of his chosen passage (Mark iv, 1–9) into the standard Southern Malay of the Peninsula would be by no means identical with his own rendering, which is based on the Malay current in Java. I must point out that the same passage as given by him in the Arabic character swarms with misprints, a fact that is regrettable, though irrelevant to the issue he has raised.

I fear that a uniform spelling of Malay in Roman letters for universal use is a practically unattainable ideal. Fortunately, half an hour's study suffices to make the Dutch transcription perfectly intelligible to an intelligent Englishman, and vice versa. A more deep-seated trouble is the fact that the language itself is splitting up into two languages, for in the Dutch possessions it is being swamped with Dutch and Javanese loanwords, which are not understood in the territories under British administration and protection, where their place is, to some extent, taken by English words. For this unhappy state of things there is no remedy in sight.

C. O. Blagden.

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A Burmese Arcady. By Major C. M. Enriquez. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 282 pp., 22 plates, and 1 map. London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1923. 21*s*. net.

The purpose of the author in this book is not so much to make a historic or ethnological study of a people with rustic ideals as to impart to the public "the information gathered during three years' incessant recruiting and travel in all parts of Burma", and especially in the land of the Kachins, who rendered such distinguished service in Mesopotamia and on the Malabar Coast in the Great War. The tone of the book is thus military; and not every reader will agree with the author in the opinion that "the army is now by far the most important civilizing agency" for the uplift of these hill-people. But the interest of the subject becomes greater as the book proceeds, and its charm is irresistible when the

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author describes with genuine sympathy and insight the "engaging characteristics and customs" of the people, the habits of the birds and animals, and the beauty of the forests and flowers, which make the country—at least, to the author—a veritable Burmese Arcady. In the story of the Kachins, the author gives the current views on the tribal migrations into Burma, but his views on the Kachin marriage laws suffer by the remark that "no European . . . has ever understood them, and certainly no Kachin does". The Kachins are spirit-worshippers, with an established priesthood, sacrifices, prayers, and feasts. And yet the author says "The Kachins can hardly be said to have a religion!" He has an admirable knowledge of the Kachin language, though he has made a few slight mistakes, as when he translates—the opposite is the right meaning—"when the voice of the cuckoo cracks, it is too late to sow paddy" (p. 122). He is certainly fortunate to have "never yet known a Kachin to tell a lie". On the whole he has produced a very entertaining book.

PE MAUNG TIN.

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A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES PRESENTED TO EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P., ON HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY (7th February, 1922). Edited by T. W. ARNOLD and REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 499 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Any review of such a work as this must in the nature of things be confined to little more than a summary of its contents; it ill befits an ordinary humble Orientalist to criticize the masters of his craft who are invited to contribute. Suffice it then to say that prolonged researches have only succeeded in discovering one quite trivial misprint, on p. 406, l. 19, كلاس should read كلاس.

The book contains contributions in English (26), German (10), French (4), Italian (2), and Spanish (1), from

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forty-three scholars resident in England, Scotland, America, India, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain.

The field covered is very wide. As is only appropriate in a book dedicated to a Professor of Arabic, the most popular subject is Arabic language and literature. The most noticeable items in this section are a metrical translation by the late Sir Charles Lyall of al-A'shā's Mu'allaqah, a short account of Dhu'r-Rummah by Professor Macartney, and a striking article by Professor Krenkow on the use of Writing for the preservation of Ancient Arabic poetry, which disposes of several popular fallacies on this subject. Mr. Muhammad Shafi' contributes a note on the well-known Spanish Moslem *Adīb* Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi and his description of the Haramein, Professor D. B. Macdonald contributes a fresh instalment of his studies of the MSS. of the Arabian Nights, and Professor Massignon a sketch of a Karmathian (Isma'ili) Bibliography. Professors Storey and Bevan each contribute some notes on Arabic Lexicography. Professor Torrey gives new explanations of three difficult Koranic passages, xviii, 8–25 ; xxiv, 60; and ci, 6–8. Dr. van Arendonk contributes on Sorcery in Southern Arabia. Sir T. W. Arnold, as is only suitable in a volume dedicated to our greatest authority on Arab medicine, reproduces and annotates a miniature giving the earliest representation of the Cæsarian Section in Arabic medical literature. Señor Asín Palacios quotes a number of passages in Arabic religious literature which appear to show quotations or reminiscences of the Christian Gospels. Dr. A. Fischer contributes a note on the famous Mas'ala Zunbūrīya, one of the great problems of Arabic grammar, whether it is more correct to say فإذا هو إياها or فإذا هو هى. The late Professor I. Goldziher gives various instances in Arabic literature of the possession by the same individual of two different names, one for heavenly and one for earthly use. Dr. H. Hirschfeld contributes a note on a volume of essays by al-Jāḥiẓ.

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Professor D. S. Margoliouth's contribution is almost topical: a discussion of the meaning of the title Khalīfa. Herr E. Mittwoch contributes a note on an Arabic MS. of Koranic exegesis in Berlin. Mr. A. S. Tritton gives quotations from and notes on an Arabic poem remarkable for its versification.

In the field of comparative Semitic philology there is only one item, an article by Professor I. Guidi on interrogative and negative particles in the Semitic languages.

Mr. E. Edwards gives a list of some rare Arabic and Persian MSS.

In the field of Persian literature we have for the Zoroastrian period an article by Professor A. J. Carnoy on the character of Vohu Manah and its evolution and a note by Bishop Casartelli on the Avestan *urvan* "soul".

For the Moslem period there are more items. Dr. A. Christensen contributes a note on Jūḥī, a Persian predecessor of Nasreddin Khoja, and Professor M. Th. Houtsma one on the rare Dīvān of Niẓāmī. Professor R. A. Nicholson contributes a notice of a rare MS. of the *Kulliyāt* of Pīr Jamāl now in the India Office Library.

In Turkish literature we have a notice by Count Carra de Vaux of a Turkish Calendar, while Professor Enno Littmann transcribes and translates a Turkish poem in Armenian characters in which two interlocutors discuss the pros and cons of matrimony.

A number of items fall under the head of comparative literature. The late Professor R. Hartmann discusses a point in connexion with the Alexander Romance. Signor C. A. Nallino contributes an article on certain Greek works, which seem to have reached Arabic through Pehlevi. Professor Th. Nöldeke, taking as his text the well-known passage in the Agamemnon, quotes various similes from the growth of the young beast of prey. Professor A. J. Wensinck discusses various examples of the "Refused Dignity".

The remaining items are all of a historical nature. Herr F. Babinger discusses the merits of Marino Sanuto's diaries as

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a source of Persian history. M. P. Casanova contributes an article on the Ispehbeds of Firīm. Mr. R. Guest discusses relations between Islamic Persia and Egypt up to the Fatimid period. Professor E. Herzfeld contributes an illustrated article on the architecture of the earliest Ilkhans in Persia. Dr. M. Horten discusses the possibility of ethical development in Islam. Professor C. Huart gives a history of the small dynasty of the Musafirids of Azerbaijan. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson describes a visit which he paid to the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir. Professor J. Pedersen discusses that enigmatic people the Ṣābians. Sir E. Denison Ross contributes an article on a manuscript dealing with the early history of the Turks. Dr. Seybold, in a short note, suggests a very attractive textual emendation making Sindan (North of Bombay) and Ceylon parts of the Nestorian Metropolitan Province of Fars. Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje contributes a topical article on Qatādah, twentieth ancestor of King Husain of the Hejaz and first of the family to occupy Mecca. Mr. Weir gives a summary of the contents of a Turkish MS. in the University of Glasgow, which proves to be an original source for the history of Persia at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Der Dreieinige Gott in Religions-historischer Beleuchtung. Vol. I. By Dr. Ditlef Nielsen. 9 × 6, xv + 472 pp. Copenhagen, etc.: Gyldendal, 1922.

Etudes sur les Textes concernant Ishtar-Astarte. By Professor Joseph Plessis. 9½ × 6½, iv + 301 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

These two scholarly works on early Semitic religion present a curious contrast to each other.

Professor Plessis' is a painstaking and elaborate study of all references to Ishtar and the cognate deities in the literature and inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, Southern Arabia, Phoenicia, and Syria, and in the Bible. All the written authorities on the subject are thus assembled, and on this basis Professor Plessis expounds with great clearness the

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conclusions which he draws regarding the nature of these deities and their relationship to each other.

Dr. Nielsen flies for rather higher game. He covers the whole field of Semitic religion and traces through it the history of the conception of a Divine Trinity, and of each person of that Trinity, from the earliest times to the Christian period. He discusses also the history of the Semitic idea of sacrifice and of various rites, in which he believes that he sees the prototypes of the Agape, the Christmas and Easter festivals, and the rite of baptism.

His conclusions on these subjects, while more arresting and stimulating than Professor Plessis' in his narrower field, necessarily involve a greater amount of theorizing and interpretation of admitted facts, and will accordingly meet with a smaller measure of unquestioning acceptance from the learned world.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES OUVRAGES ARABES OU RELATIFS AUX ARABES PUBLIÉS DANS L'EUROPE CHRÉTIENNE DE 1810 À 1885. TOME XII LE MAHOMÉTISME. By Professor V. CHAUVIN. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vi + 467 pp. Liege: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1913–22.

This work has been in the press for nine years. M. Chauvin had already corrected part of the proofs when he died in November, 1913; the book was completed and seen through the press by his friend and pupil, M. M. L. Polain. The first volume of this bibliography was published in 1892, and since then the programme of the author has appreciably widened. The limits of the present volume, instead of being 1810 and 1885, are 1473 (if not earlier) and 1918. The result is that the compiler's task is an enormous one, and the reader is left with an impression of great industry but a certain incompleteness. This is, no doubt, partially due to the premature death of the compiler and partly to the fact that a good deal of the ground had been covered by the earlier volumes, especially vol. ii (Mahomet). Even so, certain scholars come off rather

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badly. Professor Margoliouth is credited with one book and two pamphlets, and M. de Goeje with one pamphlet. The volume contains 1,831 items, all described with great care and in some cases with much detail. It will be a work of permanent value to all students of Islam, and especially of the history of the knowledge of Islam in Europe.

Shuwa Arabic Stories, with an Introduction and Vocabulary. By C. G. Howard. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 116 pp. Oxford University Press, 1921.

This valuable little reading book is a pioneer work in an almost untried field and is an earnest of the enlightened interest which the West African Governments and their officers take in the language and literatures of the peoples with whom they have to deal. The officers of the Bornu Province, under the leadership of their Resident, Mr. H. R. Palmer, C.M.G., himself a good Arabic scholar and a veteran in the field of linguistic and historical research in Nigeria, are doing particularly good work in this direction and are fortunate in being able to command a wider public than those who deal with an ordinary negro dialect. For that queer "pidgin-Arabic" dialect known as Shuwa Arabic is of considerable interest. While its grammar is in an advanced stage of decay, the vocabulary, leaving out of account loan-words from neighbouring dialects, is remarkably classical in content, and avoids the characteristic malformations of the Arabic of North Africa and Egypt. The dialect must have worked its way across the Continent from the Southern Sudan, and a closer study of the vocabulary would no doubt throw considerable light on the history of the Shuwa tribes and their antecedents.

Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15 Jahrhunderts. By Dr. Friedrich Kraelitz. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 111 pp., 14 plates. Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissen-

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schaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 197 Band, 3 Abhandlung, 1922.

This is a work of considerable importance for students of Ottoman history and epigraphy. It gives reproductions of twenty-four Ottoman firmans and similar State papers dated between 1456 and 1497, together with transcriptions, translations and commentaries, and a most valuable introduction. Apart from the interest of the texts themselves, this work will be an indispensable handbook to any student who undertakes the study of the large numbers of State papers of this kind which still exist. According to Dr. Kraelitz, a large number of such documents, formerly preserved at Vienna, are now being handed over to the Serbo-Croat-Slovene kingdom. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Government of that country will find it possible to have them examined, and if possible published, for the sake of the light they will throw on the history of Ragusa and the Balkan peninsula in general.

Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyā. By Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah al-Kisā'ī; edited by Dr. Isaac Eisenberg. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$; pt. i, pp. i–xii and 1–240; pt. ii, pp. 241–309. Leyden: Brill, 1922.

These two parts contain the whole Arabic text of this book. The introduction promises a further volume which will supply a critical introduction to the work and a scientific study of its contents, and Dr. Eisenberg promises a German translation of the whole at a later date. The text has been prepared with great care, after an examination of the various manuscripts of it at Munich, Bonn, Leyden, Leipzig, and Gotha, chiefly on the basis of the oldest Leyden codex, but the editor, although he states that the manuscripts contain a number of *variae lectiones*, has not supplied an *apparatus criticus*. This is no doubt due to the technical and financial difficulties inseparable from the publication of such a work at the present time. These difficulties are also no doubt responsible for the rather numerous minor misprints, which, as the editor himself admits, somewhat disfigure the text.



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Asāsu'l-Balāgha. By Jāru'llah Abu'l-Qāsim Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī. Vol. I. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, iv + 514 pp. Cairo: Dāru'l Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1922.

This volume includes the first half of Zamakhsharī's work down to the letter ش inclusive. It is well printed, but cannot be described as a critical edition. The name of the editor is not given, and there is no introduction, no statement of the manuscripts or previous editions on which the text is based, and no attempt to identify or give the references to the numerous quotations from early Arab poets, of which the book is full. In these circumstances this edition is deprived of a great part of the value which it would otherwise have possessed.

Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanischer Dynastien. By Eduard Sachau. Offprint from the *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 11 × 9, 39 pp. Berlin, 1923.

A list of lesser-known Muhammadan Dynasties supplementary to S. Lane Poole's *The Mohammadan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables*, extracted principally from the Ṣaḥa'if al-Akhbar of Munajjim Bashi. The list adds 88 dynasties to the 118 given by Lane Poole, and will be a valuable book of reference to students.

L'Orient vu de l'Occident. By E. Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 104 pp. Paris: H. Piazza and P. Geuthner, 1922.

M. Dinet, who has also adopted the name Nasr ed Dine, is presumably a convert to Muhammadanism, and this little book displays all the zeal of a convert. It is a plea for the acceptance in its integrity of the whole Moslem traditional history of the Prophet and a vigorous attack on certain modern historians who have ventured to exercise their own judgment in dealing with these traditions. While the reader's sympathy is to a certain extent engaged by the attack delivered

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on the works of a Jesuit Father whose treatment of his subject does certainly not seem to have been characterized by that absolute impartiality uncoloured by religious prejudice which is so necessary to a historian, it is obvious that a plea that students of the history of the past should voluntarily abnegate the use of their critical faculties is one which must necessarily fall on deaf ears, at any rate as far as our Society is concerned. The authors' robust disregard for the methods and criteria of modern scholarship is evidenced by the appearance in their work of such solecisms as "*mounafiqounes*".

OLD ASSYRIAN LAWS. By KNUT TALLQUIST. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 41 pp. Helsingfors Centraltryckeri, 1921.

A revised translation into English, with a short introduction, of the fragments of Assyrian Legal Codes discovered by the German Oriental Society at Asshur and published in Schroeder's *Keilschrift-texte aus Asshur verschiedenen Inhalts*.

These codes are extremely interesting, although the translation of them is still beset with difficulty, and it is quite time for a comprehensive comparative study to be undertaken of the various laws now available in the Pentateuch, the Hammurabi Code, the Sumerian Code recently published in this *Journal*, the present Codes, and the Hittite Code from Boghazkeui. As might have been expected, the punishments prescribed in the present codes are excessively severe and barbarous.

MEMOIRES DE LA COMMISSION ORIENTALE DE L'ACADEMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES ET DES LETTRES. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Cracow, various years. No. 1: ENIGMES POPULAIRES TURQUES. By T. KOWALSKI. 77 pp. No. 3: LES HABITANTS DE LA PALESTINE PRIMITIVE JUSQU'A 1400 AVANT J. CHR. By Dr. W. SZCZEPANSKI. i + 59 pp. No. 5: ETUDES SUR LA FORME DE LA POÉSIE DES PEUPLES TURCS. I. By T. KOWALSKI. 184 pp.

Three volumes of this series were reviewed in the July,

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1923 number of the *Journal*; the present three volumes, unlike those previously reviewed, are written in Polish, a French résumé of the contents being added as an appendix. In such cases it is difficult for a reviewer ignorant of the Polish language to estimate the true value of the work, for a summary in a foreign language must necessarily be confined to the author's conclusion without much regard to the steps by which he arrives at them. In a book dealing with a highly controversial subject of which very little is known, such as Dr. Szczepanski's, this process makes intelligent criticism impossible, for all that the critic has to work on is a series of dogmatic statements regarding the tribes which inhabited Palestine, the dates at which they arrived there, and their ethical affinities; without an appreciation of the evidence on which the author relies it is difficult to criticize, but some of his conclusions, at any rate such as, for instance, that the Hyksos were probably of Hittite-Mitanni stock, are hardly likely to meet general acceptance. Incidentally, what is "Hittite-Mitanni stock"? Linguistically, at any rate, there is no connexion between the two.

Mr. Kowalski's book on Turkish riddles contains a series of 141 riddles taken down from the dictation of a number of wounded Turkish soldiers, mostly illiterate, during the war. Apart from the folk-lore interest of these primitive riddles, of the most approved "fairy-tale" order, the collection is interesting as giving a series of carefully recorded specimens of Turkish dialect as spoken in various parts of Turkey-in-Europe and Asia.

The same author's study of verse forms of the Turkish peoples is a more ambitious work. In the present instalment he confines himself to the verse forms of the Ottoman, Kazan, Turfan, and Altai Turks; a more elaborate study is foreshadowed. The verse forms borrowed from Turkish and Arabic are excluded. The author's conclusions in general are exactly what might have been expected; his most interesting theory is that the Persian *rubā'ī* is originally

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Turkish, not Persian; but this will require more proof than the author can at present produce.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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ABŪ 'UTHMĀN SA'ĪD IBN HĀRŪN AL-USHNĀNDĀNĪ, KITĀB MA'ANĪ-SH-SHI'R. 8vo, 208 pp. Damascus, 1340 A.H. (A.D. 1922).

We know very little about the author,[1] who was a pupil of the scholars who had studied under al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubaida, and other masters of the Baṣrian school. His principal pupil was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, well known under the name of Ibn Duraid,[2] who quotes him continually in his large lexicon, the Jamhara. The date of his death is not known, but I may be correct in assuming that he perished with many other scholars in the negro revolt at al-Baṣra in the year 257 A.H. The author of the Fihrist mentions the work under notice in two places,[3] and adds only the title of one other work of the author, the Kitab al-Abyat, which may be only another name for the same book.

In trying to trace the teachers and pupils of early grammarians from the chains of tradition (Isnād) in various works I have found only Ibn Duraid as his pupil, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the text of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* is handed down by him; but what is more surprising is to find that the work is really one of Ibn Duraid's. The 111 poetical quotations, consisting generally of two verses, sometimes of one only, we are told by Ibn Duraid he read under Ushnāndānī as they were travelling on a ship from Baṣra to al-Maftaḥ, which, according to Yāqūt, was a village between al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, but in the province of the latter town. Ibn Duraid tells us, further, that in some cases he also asked

[1] Biographies: Zubaidi, *Rivista degli Studi Orientale*, viii, 173; Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 266; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, pp. 258, 324; Brockelmann, i, 109.

[2] Died 321 A.H.

[3] pp. 60, 83.

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Abū Ḥātim (as-Sijistānī)[1] about difficult passages. The quotations, with the exception of eleven, are anonymous: of two we are told that they are probably by modern poets,[2] some are attributed to men of certain tribes, and others are said to be by Jāhilis, i.e. poets from the time before Islam.

All verses present exceptional difficulties, not on account of rare words used, but because they refer in a tropical sense to things which from the ordinary meaning of the words employed would not be correctly understood. They are for the greater part a kind of riddles or puns, somewhat analogous to the poem of Ḏur-Rumma, which figures in his Dīwān (ed. Macartney) as No. 24. The commentary, which varies considerably in length and quality, has all the peculiarities of Ibn Duraid's style, to which I have become accustomed in the revision of the text of the Jamhara. When uncertain of his own explanation we have his "they assert" زعموا and at times he gives us glimpses of his knowledge about old historical traditions, which in an irritating manner he cuts short, when we feel he could have told us more. This is the same in the Jamhara, where only his pupil Abū Sa'īd as-Sīrāfī appears to have extracted from him further details.

I have been at considerable trouble to trace the names of the anonymous authors of the verses cited, several have found their way into the Lisān, but also without the names of the poets. One quotation (No. 15 of the text) is at times attributed to Ḏur-Rumma, I believe in error, and figures in the appendix of his Dīwān under No. 91; it is here attributed to a man of the Banū Sa'd ibn Zaid Manāt. The verses quoted under No. 46 by a prisoner who was allowed to send some verses to his tribe, and who conveys to them in hidden terms the warning of an imminent attack by his captors, are also quoted in other works.[3] Contrary to the verses explained, Ibn Duraid gives in many cases the names of the poets whose verses he

[1] Died 244 A.H. [2] Nos. 34 and 95.
[3] e.g. Gurjānī, *Kināya*, ed. Cairo, 1326, pp. 64–5.

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cites in the way of illustration. All these verses can be traced in the large dictionaries.

To sum up, the work is of an entirely different character from the other *Kitāb Ma'ani-sh-Shi'r* known to me, the work of Ibn Qutaiba. The latter gives systematically quotations on certain subjects from poets which are generally known, and with commentaries, which appear to be taken from the glosses the author found in the books used for the compiling of his work.

The edition is beautifully printed on good paper, and the printer's errors are put right at the end of the book. A great advance upon so many Oriental prints is that the book is furnished with several indices.[1] Further, we find short biographies of seventy-three persons mentioned in the course of the work, but I think many of the dates given can only be approximate.

The editors had at their disposal the manuscript which is preserved in the Nāṣiriyya mosque at Damascus, which they state is not free from faults, and apparently did not know of the copy in the library of the Escorial.[2] The book is edited with care, and the verses recited by Ushnandani are fully vocalized, but this might have been done at least partially in the commentary in cases where vowel-marks are essential.

I have noted the following errors not put right in the corrections :—

p. 54, 1, تَمِيم بن أُبَيّ بن مُقْبِلٍ.

pp. 92, 12 and 93, 12, ضَوَامِز, which has the right meaning, while ضَوَامِر has not.

p. 127, 5, سَرَاح, after the analogy of قَطَامِ, is no doubt correct.

F. KRENKOW.

[1] These indexes contain all places where the name is found, and are not composed in the silly manner some Egyptians have of stopping when they have indicated three or four places.

[2] Derenbourg, No. 406.

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VITA PROPHETARUM AUCTORE MUHAMMED BEN 'ABDALLAH AL-KISA'I Et codicibus qui in Monaco, Bonna, Lugd. Batav., Lipsia et Gothana asservantur edidit Dr. ISAAC EISENBERG. 2 parts. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, xii + 220 pp. Lugduni-Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1922–3.

Al-Kisā'i died between A.H. 178 and 189, being thus one of the oldest Arab traditionists. The great popularity of his *Story of the Prophets* is vouchsafed by the existence of a large number of MSS. in various European libraries. It is to be regretted that the editor was unable to use the MSS. of the British Museum, as in one of them the latter part differs considerably from the others. How far these differences affect the text can only be ascertained by careful comparison. This is best left to the editor, who promises a supplement containing a literary introduction and reference to parallel stories.

The book opens with the legends connected with the creation of the world, and extends as far as the rise of Christianity. Its historical value is *nil*. Among the principal authorities consulted by the author are Ibn Abbās, Ka'b Al-Akhbār, and Wahb b. Munabbih, all three famous for having allowed their imagination full scope. To European readers the work has been introduced many years ago in Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, who mentions it as one of his sources. This scholar has also pointed out that the legends are in the main of Jewish origin. Many tales are evidently pure invention. Ka'b is made responsible for the tale that, on the first night of Ramadhān, Allāh revealed to Adam a book of laws which the latter communicated to his children. At the behest of Allāh he wrote them down in the form of a list of twenty-eight paragraphs, each beginning with one of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. Interesting among these and disclosing its origin is ديّان يوم الدين *Judge on the Day of Judgment*, an expression which betrays its Jewish origin. It need not be pointed out expressly that

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Al-Kisā'i's work was utilized by later story writers. His name is mentioned in connexion with the legends on Nimrod in Mīrkhond's *Rauzat-us-Safā*, translated by the late E. Rehatsek (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., 1892). The edition of the Arabic text is on the whole carefully executed, but the student would do well to compare the rather extensive list of corrections. The book forms a very suitable reading text for undergraduates in Arabic.

PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A. (Cantab.), D.D. (London), University College, Cardiff, with a Bibliography by Professor A. S. PEAKE. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 222 pp. London: Duckworth, 1923.

This work synchronizes with Mr. H. M. Wiener's *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism* (London, 1923). Both books should be studied side by side to show the different manner in which the same subject is studied from two different points of view. While Dr. Robinson's book is prominently religious and even one-sidedly theological, Wiener's reasonings are critical and to a large extent apologetical. The latter work is, moreover, fuller. Each of the two authors appeals to totally different classes of students. Dr. Robinson's work does not really claim to be based entirely on original research, but presents earlier theories in a new and attractive form. Nevertheless, he does not follow the opinions of his predecessors blindly, but supplements them by observations of his own. The chapter on the structure of the prophetic books is both interesting and instructive. It describes the way prophets discharged their task, as well as the means they took to hand their orations down to posterity. With his denial of elaborate versification of the oracles one can only agree. He discusses each single prophet, giving Amos the first place before his contemporary Hosea. It is a little surprising that he takes the marriages of the latter literally. There is much to be said against it. Whether the law book

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discovered during the reign of Josiah was Deuteronomy is not quite certain, and requires fresh examination. As is well known, the opinions of Bible critics are at variance on this point, and there is strong reason to doubt it. The chapters on the later prophets before and after the exile reveal more religious fervour than cool criticism, but they will prove satisfactory to those readers for whom the book is meant. Professor Peake's bibliography forms a useful appendix to the treatise, which is sure to win many admirers.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA. Vol. II. INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRĀVANA-BELGOLA. By R. NARASIMHĀCHĀR. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, iii + 610 pp., 77 plates. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press, 1923.

It has long been felt by epigraphists and students of history that a re-examination ought to be made of the numerous inscriptions in the Mysore State published, now a good many years ago, in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*. This volume is a portion of the good work in progress, and consists of a complete transliteration, translation, and vernacular copy, not only of the records comprised in Rice's Lists which were found at the old Jain centre of Śrāvana-Belgola, but of a large number of minor ones. The results are analysed in 90 pages of introduction, which deals with historical matter. The inclusion of many new fragments, some, it must honestly be said, entirely valueless, has necessitated a re-numbering; and it is to be regretted that we are not furnished with a list showing distinctly which of the new numbers corresponds to each one of the old ones. If, for instance, we desire to compare the new edition of a certain inscription with the original edition, it is difficult to do so. Old No. 50, for instance, may now be new No. 143. As it is, the student can only find the new number of the old No. 50 by noting in the latter the name of some place or some prominent ruler and looking it up in the Index. This done, he finds the new and the old

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number placed together; but the process takes time and requires patience. With this exception, we must congratulate the author on the completion of his handsome contribution to the world's knowledge.

R. SEWELL.

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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E. Issued under the orders of the Government of Bombay. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 1,299 pp., 17 plates. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1920–2.

These three volumes, containing facts of scientific importance concerning more than five hundred different castes and tribes within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, are the latest memorial of the Provincial Ethnographical Survey, which was commenced under the orders of the Indian Government more than twenty years ago. The completed work owes its appearance chiefly to the enthusiasm of the author and a small band of Indian scholars and correspondents, who have looked upon its publication as a sufficient recompense for several years' gratuitous labour. For the Government of India, which originally fathered the scheme of the Survey, was never able to provide sufficient funds for its prosecution, and in 1909 relinquished altogether its chief parental responsibility. It was left to Mr. Enthoven, assisted by willing Indian friends, to absolve the Bombay Government from the reproach of leaving an important piece of work unfinished, and, treating the task as a labour of love, to complete a valuable record of caste and tribal history and custom.

The first volume contains a succinct review by the author of the institution of Caste and the various influences, racial, occupational, religious, etc., which from the dawn of history have tended to produce the extraordinary conglomeration of social units which we find in modern India. In Mr. Enthoven's words, "Caste is in reality a system of 'self-determination' based on the habit of attaching more importance to the differences between social groups than to that which they

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have in common" ; and he has much to say that is interesting regarding the primitive and foreign elements in the Bombay castes, observing that the facts scientifically elicited and co-ordinated by the Survey tend to support the view that the various tribes and castes have far more in common as regards their origin than has hitherto been admitted.

As regards the separate articles on each caste, those on the Marāṭhās, Bhīls, Kolīs, and Lingāyats would alone render the work of permanent value. For the first time we are furnished with definite evidence of the totemistic organization of certain castes and of clear traces of similar early divisions among the Marāṭhās. More than a century ago a keen observer, who lived among these people and fought in their armies, commented upon the primitive elements composing them. His general and naturally unscientific impressions find curious corroboration in the facts set forth in Mr. Enthoven's third volume. One can only hope that the author will find it possible to publish before long a further edition dealing in even greater detail with the discoveries and lessons of the Survey.

S. M. Edwardes.

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Sound and Symbol in Chinese. By Bernhard Karlgren, Fil.Dr., Professor of Sinology in the University of Göteborg. $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 112 pp. London: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, 1923.

This manual is one of the Language and Literature Series, and is an adaptation of the author's *Ordet och Pennan i Mittens Rike*, published at Stockholm in 1918.

Professor Karlgren is, perhaps, the first of the very small group of living authorities on Chinese Phonology, but the six chapters of this little work show him to be far from a mere specialist in that particular branch. He here gives an account, sound in conception and very lucid in expression, of the Chinese speech and its distinguishing features, with the difficulties to which these give rise for speakers of inflected

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languages. Chinese writing, both the material units or characters that take the place of alphabetic methods, and the literary style that has been gradually developed and perfected, is illustrated and discussed with unfailing competence and good sense. Naturally in a book abounding in points of detail, there must be some giving occasion for criticism or demur, and personally in chapter iv I have found a considerable number of such among Professor Karlgren's explanations of the constructive significance of the examples of the Lesser Seal stage of Chinese characters cited by him. But let me avoid being meticulous and microscopic in reviewing so meritorious a manual and guide.

L. C. HOPKINS.

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SERINDIA: Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, carried out and described under the orders of H.M. Indian Government by AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., Indian Archæological Survey. With 345 illustrations from photographs, 59 plans, 175 plates, and 96 maps. pp. 1,580. Vols. I–III, text; Vol. IV, plates; Vol. V, maps. 13×10. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

"Monumental" is an adjective that is apt to be abused; but few will question its applicability to the present work, which describes in detail the progress and results of what is perhaps the most fruitful archæological expedition that has been undertaken in modern times. In form it is the official report of Sir Aurel Stein's second journey over the Pāmīrs to the vast region, extending from Kashgar to the province of Kansu, which is variously known as Eastern Turkestan or Sinkiang, "the New Dominion." In substance it is nothing less than the unfolding of an ancient and extensive civilization which for some centuries was maintained under Chinese control, and dotted the face of this now forbidding country with numerous flourishing states and townships. Hardly more than the existence of this civilization was known to us until Sir Aurel Stein began his epoch-making excavations in the

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desert sands along the ancient trade routes between China and the West. Adventurous merchants doubtless followed these routes long before the unification of China under the First Emperor, but the country was largely overrun by nomad tribes, and there was little in the way of settled habitation. Regular intercourse with the West only began in the reign of Wu Ti (bridging the second and first centuries B.C.), when an astonishing expansion of Chinese power was seen. The Hsiung-nu, or Huns, were driven back into their northern deserts, and the trade route to India made comparatively safe for many generations, during which the influence of the House of Han was paramount throughout the petty states lying between the Jade Gate and Khotan. But whenever the central Government was weakened by internal troubles, its prestige also waned abroad, and before the close of the Later Han dynasty in A.D. 220 the country was again in the hands of semi-barbarian tribes. After a long interval, during which political, if not commercial, intercourse was almost at a standstill, a great revival came with the T'ang dynasty, and for about a century and a half China found herself once more mistress of Eastern Turkestan. Then the rebellion of An Lu-shan plunged everything into confusion, and the Tibetans seized the opportunity of annexing the Tunhuang district, which was the starting-point for caravans crossing the Gobi desert. A hundred years later, Chinese dominion was re-established on a smaller scale, and seems to have endured, though somewhat ingloriously, until it was swallowed up in the Tangut Empire. Under Kublai Khan, as we know from Marco Polo, free communication was restored between China and the Western world; but this and subsequent extensions of Chinese power really lie outside the purview of the present work.

Sir Aurel Stein's personal narrative will be found in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, published in 1911. But *Serindia* also contains a full account of his travels and explorations, interspersed with chapters discussing the historical bearing of his

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discoveries. Thus, at the beginning of the book, before he has reached the field of his principal labours, we find interesting essays on the early Chinese pilgrims to Udyāna, Udyāna in Chinese records of T'ang times, Kao Hsien-chih's campaign against the Tibetans in 747, and Hsüan-tsang's route to Kashgar. The fruits of this second expedition, as we have said, are so astoundingly rich and abundant that to most of them even a passing allusion is impossible. But the explorations on the Niya and Lou-lan sites, at Miran, and one or two stations along the ancient Chinese *limes*, may be specified as having yielded material of inestimable value. The story of these and other ruined towns can be fairly summed up in the one word "desiccation". It is true that Sir Aurel Stein does not regard desiccation in itself as a wholly "adequate explanation of all changes in the extent of cultivated areas"; but ample evidence exists that, two thousand years ago, many places now utterly sterile enjoyed a system of irrigation which rendered agriculture not only possible but highly profitable, and that from causes which cannot as yet be determined with certainty the water supply has throughout historical times steadily diminished. What were once smiling fields became by degrees only suitable for pasture; then vegetation disappeared altogether, human habitation had to be abandoned, and finally everything was buried under masses of drift-sand. Already in the time of the T'ang dynasty this encroachment of the desert had made itself severely felt. But what was calamitous to the inhabitants in those bygone ages has proved a veritable godsend to the modern archæologist. For the extreme dryness which was fatal to human activity has been the means of preserving large quantities of records on wood, bamboo, and paper, as well as paintings, sculptures, and other objects which could hardly have survived under normal conditions. Desiccation rendered possible that wonderful harvest of ancient Chinese documents which was edited in 1913 by the late Professor Chavannes; and the huge collection of manuscripts from the walled-up *cella* in the caves of the

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Thousand Buddhas owes its remarkable state of preservation to the fact that it was buried for close on nine centuries in dry sand. The discovery of this magnificent hoard of literary and artistic treasures must be regarded as the central achievement of the expedition, though from a strictly archæological point of view the tracing of the Han *limes* north of Tunhuang and the location of the site of the Jade Gate were even greater triumphs. Other notable identifications are those of the Niya site with Ching-chüeh of the Chinese annals, of Charchan with Chü-mo, and of Charkhlik with Marco Polo's Town of Lop. On the other hand, the exact situation of Yang Kuan, or Southern Barrier (there can be little doubt that this is the meaning of the name, though to our author the etymology seems "to smack of a learned origin"), has yet to be discovered, but it may be confidently located somewhere in the Nan-hu oasis. Sir Aurel rejects the statement in the *Tun huang lu* that the Yang Kuan was "the same as the ancient Jade Gate Barrier", appearing to regard this as inconsistent with the location of the latter on the extension of the Great Wall (T. xiv on the map), which has now been established beyond question. I understand the passage, however, in a different sense. Even admitting that in 103 B.C., when Li Kuang-li returned from his first expedition, the Jade Gate must have been east of Tunhuang (as a well-known passage in the *Shih chi* certainly seems to imply), and that by 96 it had been shifted to a point on the *limes* west of that city, there still remain six or seven years during which we have no information as to its position. May we not suppose that it was transferred to the Nan-hu oasis at the time of the great forward movement that followed immediately after Li Kuang-li's successful campaign in 101 ? The extension of the Wall may well have occupied several years, and as soon as the work was completed the Jade Gate would naturally have been shifted again to a convenient spot near its termination. The former Jade Gate would then have been renamed the South Barrier, as opposed to the new Jade Gate Barrier in

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the north. We must remember that the statement of the *Tun huang lu* is corroborated by no less an authority than the great twelfth century scholar Chêng Ch'iao, who says in his *T'ung chih*: "First the Yang Barrier and afterwards the Jade Gate controlled the route to the West." This important passage is overlooked by Sir Aurel Stein, who himself advances no theory as to the relative date of the two fortresses, and is consequently at a loss to explain either the name or the original function of the Yang Kuan. I am hopeful that excavations in the Nan-hu oasis may some day bring documents to light which will solve the whole problem. It is satisfactory to learn that the imposing remains marked Large Ruin on the map, just south of the *limes*, can certainly be identified with the ancient magazine of Ho-ts'ang mentioned in the *Tun huang lu*. My rejection of this very obvious identification (see *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 723) was due to a mistaken estimate of the length of the Chinese *li* in those parts.

In conclusion a few words may fitly be devoted to the walled-up library, already mentioned, which Sir Aurel Stein was the first foreigner to set eyes upon at Ch'ien-fo-tung. He tells us that the whole collection comprised some 1,130 bundles, each containing a dozen rolls on an average, exclusive of fragments. Of these bundles he brought away 270, and Professor Pelliot in the following year 286, so that, contrary to the general impression, less than half of the hoard found its way to Europe. A certain proportion of the remainder was subsequently removed to Peking, but that much was left is evident from the considerable further acquisition which Sir Aurel Stein was able to make on his third expedition in 1916. Unfortunately, this additional collection, which has been temporarily deposited in the British Museum, is much less rich than its predecessor in the rarer Buddhist texts and commentaries, and contains no secular documents at all. Since *Serindia* was written, further interesting discoveries have been made among the Chinese MSS. both in Paris and in London. For instance, in the spring of 1923 I extracted



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from the middle of an unimportant Buddhist sūtra, which had escaped the attention of previous investigators, an exposition of Manichæan doctrine dating from the eighth century. It proved to be the initial portion of a roll to which a small fragment in the Paris collection also belongs. This hitherto unknown text, to be published very shortly with translation and notes by Professor Pelliot, will be found to illuminate several obscure places in our knowledge of Manichæism in China.

Want of expert ability as well as of space have prevented me from including within the scope of these scattered observations the priceless treasures of pictorial and plastic art, described and illustrated in these volumes, with which Sir Aurel Stein has enriched our national Museum. It is therefore to be hoped that some appreciation of them may shortly be forthcoming from the pen of a competent authority.

There are very few typographical errors, but one may note two wrongly printed characters on pp. 732 and 734. The proper name "So Man" on p. 421 should be read "So Mai". The mistake originated with Chavannes, and has also been reproduced in Herrmann's *Seidenstrassen*.

LIONEL GILES.

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# OBITUARY NOTICE

## Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E.

Indian Anthropology has suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Crooke, which took place at Cheltenham on the 25th of last October. He was born at Macroom, Co. Cork, in 1848, and was educated at Tipperary Grammar School and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he won a scholarship. In 1871, Trinity College contributed no fewer than seven members to the Indian Civil Service, and among these were Vincent Smith and William Crooke, both of whom, each in his own department, were destined to win reputations as Oriental scholars. Crooke was posted to the North-Western (now the United) Provinces, and, passing through the usual grades of the Service, retired in 1896. The last years of his life were spent at Cheltenham.

Early in his career Crooke began to interest himself in the Ethnology and Anthropology of his Province, and in 1888 he published his valuable *Rural and Agricultural Glossary of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, based upon materials collected by him and previously published in 1881, when he had been but ten years in the country. In the interval he had been serving as manager under the Court of Wards of the great Awa Estate, and had seized the opportunity thereby afforded to prosecute those inquiries which made his Glossary an inexhaustible source of information regarding the rural conditions of Northern India. Several other works from his pen, besides many contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, appeared during the rest of his stay in India, the most noteworthy being his *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (1894), and his monumental *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1896).

After his return to England he published numerous works, such as *Things Indian*, *The Natives of Northern India*, and

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authoritative editions, enriched with valuable notes, of Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia* (for the Hakluyt Society), Mrs. Mīr Hasan 'Alī's *Observations on the Musalmāns of India*, Tod's *Rājasthān*, and Herklots's *Qānūn-i-Islām*. Shortly before his death he had completed an edition of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, the manuscript of which is now in the hands of the Oxford University Press. He was the author of numerous articles in Hastings's "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics", in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and in *Folklore*. Of the last, he was editor for some years before his death. In 1910 he was President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, and in 1911–12 he was President of the Folklore Society. In 1919 he received the title of C.I.E., and, subsequently, was given the honorary degrees of (1919) D.Sc. (Oxford) and (1920) D.Litt. (Dublin). In 1923, the year of his death, he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

Crooke's work in regard to the Anthropology of India and kindred subjects, though voluminous, was throughout marked by careful accuracy and by sobriety of theory. At the same time his knowledge of general folklore was peculiarly wide, and enabled him to illuminate his accounts of Indian customs and beliefs by original and apposite illustrations drawn from the most varied sources. It is not only his personal friends, but also many members of this Society interested in Indian studies, who lament his loss, and who tender their respectful sympathy to those whom he has left behind.

G. A. G.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1923)

Professor Margoliouth has been elected Vice-President in place of the late Sir Henry Howorth.

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The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has awarded the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for 1923 to Sir George Grierson. This award is in recognition of the completion of his valuable work, *The Linguistic Survey of India*.

Mr. W. Foster has now been appointed Historiographer to the India Office.

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*Gifts*

Mr. Thomas Brown has presented No. 6 of the *Journal of the North China Branch*, which was needed to complete a volume; Lady Holmwood, thirteen volumes of the *Gazetteer of the North-West Provinces*, many of which were compiled by her father, the late Mr. E. T. Atkinson, and also three of his works; Sir Denison Ross, five volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*; Mrs. Fanshawe, 107 works from the Library of the late Mr. H. C. Fanshawe; the Rev. F. Penny, Volume III of his work, *The Church in Madras*; and Mr. O'Brien Butler, an atlas of the Chinese Empire.

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The following forty-two have been elected as members during the quarter:—

Mr. N. K. Basu, B.Sc.
Mr. K. A. C. Bisharad.
Rev. P. Bruce.
Rev. E. N. Burrows.
Mr. T. F. Carter.
Rev. T. W. Castle.
Mr. S. K. Chakraborti, M.A.
Mr. S. G. Chandra, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. S. K. Chaudhuri.
Mr. G. L. Crimp.
Babu B. P. Dayal.
Mr. N. B. Divatia, B.A.
Mr. M. D. Follin.

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Mr. E. Forbes.
Mrs. Maurice Gull.
Hon. M. Hachisuka.
Mr. H. R. Hardless.
Mr. M. Md. Ishaq Sahib.
Prof. R. Kanshala.
Mr. V. R. Karandikar.
Babu N. M. L. Kavisarbabhouma.
Mr. G. Md. Khan.
Pandit M. Koul.
Dr. C. S. Mahapatra, B.M.S.
Mr. G. S. Mahendra, B.A.
Mr. P. N. Misra.
Khan Bahadur A. M. Muhammad, C.I.E.
Mr. H. C. Nashkar, M.L.C.
Maulvi A. K. Nashlar.
Prof. P. E. Newberry.
Mr. N. L. G. Nidhish.
Dr. N. P. Nigam.
Mr. P. Pochumoni.
Shrotriya Pandit C. Sharma.
Prof. O. Sirén.
Dr. T. Stcherbatsky.
Mr. J. S. Trimingham.
Dewan S. L. Tuli.
Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A.
Dr. J. L. Wyer.
Mr. Md. Zahid-ul-Qadri.
Pandit R. N. Zutshi.

Lord Meston, Captain C. J. Morris, Rev. S. Nicholson, and Mr. H. G. Parlett have resigned, and Mr. W. Miller, Mr. F. J. Monahan, and Mr. S. Raffaeli have died.

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*Lectures*

In November Mr. Wm. Foster read a paper on "The Pictures of the Society", which is printed in the *Journal*, and Lieut.-Col. Shakespear spoke on "Manipur, Past and Present" in December.

He treated of its geographical position, the central valley of the country being cut off from the rest of the world by the mountains surrounding it, and showed the effect of this isolation on the culture of the people. He divided the population into the Hill tribes, the Valley dwellers (the latter being divided into Pongals or Mohammedans), Lois, and the Meitheis, who are the rulers, and he gave the probable origin of each. "The Chronicles" and their value were discussed with the references to Manipur in the Shan records, also the growth of the Meithei power and civilization as shown in the Chronicles. The lecturer then spoke on the old religion, the introduction of Hinduism, and the present religious condition

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of the country. He then gave a summary of events since historical times, the changes in Government since 1891, and the characteristics and handicrafts of the people together with the present condition of the country and its inhabitants.

In January Mrs. Ayscough lectures on "The Cult of the Spiritual Magistrate of the City Walls and City Moats"; in February Mr. Grant Brown gives "Pictures of Burma"; and in March Rev. E. N. B. Burrows reads a paper entitled "The Mythology of the Rivers of Babylonia".

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The following books are needed for the Library:—

Ceylon Br. R.A.S. Journal. Vol. vii, No. 23.

N. China Br. Transactions. Pts. 5, 6, 7, 1855–9.

China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.

Hakluyt Society, Rundall, Collection of early documents on Japan. 1850.

Memoires de l'Institut Egyptien. T. 2.

Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6. Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12. New Ser., Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 10. Proceedings from the beginning.

Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.

Sacred Books of the East. Vols. xxxix, xl. Legge, Texts of Tâoism.

Temple, Legends of the Panjâb. Vol. iii.

Vienna Or. Journal. Vols. i, ii, and xxix, pts. 3, 4.

Zeits. der Deut. Mor. Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.

Zeits. für Assyriologie. Bd. xxii, pts. 3, 4.

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Could any Member supply Vols. i–iv of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*?

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Owing to the reduction in the cost of printing, the Council have decided to increase the *Journal* by eight pages a quarter.

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## PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a meeting of the Society on 18th December, the President, Lord Chalmers, presented to Mr. D. E. F.-C. Binyon, of Westminster School, the Public School Gold Medal.

Lord Chalmers said that the Medal was founded as the result of a movement whereby a number of Indian princes and gentlemen more than twenty years ago sought to encourage the study of India in this country. They determined with great good feeling and sagacity that their contribution should be devoted to such encouragement in the Public Schools. This was the twentieth award of the Medal, and during these two decades it had been won more than half the times by either Eton or Merchant Taylors, which had shown a violent but chivalrous rivalry. In 1907 it was won by his friend Mr. Waterfield, a Westminster boy and a King's Scholar, on a subject which would naturally appeal to Westminster boys, that of Warren Hastings, who was one of the many heroes in many walks of life who had come forth from the school. This year the Council of the Society accepted his suggestion that the subject should be Asoka. One reason for preferring the request was that Asoka was an essentially Indian figure, and it was fitting that a Medal founded by Indian princes and gentlemen should be used from time to time for the study of great Indians. Asoka was the grandson of a great man, the founder of a great empire, Chandra Gupta, who knew and had met Alexander; so he had a direct link with the Macedonian conqueror. Asoka was a very great man indeed, and had left a greater impress on the world than even Alexander, whose military conquests, except in the hands of his successors in some regions, were evanescent and temporary, whereas the efforts of King Asoka were steeped in the Indian thought which required that a good ruler should be given to truth and piety as the essence of true kingship. Though he began his reign

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in an orgy of blood in Southern India for purposes of conquest, Asoka became in a short time a pronounced Buddhist, a religion the essence of which was that you should take no life. He did everything to foster the health of the people and the well-being of his subjects, while his vast bureaucracy included a set of officials whose duty it was to see to the spiritual welfare of the nation. But he was not so austere as to forbid the use of intoxicating drink on high days and feasts. The great empire he left was speedily broken up, and there was a striking analogy between his rule and that of David, whose empire was wrecked by his son, Solomon, though he was the wisest of mankind. In both cases a great empire went to pieces when the strong hand was removed from its government.

Professor E. J. Rapson said that the task of the examiners (Lord Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, and himself) had not been burdensome, for they had only four papers to consider, two from Westminster and two from Cheltenham. It was much to be regretted that the Medal did not excite a keener competition in our great Public Schools. Surely it could not be, at least on this occasion, in the choice of a subject, for it was one not confined to a narrow circle of Oriental scholars. The fame of Asoka was proclaimed far and wide throughout the world. One of our most distinguished modern poets, a kinsman of the prize-winner, Mr. Laurence Binyon, addressed some graceful verses to Asoka some years ago. More recently, Mr. H. G. Wells had chosen Asoka as his ideal of a ruling great man of antiquity. But while they regretted they had not more papers to examine, they found some consolation in the fact that those presented were of good quality. They came to the unanimous conclusion that that of Mr. Binyon was the best in the list. He had evidently studied his subject with great care: he had not reproduced what he found in the textbooks alone, for the observations throughout the essay showed that he had formed his own conclusions and had used his own intelligence.

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He drew many interesting parallels which testified to the extent of his knowledge of general history.

Dr. F. W. Thomas pointed out that it is difficult for an Englishman to form or express an opinion concerning Indian systems and personalities without first-hand knowledge of the ancient literature of the country. But the difficulty of setting forth adequately a great Indian figure in English had been most successfully met by Mr. Binyon, whose paper represented a remarkable feat in philosophic understanding.

The Headmaster of Westminster said that they felt proud and honoured at Westminster that Binyon had won this very considerable distinction. In what particular line of inspiration he brought his mind to undertake this difficult task he was not quite sure. It might be that the spirits of Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey were hovering about his head, for he slept in the very room where they had both slept in their day. Perhaps he felt the call of the blood to undertake an expedition into the mysterious East, for one who bore the name of Binyon could not go for long without feeling himself called to study and explain the East to the West. Indeed, a distinguished colleague of Mr. Laurence Binyon said to him the other day, "Of course, he represents to us the spirituality of the British Museum." (Laughter.) The prize-winner had started upon a line of study in which in future years he might well be enabled to produce valuable and helpful work in the history and philosophy of the development of the human race. He felt strongly that the Society by offering this award was helping those who were engaged on the school side of the educational life of our country. The existence of the Medal was a direct incentive to thoughtful boys to take up work which otherwise they might never think of pursuing. In a remarkable sentence Samuel Johnson said, "Whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." The R.A.S., in the encouragement it gave to the student of the past and distant in its relation

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to the present and the future, helped them to advance in the dignity of thinking beings. It encouraged them to try to understand and to take a philosophic and thoughtful outlook upon the development of our Empire. To his mind there was hardly any duty more incumbent upon the young people at school in England at this moment than to try to understand the Empire and their responsibilities as good citizens in it. There were harder tasks confronting them in the next forty years than we in our generation or than past generations had known. Therefore, if scholars at the public schools were encouraged to develop a line of thought in that direction it would be of inestimable advantage to our Empire and to the happiness of the individuals composing it. So with all sincerity he thanked the Society for the great help and encouragement which their work provided for the pupils in the schools of this country.

The presentation of the Medal by Lord Chalmers concluded the proceedings.

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## Lecture

Mrs. Ayscough delivered an interesting lecture on 15th January, a resumé of which follows :—

"Probably the most popular of present-day Chinese religious cults is that of the Spiritual Magistrate of the City Walls and City Moats. It is considered to be the duty of this official to make a report of men's actions during life to the ruler of the Dark World, who is then able to decide what punishments and rewards shall be meted out to spirits of the dead when they appear before him—as all must do.

"Its origin is rooted in the highest antiquity, as it has sprung from a sacrifice instituted by King Yao *circa* 2357 B.C. The Chinese believed then, as they do now, in the survival of the soul, and consider, as does Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, not only that life carries on enclosed in some more tenuous envelope, but that the conditions which it encounters in the Beyond are not unlike those which it has known here."

The paper was illustrated by lantern slides coloured by Miss L. Douglas.

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# PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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*From the Executors of Sir H. H. Howorth,* 1923.

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# TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

# SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

## AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

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SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| | |
|---|---|
| अ | *a* |
| आ | *ā* |
| इ | *i* |
| ई | *ī* |
| उ | *u* |
| ऊ | *ū* |
| ऋ | *ṛ* or *r̥* |
| ॠ | *ṝ* or *r̥̄* |
| ऌ | *ḷ* or *l̥* |
| ॡ | *ḹ* or *l̥̄* |
| ए | *e* or *ē* |
| ऐ | *ai* |
| ओ | *o* or *ō* |
| औ | *au* |
| क | *ka* |
| ख | *kha* |
| ग | *ga* |
| घ | *gha* |
| ङ | *ṅa* |
| च | *ca* or *cha*[1] |
| छ | *cha* or *chha*[1] |
| ज | *ja* |
| झ | *jha* |
| ञ | *ña* |
| ट | *ṭa* |
| ठ | *ṭha* |
| ड | *ḍa* |
| ढ | *ḍha* |
| ण | *ṇa* |
| त | *ta* |
| थ | *tha* |
| द | *da* |

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ध | . . . | *dha* |
| न | . . . | *na* |
| प | . . . | *pa* |
| फ | . . . | *pha* |
| ब | . . . | *ba* |
| भ | . . . | *bha* |
| म | . . . | *ma* |
| य | . . . | *ya* |
| र | . . . | *ra* |
| ल | . . . | *la* |
| व | . . . | *va* |
| श | . . . | *śa* |
| ष | . . . | *ṣa* |
| स | . . . | *sa* |
| ह | . . . | *ha* |
| ळ | . . . | *ḷa* or *ḷa* |
| ं (*Anusvāra*) | . | *ṁ* ) or ~ |
| ँ (*Anunāsika*) | . | *m̐* ) |
| : (*visarga*) | . . | *ḥ* |
| × (*jihvāmūlīya*) | . | *ḫ* |
| ऽ (*upadhmānīya*) | | *ḫ* |
| ऽ (*avagraha*) | . | ’ |
| *Udātta* | . . | ´ |
| *Svarita* | . . | ^ |
| *Anudātta* | . . | ` |

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ड़ | . . . | *ṛa* |
| ढ़ | . . . | *ṛha* |

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī **करता** *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; **कल** *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus **अँ** *ã*, **आँ** *ã*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

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## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by ʿ or °

| | |
|---|---|
| ب | *b* |
| ت | *t* |
| ث | *ṯ* or *th* |
| ج | *j* or *dj*[1] |
| ح | *ḥ* |
| خ | *ḫ* or *kh* |
| د | *d* |
| ذ | *ḏ* or *dh* |
| ر | *r* |
| ز | *z* |
| س | *s* |
| ش | *ṣ* or *sh* |
| ص | *ṣ* |
| ض | *ḍ* |
| ط | *ṭ* or *ṭ*[1] |
| ظ | *ẓ* or *ẓ*[1] |
| ع | ʿ |
| غ | *ġ* or *gh* |
| ف | *f* |
| ق | *q* |
| ك | *k* |
| ل | *l* |
| م | *m* |
| ن | *n* |

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

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و *w* or *v*

ھ *h*

ۃ *t* or *ḥ*

ي *y*

vowels ـَ *a*, ـِ *i*, ـُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, ـُو *ū*

*Alif-i-maqṣūra* may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs ـَيْ *ay* and ـَوْ *aw* or ـَيْ *ai* and ـَوْ *au*, respectively

*e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—

ل of article ال to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s̱* for ث, *ẕ* for ذ, and *ẓ* for ض

*waṣla* ’

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

## ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

پ *p*

چ *ç*, *c*, or *ch*

ژ *ẓ* or *zh*

گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as *y*, *k̟* is permitted

ڭ *ñ*

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Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

ٹ or ت *ṭ*

ڈ or د *ḍ*

ڑ or ر *ṛ*

ں (*nūn-ġ-ghunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣḥtō letters.

څ *ts* or *ʦ*

ږ *g* or *ẓh* (according to dialect)

ڼ *ṇ*

ښ *ksh*; or *ṣh* or *ḳh* (according to dialect)

ځ or څ *dz* or *ʣ*

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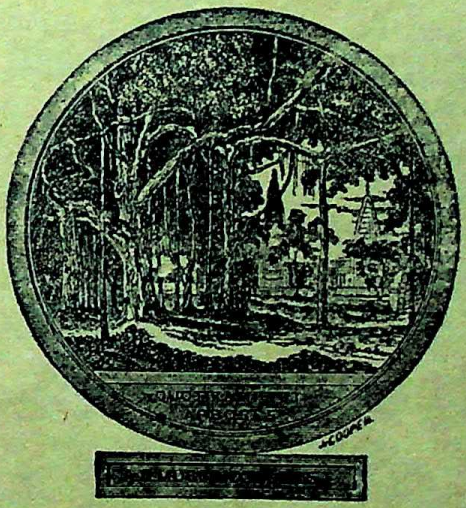

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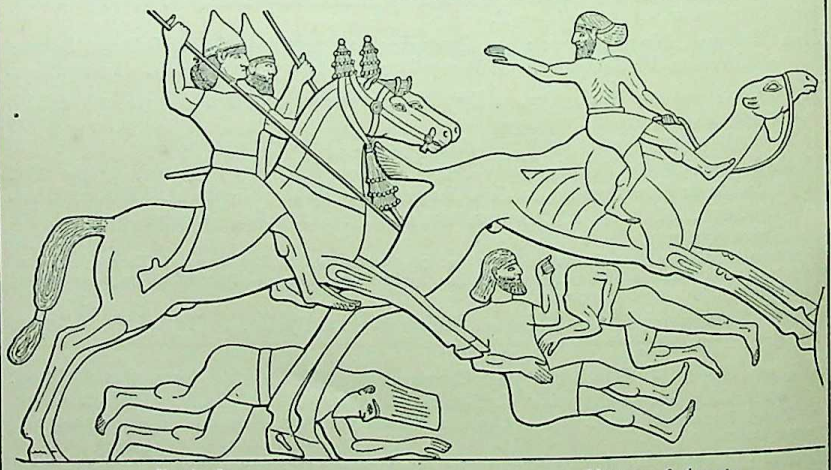

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JOURNAL OF THE
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PART II.—APRIL

# Notes on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

(*Concluded from p. 42.*)

## THE AFFINITIES OF SHINA š AND ṣ

60. (*a*) Shina palatal **š** corresponds to Sanskrit palatal **š** (श्) in the following:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ʌšpo** | *horse* | | Skt. | **ašva-** |
| **diš** | *place* | | ,, | **diš** |
| **pʌšo:.iki** | *to see* | | ,, | **√paṣ-** |
| **šʌl** | *100* | | ,, | **šatam** |
| **šʌṣ** | *mother-in-law* | | ,, | **švašrú** |
| **šai.o** | *white* | ? | ,, | **švetá-**, **√švit-** (or **šiti**) |
| **šũ:** | *dog* | | ,, | **švan-** |
| **šu:ko** | *dry* | ? | ,, | **šúška-** |

(*b*) Shina **š** perhaps corresponds to Sanskrit **-dy-** in:

**ʌš, aš** *to-day* Skt. **adya** cf. Hind. **āj**

**bʌšo:.iki** *to play a musical instrument*, may, on the analogy of

Shina **ʌš** Hind. **āj**

be compared with Hind. **bajnā, bajānā, bājā,** which I would tentatively suggest may be referable to some form ***vădya-** from **√vad-**, of which the causative **vādáya-** may mean "to play a musical instrument".



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Shina medial š may perhaps correspond to Skt. -rty- in:

muš|a: *man* Skt. **mártya-**

cf. Khowar **mōš** and Iranian **mašya**

61. (*a*) Shina cerebral ṣ corresponds to Skt. ṣ (ष) in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| biṣ | *poison* | Skt. **viṣa-** |
| nu:ṣ | *daughter-in-law* | ,, **snuṣā́** |
| pl. nu:ja:rɛ | | |
| ro:ṣ | *anger* | ,, **roṣa-** |
| loc. ro:ṣər | | |
| ṣa | *six* | ,, **ṣáṣ** |

(*b*) Shina ṣ corresponds to Skt. šr and šṛ in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ā:ṣo | *tear* | Skt. **áśru-** |
| šʌṣ | *mother-in-law* | ,, **švašrū́** |
| ši:ŋ | *horn* | ,, **śṛ́ŋga-** |

(*c*) Shina ṣ perhaps corresponds to Skt. ṛṣ, rṣ in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kī:ṣ t. | *to push, pull* | Skt. $\sqrt{\text{kṛṣ}}$- |
| kiši | *line* | |
| kʌṣ t. | *to wipe, shave* | ,, $\sqrt{\text{karṣ}}$- |
| (*d*) In pʌṣ | *wool* | Skt. **pakṣman** |
| pʌṣi:lu | *woollen* | |

one would expect ç, but perhaps the k was lost before the m, giving *paṣm ⟶ paṣ. In any case the Shina forms show a cerebral corresponding to a Sanskrit cerebral.

62. The following are apparent exceptions to the general principle: palatal *vis-à-vis* palatal, and cerebral *vis-à-vis* cerebral:

ʌš (but perhaps ʌṣ doubtful) *eight* Skt. **aṣṭá**

Punyali is, I think, ʌšt or ʌṣṭ.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| prʌš | *rib* | Skt. **pṛṣṭhí-** |
| šušo:.iki | *to become dry* | ,, $\sqrt{\text{šuṣ}}$- |

In the first two, however, the forms are peculiar, for in other cases št, st are reduced to t, *vide* § 52.

Further praš is probably a borrowing from Khowar, where it is found with the same meaning.

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In šuš- for šuš- we must assume assimilation. Perhaps ṣiṣ is a similar case of progressive assimilation of s to ṣ.

ṣiṣ *head* for ṣiš ← *šras Skt. širas

63. ç (tṣ). This sound is common in Shina. It is usually distinctly cerebral and readily distinguishable from č, but, as in the case of ṣ and š, doubtful cases occur.

çe:ç *field* may be taken as the type-word for ç and čʌk *day* as that for č.

I have adopted the symbol č to represent these sounds in preference to tš because I do not think the initial sound in the combination is a full t.

The following are examples of the two sounds :—

*Initial*

| č | | ç | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ča:l | *kid* | ça: b. | *to be cold* |
| čã:lo | *broad* | ça:ko | *spindle* |
| ča:r | *four* | çano:.iki | *to send* |
| čʌk | *day* | ça:r B. çər | *cliff* |
| čʌk B. | *pick* | çã:to | *dung* |
| čʌko:.iki | *to look* | çʌçi:l | *rind of a green walnut* |
| čʌpo:.iki | *to chew* | | |
| čʌs b. | *to be torn, broken off* | çʌt b. B. | *to break* |
| | | çʌto:r B. jʌto:r | *quince* |
| čʌstʌn B. | *matting* | çɛ | *three* |
| čã:ṣ B. čʌṣ | *thorns* | çe:ç | *field* |
| čʌti:lo | *1½ to 2-year goat* | çi:çu (maro:č) | *piebald (mulberry)* |
| čəru: | *top, peak* | çi:çupi:çu: | *piebald* |
| čɛča:ro B. jɛča: rum | *rough* | çi:lo | *cloth, clothes* |
| | | çi:ŋ | *a kind of cereal* |
| čɛ.i | *woman* | | |
| čɛ:.i B. | *key* | çi:ri | *udder* |
| čī: | *pine* | çī:ṣ B. çi:ṣ | *mountain* |
| či:jo:t | *shade* | çi:to | *bitter* |
| či:li | *juniper* | çiç B. çiṣ | *ladder* |

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| č | | ç | |
|---|---|---|---|
| čiːni B. | *cup* | çilo:.iki | *to tease wool* |
| čileː.i | *nurse, ramrod* | çon B. çʌn | *leisure* |
| čimo, čumo B. čumo | *fish* | çot b. B. çot | *to fall* |
| | | çuːkəçaːkɛ B. çuːkčaːk | *dirt* |
| činoː.iki | *to cut* | | |
| čivoː.iki | *to place* | çyuː b. | *to fall in love* |
| čo t. B. | *to gallop* | | |
| čoːl B. | *proper, becoming* | | |
| čot B. | *heap, pile* | | |
| čōːtʌl B. čoːtʌl | *rhubarb* | | |
| jɛk čoːkij B. čoːk | *how?* | | |
| čuːčo B. čuːču | *teat, nipple* | | |
| čuːno | *small* | | |
| čuːrko | *yeast, dough* | | |
| čuːri | *theft* | | |
| čuroː.iki | *to place* | | |
| čuːš t. B. | *to suck* | | |
| čuːt | *slow* | | |
| čumus, B. čʌmus | *bug* | | |
| čuruːto | *thief* | | |

*Medial*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʌčoː.iki | *to penetrate* | aːçço | *walnut* |
| bˡičuš B. | *lightning* | açoː.e | *walnut-tree* |
| pfʌčˡo | *tail* | ʌçi: | *eye* |
| pfʌtɛčo (pfʌcɛto) | *kick* | ʌçuːⁿni | *hole* |
| kʌčo | *bad* | bʌçço d. | *to irrigate* |
| kʌčo | *near* | dʌçˡino | *right hand* |
| kulčiːn B. | *house-steward* | fʌçaːli | *wing* |
| mʌčaːrɛ | *wasp* | pfiːçço B. pʰiːçço | *mosquito* |
| mučˡo | *in front, before* | gʌçi: B. gʌçɛ | *osiers, wicker* |
| | | haːçum | *jaw* |
| mučoː.iki | *to recover, escape* | uçuːni | *female bear* |
| | | jʌmuːçço | *son-in-law* |

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| č | | ç | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pʌčo:.iki | *to ripen* | kʌçʌti | *match* |
| (pʌjo:.iki) | | mʌçi: | *fly, honey* |
| šaičo:.iki | *to be affected* | po:ço | *grandson* |
| tuku:čo | *knuckles, fetlock* | sā:ço | *dream* |
| | | sʌço B. | *easy* |
| ū:çu, B. u:čo | *tongs* | siço:.iki | *to learn* |
| učačo:.iki | *to reach, arrive* | sō:çi, B. so:çi | *female* |
| | | sū:ço | *straight, true* |
| | | tʌçi | *adze* |
| | | tʌço:n | *carpenter* |
| | | uço:.iki | *to flee* |

*Final*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -č ‖ -j | (suffix) *on* | bisa:ç B. bisərš | *sickle* |
| -kʌč | (suffix) *in possession of*, etc. | bu:ç B. | *chenar-tree* |
| | | ga:ç | *price* |
| | | hʌro:ç B. hərɛnj | *pitch-fork* |
| bir\|ʌč | *horizontal* | hu:ç | *field terrace* |
| mar\|o:č | *mulberry (tree, fruit)* | i:ç | *bear* (male) |
| | | lʌç | *goat* |
| m\|a:ruč | *pepper* | moç | *earth cliff* |
| | | (owa:lo) pʌç B. | (summer) *time* |
| | | pu:ç | *son* |

## The Affinities of Shina č and ç

64. Shina č corresponds to Sanskrit č in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ča:r | *four* | Skt. čatúr-, čatvár- |
| čom | *leather* | ,, čárman |
| ču:ču | *nipple* | ,, čūčuka- |
| ču:ri | *theft* | ,, čaurya-, √čur- |
| čuru:to | *thief* | ,, čaura- |
| ču:š t. | *to suck* | ,, √čūš- |
| čum | *chin* (?) | ,, čibuka |
| pʌčo:.iki ‖ pʌj- | *to be cooked, to ripen* | ,, √pač- |

ma:ruč *pepper* suggests Skt. **mārika** and Hind. **mirič**

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65. (*a*) Shina cerebral ç̌ corresponds to Skt. tr, -tṛ -tar in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ç̌ɛ | *three* | Skt. tráyas ‖ trí |
| ç̌e:ç̌ | *field* | ,, kṣétra |
| jʌmu:ç̌o | *son-in-law* | ,, jāmātṛ-, -tar- |
| pú.ç̌ | *son* | ,, putrá- |

The word for "woman", čɛ.i in Gilgit Shina, is said to be pronounced ç̌ɛ.i at Gupis and in Darel. It is conceivable that it may be related to the Sanskrit strī.

(*b*) Shina ç̌ corresponds to Skt. kṣ in :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʌç̌ˈi | *eye* | Skt. ákṣi- |
| ç̌e:ç̌ | *fie'd* | ,, kṣétra- |
| ç̌on | *leisure* | ,, kṣaṇa- |
| dʌç̌ˈino | *right (hand)* | ,, dákṣiṇa- |
| fʌç̌a:li | *wing* (?) | ,, pakṣá- |
| i:ç̌ | *bear* (?) | ,, ṛ́kṣa- |
| mʌç̌i | *fly* | ,, mákṣā |
| tʌç̌o:n | *carpenter* | tákṣan- |

*Notes.*—(i) In the loan-word me:ç̌ *table* ç̌ represents z of mɛz.

(ii) I have noted that for ç̌e:ç̌, ga:ç̌, and pu:ç̌ some people say če:t, ga:t, and po:t. How far this tendency to reduce ç̌ to t is general I cannot yet say, nor whether it only works where ç̌ corresponds to tr. I also cannot say whether the t in these cases is cerebral.

Here again palatal sounds in Shina correspond to palatal sounds in Sanskrit, and similarly cerebral sounds correspond to cerebral, r being reckoned cerebral in Sanskrit.

66. j (ɖ̌ž, ž̌)

This sound, which is fairly common in Shina, is the voiced counterpart of ç̌ and like it is, at its best, a marked cerebral. By many it is reduced to ž̌ in the same way as j is reduced to ž.

Sf.'s pronunciation of it always suggests to me a sort of g-sound and I used to write it gž̌, but he himself

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absolutely repudiates the existence of anything resembling g. When it is pronounced slowly and carefully I now always think that I can recognize ḍž, the ḍ element being subordinate.

I have adopted the symbol j to represent it, because I take the full-dress sound to be ḍž and I want to avoid the formal adoption of either ḍž or ž. j is also the correlative of č and similarly obviates the inference that the initial is a complete plosive.

The following are examples of the two j's.

*Initial*

| j (dž, ž) | | j (ḍž, ž) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ja:tɛ | *whither* | ja: | *brother* |
| ja:k B. | *rheumatism* | ja:s t. | *to pull* |
| ja:k B. ja:k, ža:k | *pity* | jʌp | *property* |
| | | jʌs t. | *to take by force* |
| ja:lo | *raft* | jʌtai.ɛ | *leather bag* |
| ja:r | *paramour* (m.) | jʌč | *grapes* |
| jaro | *old man* | jæʰ | *black from smoke* |
| jʌk | *people* | | |
| jʌkur | *hair* (human) | jɛk | *extended* |
| jʌl B. | *net* | ji:go | *long* |
| jʌmu:č'o | *son-in-law* | ji:n B. | *line* |
| jʌn t. | *to loot* | nʌto jo:.ilɛ | *nostril* |
| jʌp t. | *to stop up* | | |
| jʌt | *hair* (animal's) | | |
| jər'o: B. jəro: | *motherless parentless* | | |
| jɛk | *what* | | |
| jɛri | *old woman* | | |
| jel | *jungle* (of trees, thorn bushes, etc.) | | |
| ji:l b. B. | *to rise, appear* (of sun) | | |
| jil B. ji: | *soul* | | |

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| j (dž, ž) | | ȷ̣ (ɖ̣ž, ẓ̌) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| joːiki (3rd sg. pret. jaːlo) | *to be born* | | |
| joːno B. jiːno | *living* | | |
| joːto B. | *chicken* | | |
| juːk B. | *pain* | | |
| juk | *wood* | | |
| juᵃk t. B. juːk | *to touch* | | |
| juːli B. juᵘli | *soup* | | |
| jʊn | *snake* | | |
| jʊruːṇi B. jʊruːno | *fringe of hair on the forehead* | | |

*Medial*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -jo | ablative suffix | aːȷ̣o | *rain, wet mist, wet* |
| aːje | *mother* | | |
| ʌji | *up* | gʌȷ̣ʌm t. B. ɣʳʌȷ̣ʌm | *to lay violent hands on* |
| ʌjoːno | *strange* | hʌliːȷ̣o | *yellow* |
| ʌju kaːl | *this year* | jõːji | *birch-tree* |
| bijoːiki | *to fear* | mʌnuːȷ̣o | *man* (homo) |
| bijʸuːto B. bijʸaːto | *terrifying, evil-looking* | muːji | *rat* |
| bʊjoːiki | *to go* | mʊȷ̣oːiki | *to save, preserve* |
| čijoːt | *shade* | piːȷ̣oːiki, (pɛːȷ̣ʌm) | *to grind,* (I grind) |
| dijaːrɛ (pl.) | *daughters* | piːju | *flea* |
| dijoːiki | *to fall* | roȷ̣aːto | *angry* |
| dʊjoːiki | *to wash* | uːȷ̣u B. uȷ̣u | *otter* |
| -iːj- | theme of passive and neuter verbs | | |
| iji:lu (žiːlu) | *sheep* | | |
| -ojɛ | suffix of present participle | | |
| majˡaː | *middle* | | |
| pʌju | *salt* | | |

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| j (dž, ž) | | ị (ḍž, ž) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Final* | | |
| -j (suffix sometimes alternating with -č) *on* | | ro:ị ‖ ro:ṣ | *anger* |
| bʊlɛ̣j B. bʊlla *ramchickor* | | | |
| gi:rɛj | *vulture* | | |

AFFINITIES OF j AND ị

67. (*a*) Shina palatal j (dž, ž) corresponds to Sanskrit j in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| jʌmu:ṭo | *son-in-law* | Skt. jāmātṛ- |
| jaro | *old man* | ,, jarat |
| jʌt | *animal's hair* | (?) ,, jaṭā *braid of hair,* Hind. jaṭā *matted hair* |
| jo:.iki, ja:lo | *to be born, he was born* | Skt. √jan-, jāya IV.A. |
| jo:no | *living* | |

(*b*) Shina palatal j corresponds to Sanskrit č in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| jʌkʊr | *hair of head* | Skt. čikura- |
| jɛk | *what something* | (?) ,, -čid |

(*c*) Shina palatal j corresponds to Skt. -dhi, -dhy- in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʌji | *above, upwards* | Skt. ádhi |
| mʌj!a: | *middle* | ,, mádhya- |

68. Shina cerebral ị corresponds to:

(*a*) Sanskrit dr in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ịʌč | *grapes* | Skt. drākṣā *vine, grape* |
| u:ịu | *otter* | ,, udrá- *water animal* |

and perhaps

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ịi:go | *long* | ,, dīrghá- (Aryan dḭ̄) |

(*b*) Sanskrit ṣ (as a rule only when medial in Shina):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mʌnu:ịo | *human being* | Skt. mā́nuṣa- |
| mu:ịi | *rat* | ,, mūṣa-, mūṣika- |
| pi:ịo:.iki | *to grind* | ,, √piṣ- |
| ro:ị (beside ro:ṣ) | *anger* | ,, roṣa- *anger* |
| ro:ịa:to | *angry* | |

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Here, again, we have palatals corresponding to palatals, and cerebrals to cerebrals.

The case of **mujo:.iki** (doubtful **mʊjo:.iki**) is distressing; one would naturally connect it either with

Skt. √**muč-** or √**mukš-** (both transitive verbs)

and then **mučo:.iki** *to escape* would follow as

**muj + č + o:.iki → mučo:.iki**

**-č-** being a neuter verbal theme like **-i:j-**, but the first root should give **muč-** and the latter **muč-**, not **muj-** or **mʊj-**.

69. Cerebral **ḍ**

This is the last of the Primary or Original Cerebrals which I find in Shina.

It is distinctly not a normal, i.e. dental or alveolar, **d**. It is much more akin to an **r**, for which I am always inclined to mistake it. The sound is, however, regarded by the people as a **d**, and when pronounced slowly and clearly I can recognize it as **ḍ**.

The sound is not a very common one, nor have I met it except as a medial. The following are all the examples that I have as yet been able to collect of it :—

*Examples—*

| | |
|---|---|
| **bʌḍo** | *big, large* |
| **bʌḍo:.iki** | *to finish, complete* |
| **bʌḍi:lo (ja:)** | *big (brother)* |
| **bʌḍuli:k** B. | small Kashmiri *iron dish* (used for drinking from or putting vegetables in) |
| **bəḍijo:.iki** | *to be finished, exhausted* |
| **bəḍi:do, bəḍi:lo** | |
| **biḍi:ŋ** B. | *noise* (of gun, or falling stone) |
| **biḍ\|i:ro** B. | |
| **bi:ḍir\|i:ko** | *round* |
| **bi:ḍir\|u:ko** | |
| **buḍijo:.iki** | *to dive* |
| **buḍulo:ko** B. | *muddy* (of water) |

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| | |
|---|---|
| dʌḍʌŋ, daḍʌŋ B. | *drum* (larger kind, not kettle-drum) |
| di:ḍu B. di:ru | *bullet* |
| fʌḍʌko ‖ fʌtʌko | *bald* |
| (gu:me:i) gˈa:ḍo | *sheaf* (of wheat) |
| gʌḍʌm B. | *noise* of a stone falling into water |
| gʌḍubˈi: | *iron vessel* ("**lota**", "**mašarba**") |
| guḍu:r B. gudu:r | *large wicker platter* (for cleaning rice in) |
| kəḍəkˈī: | a kind of repulsive *white grub* which eats the roots of plants |
| korˈo:ḍo B. | *thin, emaciated* (of cattle) |
| ku:ḍo | *lame* |
| lɛḍo B. | *bastard* |
| šərʌḍo B. | *vegetables* cooked in a stone vessel |
| šuḍu:.iki d. | *to whistle* |
| tʌlbu:ḍo B. tʌlʌbuḍo | *spider* |
| təḍʌm b. B. | *to stumble* |
| tərʌḍo | *slack and incompetent* |

## Affinities of ḍ

70. I am unable to trace cognates of any of these words in Sanskrit. Perhaps they may be obvious to a Sanskrit scholar, but I can only assume that there are none.

Perhaps **bʌḍo** is to be connected with Hind. **baṛā**; in meaning they are identical and they closely resemble each other in sound.

**gʌḍʌm** is presumably onomatopoeic, and may be compared with Pashtu **ɣṛab**, with the same meaning, and **ɣṛumb**.

If Sanskritic affinities are lacking, Burushaski ones are, on the other hand, very prominent. It will be noted that about fifty per cent of the words quoted are used also in Burushaski in an identical or slightly differing form.

Shina **ḍ** is represented by **r** in Burushaski **di:ru** (the form in which I first recorded the word in Shina) and by **d** in B. **gudu:r**.

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## Secondary Cerebrals

71. The sounds t, d, and r become, I think, cerebralized when in contact with a primary cerebral.

Thus the t in ṭš̌ (č̣) and the d in ḍž̌ (j) are, I think, cerebral, the tongue being drawn back to the cerebral position before the pronunciation of the compound sound begins.

The same seems to be the case with r in

č̣ʌṛč̣ʌt *fruitless mulberry*

I am at a loss to provide further examples. I have č̣iːṛš̌ (for č̣īːš̌) recorded from a Punyali, but it is probably incorrect.

72. Cerebral ṇ. I am inclined to agree with Dr. Grahame Bailey that the n in šiːṇ, šiṇˡaː is a real cerebral. Failing proof to the contrary, I hold that this ṇ is cerebralized by the preceding š̌.

73. This process of cerebralization over a vowel is easily conceivable (consider the laws affecting the change of n to ṇ in Sanskrit). The difficulty is that I have failed to find any signs of its operating as a general rule in Shina. Out of a large number of words I have examined, I am prepared to admit some degree of cerebralization only in the following instances:

| | |
|---|---|
| č̣aṇoːˑiki | *to send* |
| č̣oṇ | *leisure* |
| dʌč̣iːṇo | *right hand* |
| jiːṇi | *lines* |
| tʌč̣oːṇ | *carpenter* |
| juːṇ | *a wild plant* with medicinal virtues |

I have experimented with the theory that a close vowel, requiring less alteration of the mouth cavity, might favour the continuance of the cerebralization, but without positive results;

č̣aṇoːˑiki is hostile to it.

I have failed to find in Gilgit Shina confirmation of Dr. Grahame Bailey's assertion that in all dialects the n of

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kuni plural of ko:n *ear*

is cerebral, or evidence of any general principle by which a final alveolar n changes to cerebral ṇ when it is followed by a vowel. Incidentally, why should it?

74. It might be expected that if n is sometimes affected by a carry-over of cerebralization that t, d, and r would be similarly affected, but I have examined many words without obtaining any positive result. I think these sounds may possibly be slightly affected in some cases, but not to the point of cerebralization. For example in

| | |
|---|---|
| ʌčḭ:ru | *in the eye* |
| čọt b. | *to fall* |
| jʌtai.ɛ | *bag* |

and still more in

| | |
|---|---|
| dʌmija:r (or j ?) | *trouble* |
| či:ri | *udder* |
| roja:to | *angry* |

it would be incorrect to describe the t's and r's as cerebrals.

75. There still remains one possible source of cerebralization to be considered, the influence of *back vowels*. I have already referred in §§ 26, 27 to the apparent effect of back vowels in retracting the position of a neighbouring consonant, but this does not in itself entail cerebralization, nor, as far as I can judge does it lead to it in Gilgit Shina.

A few isolated words, such as:

| | |
|---|---|
| so:n | *gold* |
| kʌn | *hill* |
| kun | *blanket* |

seem to have rather retracted n's, perhaps due to the contiguous vowels, but I do not think they are cerebral.

76. Burushaski possesses a cerebral ṇ which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, occurs only in the proximity of a primary cerebral. The following are examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| čʌṇ | *empty, leisure.* Cf. Shina čọṇ |
| šʌṇ | *gate* |
| šɛ:ṇ | *Shin.* Cf. Shina ši:ṇ |

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| | |
|---|---|
| ʂɛɳ, ʂɪɳ | *kind of bedstead* |
| ʂi:ɳ, ʂi:ɳa | *they eat, eat!* |
| ʂo:ɳ | *egg* |

77. Burushaski has also one or more sounds which I cannot exactly distinguish or define. In one or two words I seem to hear what may be a cerebral r or l. E.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| bʌɾʊm | *mare* |
| gɛɾətʌs | *to dance*, etc. |
| gʌɾu | *chickor* |

In other cases there seems to be something resembling more a y or w glide, and in others something suggesting γ and again ʐ. These sounds appear to occur only in words which are not found in any form in Shina.

78. Before passing on I would advert for a moment to the inconsistency in marking cerebrals of which Sir George Grierson complains in the records on which he has had to work, and which has naturally led him to doubt the existence of any true cerebrals in Shina.

I would suggest that his records have all been prepared by Indian inquirers, or at least with their assistance, and that there are *primâ facie* grounds for distrusting an untrained Indian's judgment in discriminating between cerebrals and non-cerebrals.

Indians as a rule in transliterating render the English alveolar t, d, r as cerebrals, to which in fact they bear no relation. When these sounds are not dental they apparently strike the Indian ear as resembling his cerebrals. Again, are *all* modern Indian written cerebrals really cerebrals? I ask for information.

Again, as regards cerebral ʂ, ʧ, ʤ, the Indian is no better off than the Englishman, for am I not right in believing that they are equally unfamiliar to him? What, by the way, has become of the Sanskrit cerebral ʂ in the modern vernaculars?

The Indian officials who have furnished records have undoubtedly been men of high intelligence, but it is

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unlikely that their attention was ever called to phonetics as a science and they have probably been very much at sea in meeting with sounds new to them.

No such suspicions can be cast on Dr. Grahame Bailey. He bears a reputation as an expert and an enthusiast of the modern school of phonetics. The only suggestions I can make towards explaining the difference of our views are: that I am entirely wrong, which every candid-minded person will agree is unthinkable; or that Dr. Grahame Bailey has relaxed the standard of admission for cerebrals —there are reputable writers who describe the **sh** of the English *ship* as cerebral; or that the Gilgitis whom he has had to deal with have been sufferers from acute cerebralism.

Dr. Grahame Bailey will probably retort that he is incapable of error in such a simple phonetic matter as the diagnosis of cerebrals.

Be this as it may, he must at least confess to a lapse from grace in his use of the term "letter" which he habitually uses for "sound". He says of Shina, "The cerebral letters are used with extraordinary consistency," etc. Would that they were! for then we should have Shins who were conscious of the quality of different sounds in their own language and we should have their own written record of what they considered cerebrals. Unfortunately, from this point of view, however, Shina is an unwritten language and has no letters. It is *vox et praeterea nihil.*

79. I have already referred to the existence of cerebrals in Wakhi. The existing position as regards the recognition of cerebrals in Wakhi is not very clear. Shaw (JASB. xlv, pts. i, No. ii, 1876, p. 150) seems to represent a cerebral ṣ by his "**sch**".

Sir George Grierson (*Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami*, R.A.S. 1920) adopts his description and remarks that the sound "appears to be much the same as the Indian cerebral ṣ".

Geiger in G.I.P. i, 2, pp. 292 and 305, I apprehend to

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admit cerebral ṣ and ẓ in Shigni, but in Wakhi only palatal š.

I have recently had an opportunity of making a very brief study of Wakhi with one or two Wakhis and I found most decided

cerebral ṣ, ẓ, and ċ

The first two were even more pronounced than in Shina. As regards t, d, n, r, I can say nothing; I did not observe them, but I was not seeking for them.

Shaw records only a few instances of his sch, of which I have only the one word for *black*, which he gives as

"schū", while I have only šu:

I am probably wrong. On the other hand, Shaw does not appear to recognize cerebrals in the twenty words or so in which I have recorded ṣ, ẓ, and ċ. Dr. Grahame Bailey will, I am sure, support me in saying that it is very unlikely that I recorded a cerebral where it did not exist.

This sharing of these peculiar sounds by Shina and Wakhi is curious and noteworthy.

Wakhi is certified as an Iranian language by Geiger and Grierson, while the "Dard" language is placed by Sir George Grierson as an offspring of the Aryan language subsequent to the branching off from it of the Indo-Aryan language, but prior to the development of full Iranian characteristics.

Is it certain that Wakhi is a definitely Iranian language, or may not it also have taken form before the full development of the Iranian group? I ask in ignorance.

It is to be noted, however, that none of my Wakhi words with cerebrals have cognates in Shina with cerebrals. The only instance in which I find the same root represented in both languages with a cerebral in *one* case is

Wakhi yaṣċ Shina ā:ti

both of which are presumably cognates of Skt. ásthi-, Av. asta-

80. It is interesting to notice in Pashtu the existence

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of sounds which are somewhat similar in character and origin to the Shina series ṣ̌, ç̣, j̣. They are those represented in the script by ښ and ږ and pronounced ṣ̌ and ž̌ (written ṣ̌ and ẓ̌) in the South, χ and ġ in the North. I am not certain whether they are in any sense cerebrals.

Pa. ṣ̌ represents 1. Iranian rs and sr

2. „ š ← Indo-European k¹s

Pa. ẓ̌ represents Iranian intervocalic š

Thus Pa. ṣ̌ corresponds to Shina ṣ̌ and ç̣ and Pa. ẓ̌ in some cases to Sh. j̣ and ṣ̌

The dialectal interchange between Pa. ṣ̌ and χ and ẓ̌ and ġ appears to be paralleled in Wakhi by an interchange of ṣ̌ and χ.

E.g. my yi:ṣ̌ *ice* Shaw and G.I.P. yiχ

„ ṣ̌u:i *sister* Shaw khü.i (kh palatal spirant ?)

but the Pashtu and Wakhi sounds are not of common origin.

81. We have now completed our survey of the Shina cerebrals and their non-cerebral counterparts, and have inquired as far as lies in my power into their affinities. Our investigations have been in no way exhaustive, but so far as they go it is legitimate to sum up their results and see if any deductions can be drawn from them, always having due regard to the fact that at the best they are true, but probably not the whole truth.

The results may be stated as follows :—

1. There are in Shina four Primary Cerebrals :
   ṣ̌, ç̣, j̣, (including ẓ̌) ḍ.
2. There is further a Secondary Cerebral ṇ.
3. In cognate Shina and Sanskrit words
   Shina palatal š, č, and j, correspond to palatal sounds in the Sanskrit words.
   Shina cerebral ṣ̌, ç̣, and j̣, correspond to cerebral sounds in the Sanskrit words.



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4. Shina cerebral ḍ has not been found in any Shina word which has a cognate in Sanskrit.
5. Shina cerebral ṇ cannot be definitely asserted to correspond to Skt. ṇ or any other Skt. cerebral. It doubtfully occurs in dʌčiːṇo, Skt. dakṣiṇa-, but it is probably simply due to the Shina č.
6. In words common to both Shina and Burushaski Shina š, č, j, correspond to Burushaski š, č, j.
7. Of known Shina words with ḍ about fifty per cent are common to Burushaski.
8. Cerebral ṇ occurs in Burushaski apparently in association with a Primary Cerebral (š). In at least one case the word is shared by Shina, and this word has a Sanskrit cognate: B. čʌṇ, Sh. čoṇ, Skt. kṣaṇa-, *leisure*.
9. Shina has no independent true cerebral t or r.
   Sanskrit has cerebral t, and Skt. r is reckoned a cerebral.
   Burushaski appears to have no cerebral t, and it is very doubtful if it has a cerebral r.
10. Wakhi has cerebral š, č, j, but so far as is known they do not occur in words which have cognates in Shina and display cerebrals.

82. These are our results, stated briefly. Can any certain deductions be drawn from them? Personally I doubt it, unless further extraneous knowledge can be brought to bear.

Where words with Sanskrit cognates occur in both Shina and Burushaski, one may suspect, but one cannot assert, that they have reached Burushaski through Shina.

Where Sanskrit cognates do not exist, the presumption on the whole lies that Shina has been the borrower from Burushaski.

Burushaski is believed to have preceded Shina as the language of the Gilgit region and it is non-Aryan.

Is the existence of cerebral sounds in Shina and

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Burushaski to be traced to one original source or to two independent sources ?

There seem to be no signs of any historical connexion between the cerebrals in Shina and Burushaski and those in Wakhi.

How has Wakhi, an Iranian language come to possess them at all and to display them in its own indigenous words ?

The š (ښ) and ž (ږ) of Southern Pashtu, also an Iranian language, correspond roughly to the Shina Primary Cerebrals. Are they also cerebrals ? and when and how did Pashtu come by them ?

Was the Aryan language in its earlier stages in possession of cerebrals, and was it only the stock or branch which developed into full-blown Iranian which lacked or lost them ?

Has the theory up to the present not been that Sanskrit derived its cerebrals from the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India ?

Some local cerebralizing centre might be conceived of as having existed in early times in the Hindu Kush, but in that case the exact correspondence between cerebrals in Shina and Sanskrit would appear to be a peculiar coincidence.

These are some of the questions which suggest themselves to my mind, but which I have no intention of attempting to answer.

83. Before leaving the subject, however, I will challenge one conclusion announced by Dr. Grahame Bailey. He says :

"It is remarkable that a considerable majority of (sc. Shina) words containing ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, ṇ are non-Sanskritic, a fact which shows us that the letters (*sic*) belong to the original Aryan heritage of the race."

On the contrary, the fact proves nothing more than is contained in its statement. It remains to be shown

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that such words are Aryan and not of some other origin, possibly that from which Burushaski had its provenance; and it remains to be proved that Aryan had cerebrals.

### Aspirates

84. I have reserved this subject for separate treatment partly because it is a subject of disagreement between Sir George Grierson's opinion, based on the material before him, and Dr. Grahame Bailey's, based on his own observation and experience.

I have also had a still better reason for postponing discussion of it, in the fact that in many cases I am not prepared to pronounce whether the sounds in a word are aspirated or not aspirated. I have therefore sought safety in showing all sounds alike as unaspirated. That, however, does not correctly represent my exact position.

I agree with Dr. Grahame Bailey that the voiced plosives, **g**, **d**, **b** are not aspirated. I am not prepared either to endorse or challenge his saving clause "except occasionally by accident".

I also agree that the voiceless plosives **k**, **t**, **p** are liable to be aspirated.

The general conclusion at which I have arrived is that normally these sounds are slightly aspirated, just as they are in English, but that in certain cases there is more decided, and in some probably less decided aspiration.

I have been unable to determine definitely whether they are ever totally unaspirated.

From the practical point of view I do not think that the question is of first-rate importance.

The difference between aspirates and non-aspirates, using these terms relatively, is recognized by intelligent Shina speakers, and the distinction may constitute the sole difference between similar words with different meanings, but the ambiguous position of English in the matter provides a working compromise, and I do not think

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that general application of the natural English pronunciation of k, t, p would be likely to lead to misunderstanding. The Shin is in any case well accustomed to dealing with homonyms.

85. I am not prepared to offer an opinion on the justice of Dr. Grahame Bailey's dictum that: "In the case of words common to Shina and Indo-Aryan languages, Shina in general has the same aspiration as India, except for sonants."

For this I have two excellent reasons: firstly, that I should have to classify the bulk of Shina words according as they contain or do not contain aspirates, and I see no immediate prospect of doing this as I constantly experience the greatest difficulty in deciding whether a sound is to be classed as aspirated or non-aspirated; and secondly, because my knowledge of the Indo-Aryan languages is insufficient to enable me necessarily to discover the cognates of Shina words which may occur in them.

Some aspirates are to me quite clear:

e.g. $t^ho:.iki$ *to do;* $k^ho:.iki$ *to eat.*

$K^hujo:.iki$ *to inquire* and the noun $k^ho:jən$ *inquiry* are both, I think, aspirates, but I have usually written them instinctively without aspiration.

86. The case of p is slightly different from that of k and t.

Those who favour the pf sound appear to substitute it wherever the others use a distinct ph. The p's remaining in the pf-speaker's vocabulary are, I think, unaspirated, or only slightly aspirated.

87. The following are a few words with k and t tentatively classified. For convenience I write kh, th, etc. for the aspirates, but I think that that representation gives an exaggerated impression of the strength of the aspiration.

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## K

| Aspirated | | Unaspirated | |
|---|---|---|---|
| khã: | 1. *crow* | ka:o | *bracelet* |
| | 2. *bill-hook* | kã:kʌs | *chickor* |
| | 3. *stirrup* | (mʌ)ka:r | *for* (me) |
| kha:ro | *a cross furrow* (in a field) | kʌča:k | *how much?* |
| | | *kʌči | *near* |
| khʌbo | *left* (hand) | kʸɛn | *boulder* |
| *khʌčo | *bad* | ki:no | *black* |
| khai.i | *gravel* | ko | *who?* |
| *khʌlo:.iki | *to count* | ko:ərɛ | *pabboos, shoes* |
| khʸɛn | *time* | ko:lu | *crooked* |
| khɪr | *down* | ko:m | *work* |
| kho:.i | *cap* | *ko:n | *ear* |
| kho:.iki | *to eat* | ko:no | *thorn* |
| kho:jən | *inquiry* | ku:lɛ | *grain* |
| khoᵊr | *virgin* | ku:no | *corpse* |
| khu::ro | *hoof* | ku:ro | *strong* |
| khu::ri | *heel* | ku:to | *knee* |
| khu:to | *short* | | |
| khʊjo:.iki | *to inquire* | | |
| khʊn | *blanket* | | |
| *Medial.* | | | |
| likho:.iki | *to write* | fʌtʌko | *bald* |
| | | hɛrkʊn | *jewelry* |
| | | mi:kɛ | *urine* |
| | | -o:.iki | infinite ending |
| | | khuku:n | a kind of cereal |
| | | tiki | *bread* |
| | | tuku:čo | *knuckle* |
| | | ʊsku:n | *kinsman* |
| | | ɟʌkʊn | *donkey.* |
| *Final.* | | | |
| I have found no distinct final aspirate. | | čʌk | *day* |
| | | jʌk | *people* |
| | | mɪšərɛk t. | *to mix* |
| | | rʌk | *intention* |

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T

| Aspirated | | Unaspirated | |
|---|---|---|---|
| thʌlo | *basket* | ta::to | *hot* |
| thʌk t. | *to shake out (cloth)* | *tʌl | *roof* (internal) |
| thʌm t. | *to clean* | tʌm d. | *to swim* |
| thʌŋ t. | *to shove* | tʌm t. | *to close* |
| thər t. | *to open, to throw* | tər | *piece, bit* |
| thərî | *polo ball* | te:ro | *crooked* |
| thərmuk | *pellet-bow* | *tɛ.ən | *now* |
| thi:ŋi | kind of *brush-wood* | *tɛši | *roof* (external) |
| tho:.iki | *to do* | tiki | *bread* |
| thu:lo | *fat* | *tok | *mud* |
| *thu:n | *post, pillar* | to:m | *own* |
| thuk t. | *to peck* | tuša:r | *much* |

In regard to medials I have found still greater difficulty in determining aspiration. At present I write:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ã:thi | *bone* | la:to (?) | *low* |
| *nathɛ | *dances* | *pfʌtu | *afterwards* |
| pi:tʰo | *back* | mʌto | *brains* |
| thʌtho | *turban* | *mu:to | *other* |
| uthʌlo | *high* | *nʌto | *nose* |
| *utho:.iki | *to rise* | nʌto | *lost* |
| | | pʌti | *wicker dish* |
| | | pʌto | *leaf* |
| | | pi::to | *tight* |
| | | *rogo:to | *ill* |
| | | sutus | *I slept* |
| | | šʌti:lo | *powerful* |
| | | ṣo:to | *throat* |
| | | *tɪti:ro | *breast* |
| | | turmʌk | *gun* |

*Final.*

Final th appears at best

* *Note.*—An asterisk indicates that a word has

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to be very rare. It seems to occur in

čʌth *land that has lapsed from cultivation*

nath or naṯ *dance* is doubtful

been shifted from the other category to conform to Shah Rais's practice.

88. The spirants š, č and ṣ, ç are not, I think, aspirated. Indians tend sometimes to write č's as aspirates, but here again Indians are not necessarily good judges.

The general result of my investigations, as far as they go, is to show that aspirated k and t are of doubtful occurrence finally, and are rare medially.

This agrees with the rarity of pf or f representing aspirated p as a medial and its absence as a final.

## Stress Accent

89. Dr. Grahame Bailey has referred to the "remarkable accentual system upon which nearly all the declension and conjugation depend".

This statement of the case seems rather strong; declension and conjugation depend essentially on inflection, but there is an accompanying stress accent the incidence of which follows one or other more or less definite system.

The normal incidence may, however, be to some extent affected, as in other languages, by the sentence stress or stress of emphasis.

The following is an outline of the chief phenomena of the stress accent.

### Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs

90. (*a*) In *dissyllables* the stress accent falls:

(i) usually on the first syllable

(ii) sometimes on the last syllable

e.g. (i) ˈʌšpo, ˈʌnu, mˈišto, pfˈʌtu

(ii) mušˈa:, — pfitˈi:k, mučˈo:

The stress accent tends to fall on a long vowel, or to

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lengthen the vowel on which it falls; but this is not an invariable rule.

(*b*) In *polysyllables* the stress accent falls:

(i) usually on the penultimate

(ii) but sometimes on the last syllable

There is a subsidiary accent on the next syllable but one and in a trisyllable it is not always easy to tell whether the main accent is on the first syllable or the last.

*Examples*—

(i) mʌnˈu:ɟo rogˈo:to, minɛlˈi:lo

(ii) tsˈʌnʌlˈɛ (but generally tsʌnˈʌlɛ) *trousers*

mˈu:gulˈi *melon*

ɛk ki:ŋʌwˈa:r *to one side*

šugurˈi *pear*

bʌbʌlˈa: *floating*

(*c*) The addition of inflectional suffixes of case does not normally affect the position of the accent, but there is a tendency to accent the suffix of the genitive singular and plural.

*Examples*—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ˈʌšpo | ˈašpɛ | ˈʌšpəjo | gen. pl. | ˈʌšpˈo (level) |
| | mʌrˈo:č | gen. sg. nom. pl. | mʌrˈo:cɛ | „ | mʌrˈo:čo |
| | pfˈunʌr | gen. sg. | pfunʌrˈɛ: | nom. pl. | pfˈunʌrɛ |
| | | | | gen. pl. | pfunʌrˈo |
| nom. sg. | go:t | gen. sg. | gutˈei | dat. sg. | gˈutɛt |
| nom. pl. | gˈuti | gen. pl. | gutˈo: | dat. pl. | gˈutut |

(*d*) When a monosyllable becomes a dissyllable by the addition of a suffix the accent falls in some cases on the radical syllable, in others on the suffix:

pa: *foot* gen. sg. pˈa:.ɛ nom. pl. pˈai.ɛ gen. pl. pˈa:wo

sa *sister* „ saiˈ.ɛ

(*e*) Dissyllables of the type of čijˈo:t retain the accent on the second syllable throughout.

In dissyllables in -ˈa: the suffix usually coalesces with the final -ˈa: and the accent remains.

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sg. nom. muš$^{l}$a: gen. muš$^{l}$ai.ɛ dat. muš$^{l}$a:t abl. muš$^{l}$a:jo
pl. nom. muš$^{l}$ɛ gen. muš$^{l}$o: dat. muš$^{l}$o:t abl. muš$^{l}$o:jo

(*f*) In dissyllables in -i: :

If the -i: bears the accent it persists throughout the declension and the suffix vowel also remains.

If the accent is on the first syllable the -i: is dropped, except perhaps in the Ablative, but in any case only one vowel is retained.

*Examples*—

| | təri: *polo ball* | | ba:li *rope* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sg. n. | tər$^{l}$i: | pl. tər$^{l}$i:ɛ | sg. b$^{l}$a:li | pl. b$^{l}$a:lɛ |
| g. | tər$^{l}$i:ɛ | tər$^{l}$i:o | b$^{l}$a:le | b$^{l}$a:lʏo |
| d. | tər$^{l}$i:ɛt | tər$^{l}$i:ʊt | b$^{l}$a:lɛt | b$^{l}$a:lʊt |
| abl. | tər$^{l}$i:jo | tər$^{l}$i:ujo | b$^{l}$a:lijo | b$^{l}$a:lijo |

(*g*) The -k suffix of singleness does not affect the accent
k$^{l}$u:i *country* loc. k$^{l}$u:yɛr, k$^{l}$u:yɛkər

(*h*) These rules and examples only apply in a general way; there is, I think, no cast-iron practice.

For instance I have

| | dəru: *big game* | | ga *nalah* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| n. | dər$^{l}$u: | sg. ga | pl. | g$^{l}$ai.ɛ |
| g. | dəru:w$^{l}$ai.i | g$^{l}$ai.ɛ | | gai.y$^{l}$o |
| d. | d$^{l}$əruw$^{l}$ɛt | gai.$^{l}$ɛt | | ga.$^{l}$o:t (gaiy$^{l}$ʊt) |
| abl. | dər$^{l}$u:ɛjo | gai.$^{l}$ɛjo | | g$^{l}$ai.ujo |
| form. | dər$^{l}$u:ɛ(ka:r) | | | |

One would expect to find the accent usually on the -u: of dəru: and on the -ai of ga throughout.

## Verbs

91. (*a*) In certain parts of *all* verbs the stress always falls on one and the same element. These are:

1. The o: of the suffix of the infinitive, of the present participle, and usually of the 3rd sg. subjunctive.

| Thus: | ʧa:ɳ$^{l}$o:.iki | ʧa:ɳ$^{l}$o:jə | ʧa:ɳ$^{l}$o:t |
|---|---|---|---|
| | wʌl$^{l}$o:.iki | wʌl$^{l}$o:jə | wʌl$^{l}$o:t |
| | fɛrij$^{l}$o:.iki | fɛrij$^{l}$o:jə | fɛrij$^{l}$o:t |

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(also, however, fer|i:jot, uč|a:čot, and čiv|i:ot (vb. with i: theme)).

2. The ɛ: or i: of the preterite, present perfect, and pluperfect suffixes of transitive verbs.

ča:ṇ|i:gʌs wʌl|ɛ:gunus pašər|ɛ:gusus

As an alternative, however, the accent is sometimes shifted to the penult, the vowel of which becomes

a: or ʌ

e.g. dig|a:no || d|ɛ:guno; big|anus || b|i:gunus; big|ʌs || b|i:gʌs

3. The ɛ: or i: suffix of the past participle active

ča:ṇ|i: wʌl|ɛ: fɛrij|i:

4. The last syllable of the base of neuter and passive verbs in the preterite, perfect, and pluperfect tenses (or the base itself when it is monosyllabic):

fɛr|i:dus, fɛr|i:lus šˌ|a:tunus uč|ʌtusus

| | Imperative | Indicative | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Fut. | Pres. | Imperfect |
| I. ča:ṇo:.iki *to send* | č|a:ṇɛ<br>č|a:na | č|a:ṇum<br>č|a:ṇɛ<br>č|a:ṇei<br>č|a:ṇo:n<br>č|a:ṇɛt<br>č|a:ṇən | č|a:ṇumus<br>č|a:ṇɛno<br>č|a:ṇɛn<br>č|a:ṇo:nʌs<br>č|a:ṇɛnɛt<br>č|a:ṇənən | č|a:ṇumusus<br>č|a:ṇiso<br>č|a:ṇis<br>č|a:ṇonəsəs<br>č|a:ṇəsɛt<br>č|a:ṇənis |
| II. wʌlo:.iki *to bring* | wʌl|ɛ<br>wʌlʸ|a | w|ʌlum<br>wʌl|ɛ<br>wʌl|ei<br>wʌl|o:n<br>wʌl|a:t<br>wʌl|ɛ:n | w|ʌlumus<br>wʌl|ɛ:no<br>wʌl|ɛ:n<br>wʌl|o:nʌs<br>wʌlʸ|a:nɛt<br>wʌl|ɛ:nən | w|ʌlumusus<br>wʌl|e:.iso<br>wʌl|e:.is<br>wʌl|o:nəsis<br>wʌl|a:.əsɛt<br>wʌl|ɛ:nis |
| III. zʌmo:.iki *to strike* | z|ʌmɛ<br>zʌm|a | z|ʌmum<br>z|ʌmɛ<br>z|ʌme:i<br>zʌm|o:n<br>zʌm|a:t<br>zʌm|ɛn | zʌm|umus<br>zʌm|ɛ:no<br>zʌm|ɛ:n<br>zʌm|o:nəs<br>zʌm|a:nət<br>zʌm|ɛ:nən | zʌm|umusus<br>zʌm|e:.iso<br>zʌm|e:.is<br>zʌm|o:nəsis<br>zʌm|a:.əsət<br>zʌm|ɛ:nis |

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(*b*) In the remaining parts of the verbs, i.e. the imperative, future, present, and imperfect, some choice of system exists and verbs may be roughly classified according to the system which they follow.

In the case of simple transitive verbs two main types are to be noticed, which are illustrated by the verbs

čaːɳoː.iki and wʌloː.iki

There is also an intermediate type of which zʌmoː.iki *to strike* may be given as an example.

*Notes*

It will be observed that in I the accent is always on the base, while in II it is usually on the first syllable of the suffix.

I have also wʌlˈʊmʊs. There is a secondary accent on the penult of wˈʌlumˈʊsʊs.

III appears to be only a slight variant of II.

No. I series includes hərˈoː.iki *to take away*
laːmˈoː.iki *to catch*
činˈoː.iki *to cut*

The imperative singular of these is hər, laːm, čiːn. In the imperative plural činˈoː.iki has činˈaː

No. II series includes gʌnˈoː.iki *to tie*
and mərˈoː.iki *to kill*

šidˈoː.iki also agrees with II except that it has the forms šidˈʌm, šidˈʌmʊs, šidˈʌmʊsʊs.

nɪkaloː.iki has the accent on the second syllable -ʌl- where wʌloː.iki has it on the first syllable, otherwise it exactly conforms to this type.

(*c*) Transitive verbs with an -i- theme have the stress on the i throughout these tenses.

čivˈoː.iki *to place* impv. sg. čivˈiː pl. čivˈiː.a
indic. fut. čivˈiː.um, čivˈiː.ɛ, čivˈiːⁱ, etc.
„ pres. čivˈiː.ʊmʊs, čivˈiː.ɛno, etc.
„ impf. čivˈiː.ʊmʊsʊs, etc.
injunctive čivˈiː.ot

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(*d*) i. The following appears to be the type of *Causative Verbs* :—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pʌšər'o:.iki | pʌšer'ɛ: | p'ʌšərʊm | pʌš'ərʊmʊs | pʌš'ərʊmʊsʊs |
| *to show* | pʌšər'a: | pʌšər'ɛ | pʌšər'ɛ:no | pʌšər'ɛso |
| | | pʌšər'e | pʌšər'ɛ:n | pʌšər'ɛs |
| | | pʌšər'o:n | pʌšər'o:nʌs | pʌšər'o:nasəs |
| | | pʌšər'a:t | pʌšər'a:nət | pʌšər'a:.ɛsɛt |
| | | pʌšər'ə:n | pʌšər'ɛ:nən | pʌšər'e:nis |

pʌšər'ʌm is heard as well as p'ʌšərʊm for the 1st sg. fut.

ii. ʌmʊšər'o:.iki *to cause to be forgotten* agrees with this except in having ʌmʊš'ərʌm in place of p'ʌšərʊm; it has a secondary accent on the first syllable but one, preceding the main accent: ʌm'ʊšər'ɛ:no but 'ʌmʊšər'o:.iki.

iii. tər'o:.iki *to cause to be done* has the accent on the first syllable in the singular of the imperative and in the 1st pers. sg. of the future, present, and imperfect:

t'ərɛ t'ərʌm t'ərʌmʊs t'ərʌmʊsʊs

Elsewhere it is on the suffix as in pʌšər'o:.iki.

## Neuter Verbs

(*e*) i. In neuter verbs in -i:j'o:.iki the accent throughout these tenses and in the 3rd pers. sg. of the injunctive falls on the -'i:j-.

Thus: fɛr'i:j fɛr'i:jʌm fer'i:jʊmʊsʊs fer'i:jo:t

ii. In neuter verbs in -čo:.iki the accent falls uniformly in these tenses and frequently in the 3rd sg. injunctive on the vowel preceding the -č.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʊča:č'o:.iki | *to arrive* | ʊč'a:č | ʊč'a:čʊm | ʊč'a:čʊmʊs |
| | | ʊč'a:čʊmʊsʊs | ʊč'a:čo:t | |

Similarly šʌɛčo:.iki *to be affected* š'a:čʊm, etc.

In the past tenses of the -čŏ:.iki verbs the accent falls on the vowel preceding the -t- of the suffix. Thus:

ʊč'ʌtʊs ʊč'ʌtʊnʊs š'a:tʊsʊs

iii. nɪkai.'o:.iki *to come out* has nikai.'o:jə nikai.'o:t nikai.'ɛ:. In all other parts the accent falls on the a: or ai, e.g. nik'a:.ʊmʊs.

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iv. ʌmʊšˈo:.iki *to forget* has :

amˈʊš, amˈuša ; amˈušum ; amˈu:šʊmʊs ; amˈu:šʊmʊsʊs amˈu:šo:t ; amˈu:tʊs and amʊšˈi:lʊs ; amˈu:tʊnʊs ; amˈu:tʊsʊs

92. I believe that the above examples cover the principal phenomena of the accentuation of verbs, but my studies have not been exhaustive, and something has always to be allowed for the personal peculiarities of individual speakers, and the influence of emphasis or rhythm in a sentence.

## Tone

93. Dr. Grahame Bailey announces the existence of tone words in Shina. I am not prepared to say much on this subject, for it is new to me, but I may record my own discouraging experience.

I first took the words quoted by Dr. Grahame Bailey and believed that I found in them the required tones. Later I experimented with other pairs of similar or nearly similar words and obtained certain positive results, after which I left the matter alone for a week or two.

I again repeated my experiments with the damping result that I found I reversed my previous conclusions, or that I failed to find any fixed tone. I have further tried a more extended list of words, but have similarly failed to find tone.

I still think I can get the rising tone in Dr. Grahame Bailey's ba:ṣ *lungs*, but I cannot get consistent or certain results with his other words. (I am now, later, sceptical regarding the tone in ba:ṣ.)

Many apparent twin words are really different in other respects, and this both removes any *raison d'être* for the existence or retention of tone, and also makes it more difficult to make comparisons.

The vowel of lɛ:l *known* (not, "visible") is long, that of lɛl *blood* is short.

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The final vowel of šidɛːi *having struck* is long, is liable to variation of quality, and bears the stress accent, that of sidɛ *strike!* is short, and the stress accent is less marked.

I had hoped to get one man to repeat a series of pairs of tone-differentiated words to another and note whether the listener gave the correct meaning in more than 50 per cent of cases, but I now think the test would be ineffective owing to the difficulty of excluding discrimination by other criteria.

The people themselves appear to have no conscious appreciation of tone, though that is perhaps no conclusive argument against its existence.

So far as my own examination of a number of homonyms, or almost identical words, goes, I have failed to find any constant tone.

While not venturing to deny the discovery of such an expert authority as Dr. Grahame Bailey, I would venture to state my opinion that tone is of no practical importance in Gilgit Shina, but is, if it exist, merely a matter of academic or philological interest.

The factors which are important in distinguishing words at first sight identical are:

vowel length,
aspiration,
incidence of the stress accent,

and, occasionally, the quality of unstressed vowels.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thus: lɛːl | *known* | lɛl | *blood* |
| šidˈɛːi | *having struck* | šidˈɛ | *strike!* |
| dˈaːri | *doors* | dˈaːrɛ or dˈaːrɪ | *sons* |
| čɛːi | *key* | čɛ.i | *woman* |
| piːːto | *tight* | piːto | *back* |
| kʊnˈiː | *nineteen* | kˈʊni | *ears* |
| kʏɛːn | *boulder* | khʏɛn | *time* |
| juːːk | *pain* | juːk | *wood* |
| khuːːro | *hoof* | kuːro | *strong, firm* |

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There remain words like

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| čak | *day* | čak | *pitch-fork* |
| gun | *smell* | gun | *knot* |

which, when divorced from their context, appear to me as indistinguishable, and are so represented by the people, as

"well" noun and "well" adverb

in English, of both of which the tone may vary according to the context.

## ADDENDUM

### The Pronunciation of Gushpūr Shāh Rāis Khān

Shāh Rāis (Š.R.) was a satisfactory person to deal with. He was quite alive to the operations covered by the terms Dental, Alveolar, Palatal, Cerebral, and Guttural and evolved for himself means of describing them.

The following are the principal points in which his pronunciation differs from that given in the text.

§ 4. For a:l *there* he says a:li
a:ɲ *here* ,, a:ni
kač *near* ,, kači

§ 13. o: for å in words given, except a:rə for årə

§ 15. for ɔ he says ʊ and o e.g. čʊn, odo:r

He has two sounds of this type:

(i) a very short ʊ, as in kʊn *ear;* čʊm *chin*
kʊn *blanket*
dʊk *meeting*
trʊk *opening* (of buds)

other speakers in some cases have o.

(ii) a very short o less tense than o proper as in

mor *speech;* pon *road;* tok *mud;* čom *leather;*
čot *heap;* tom *tree;* moč *earth cliff*

with other speakers this sound is heard in some cases as o proper, in others as ʊ.

§ 17. hi:o for hi:wo etc.

§ 19. čʊ:ni the ʊ very slightly if at all, modified

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§ 23. na:.o for nauwo
da:.o, da:.u for dau
dī:z for dī:.ɪz
nuš for nɪš so also Sf.

§ 24. mɛ:l for mel
æ in preference to ʌ where there is option, also uwe:lu, awe:lu
wɛ.i or wəi.i *water* as distinguished from wai.i *he will come*

§ 26. He says that all his "k's" and "g's" are guttural, and they seemed to me to be so.

b. kɪnə for kɪn ("why not?") etc.

§ 28. čərʌp and dərʌp, but dərʌb is also said.

§ 29. He favours final k except in prɪg.

§ 31. He uses b for v/w in abʌte:i, čɪbo:.iki.

§ 34. He has no γ and says gərzʌm, gul.

§ 36. He has no v substituting b (see § 31) and w šū:i for šū:wi *dogs*.

§ 37. He confirms dɛ:z and denies the existence of de:s.

§ 38. He says pfʌnkɛ not pfʌŋkɛ.

§ 40. a:ni for a:ɲ; ma:ɲo.

§ 41. He nasalizes vowels in some cases where they are not nasalized in the text:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ai.ī | *mouth* | paīya:lo | *herdsman* |
| õ:ši | *wind* | bū:yõ:.iki | *to weave* |
| gū:yɛl | *cowhouse* | bū:yəro:.iki | *to have woven* |

§ 46. He is rather freer with the y glide than the text. So maiya:rɛ; paīya:lo; šaiyur *father-in-law* (v. § 59).

*Note.* bi:yo:.iki *to sit*; baiyo:.iki *to plough*. Sf.'s vowel in "to sit" is, I think, usually ɛ rather than ai. Also "both" bɛya rather than baiya.

§ 47. Neither Š.R. nor Sf. approves of y for g; but it is common.

§ 50. He says j (dž) is the correct sound, but his own pronunciation sometimes tends to the ž he condemns.



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Both Š.R. and Sf. favour -j for the suffix = *on*.

§ 51. ʌs ʌṣ̌ *eight*, doubtful.

§ 52. ʌtʰi for ā:ti *bone*.

§ 53. pfu:ts and pfu:s.

sɻrao for tsirao *razor*.

dəɻu:z and dəru:ts.

§ 54. His p in pf is slight.

pfʌgu:zo:.iki for pfʌku:zo:.iki

dʌmfu:s not dʌmpfu:s

pfʌpər and pfʌfər

He gives as correct forms pfʌpi: and pfʌfi:

pfi:pi, he states, is said by people of Bargu and Sherot on the Punyal border.

§ 59. ša:l *fever* with a vowel between a and æ.

šək for šʌk *full*.

§ 63. ča:r for č̣a:r *cliff*.

He says that it is similar to ča:r *four* only more emphatically pronounced.

č̣ɛ:č̣ for č̣e:č̣ *field*.

čʌmu:s for čumus *bug*.

uč̣ačo:.iki for učačo:.iki.

birʌčo for birʌč.

§ 66. jɛro for jaro.

jʌkur for jʌkur.

juto, jŏto.

juk t. *to touch*, similar to juk *wood*.

He gives j̣ (d̠ẓ̌) as the correct pronunciation, but himself tends to ẓ̌ and in a few cases to something suggesting ɻ.

ʌjɛ for ʌji, so also Sf.

mujo:.iki for muj̣o:.iki (which was doubtful before).

Beside ro:ṣ̌ also ro:j̣.

§ 69. His d̠ sounds to me like English r. He does not know the words kuro:d̠o and šərʌd̠o.

§ 71. He agrees with the views expressed about cerebral t, r, and n. He represents the further back t as palatal.

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§§ 84–88. The results I have obtained from Š.R. differ more from my previous ones in the matter of Aspirates than in any other point.

This only bears out my views as to the absence of a clear distinction in all cases between aspirates and non-aspirates.

It is necessary, however, to mention that Š.R. is pretty clear in his own mind as to what are and what are not aspirates. He recognizes, however, doubtful or intermediate cases, e.g.

ʌtʰi *bone* õ:tʰi *lip*

His pronunciation accorded with his theory.

In this one case I have altered the text to conform to his views and practice.

This has necessitated the transference of a few initial aspirates to the non-aspirate category, and *vice versa ;* but the principal result has been the elimination of half a dozen medial aspirated t's which I had recorded.

§§ 89–92. Few variations have to be noted

§ 90. d. gʊtˈʊt for gˈʊtʊt

e. mʊšˈo:.o „ mʊšˈo

h. nom. dərˈu: abl. dərwˈɛ:jo

The declension of ga is :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sg. | n. | ga | pl. | gaiyˈɛ: |
| | g. | gaiyˈɛ: | | gaiyˈo |
| | d. | gaiyˈɛt | | gaiyˈʊt |
| | s. | gai.ˈi:jo | | gaiyˈu:jo |

§ 91. e. Š.R. gives ʊ̌ʌčˈo:d (with an anomalous -d) as more common than ʊ̌ˈʌčot.

He also admits fɛrijˈo:t beside fɛrˈi:jot

and amušˈo:t „ amˈu:šot

amˈu:š for amˈuš

§ 93. Š.R. denies the existence of "tone words".

In the case of ba:ṣ he makes the distinction :

ba:ṣ *lung*

ba::ṣ: *language*

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He admits cases of true homonyms such as **gun** = knot and smell.

Is there any evidence for the existence of tone in any language outside the consciousness of an intelligent speaker of the language and imperceptible to him? If there is not, then the case for the existence of tone in Gilgit Shina is a very weak one.

GILGIT.
*December, 1921.*

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# The so-called Injunctions of Mani, translated from the Pahlavi of Denkart 3, 200

By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

THE discovery made in Chinese Turkistan, at the beginning of this century, of a mass of Manichæan fragments, in part remnants of Mānī's long-lost bible, lent a keen zest to the study of that old-time heresy which struggled for world supremacy in religion during the early Christian centuries. As a would-be rival to Christianity and Zoroastrianism Mānī's syncretic creed was anathematized by Church Fathers and Zoroastrian priests alike. The story of how these fragments of the missing Manichæan literature were found at Turfan and elsewhere in Eastern Turkistan is well known to scholars,[1] while those who are interested in the subject are familiar with the work since done on them by specialists.

Having long been engaged in studying these fragments in the light of Zoroastrian influence upon Manichæism (the results of which it is hoped to publish later in a volume entitled *Zoroastrian and Manichæan Studies*), I have been led also to collect the allusions to Mānī—all of them polemical in character—in the Zoroastrian Pahlavi Books. A chapter here presented[2] from the Dēnkart, or "Acts of the Zoroastrian Religion", denounces a series of Mānī's commandments (two or three of them quite apocryphal) which were contradicted, a century after Mānī's time, by the Magian high priest Ātūrpāt, prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–79).

[1] See Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 299–322 (with bibliography, p. 301).

[2] The passage has been rendered into rather literal English, somewhat to the detriment of the style. The very free paraphrase by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana in his edition of the text has been helpful, though his version, as is natural in the case of a pioneer attempt, sometimes fails (e.g. § 9) to hit the correct meaning. In the transliteration I have followed my custom of giving the "Huzvārishn" forms, followed by their Iranian equivalents in parentheses ( ); vowels written plene in the text are indicated by long quantity marks.

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## Pahlavi Text Transliterated

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Pt. B. Sanjana, 5, 242–4; ed. Dh. M. Madan, 1, 216–18)

**1.** x *ī* [1a] *drūž astak* [2] *Mānīī* [3] *patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh* [4] *ārāstār Ātūrpāt* [5] *ī Māraspandān* [5] *andarž drāyist.*[6] *

---

**2.** *'Ēvak* [1] *patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Āṭūrpāt* [*kēn*] [2] *pavan* (*pa*) *mēnišn lā* (*nē*) *dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī kēn ū awārīg drūž 'ōgirāistan* [3] *ī* [3] *martūm*(-)*tan* [4] *drāyist.*[5]

**3.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt āžvarīhā* [1] *anbār lā* (*nē*) *sāxtan andaržēnīt.*[2] *Drūž astak Mānīī pavan* (*pa*) *Āž-varžišnīh* [3] *čāštakīh* [4] *nihān* [5] *anbār ī anšūtā* (*martūm*) *ī gēhān ū xvarišn ū dārišn apēsahīnītan* [6] *ū ǰān* [7] *ī šēdān* (*dēvān*) *ū zak*(*ān*)-*aš gan*[*r*]*āk-dahakān* [8] *ū dām* [9] *javīt* (*yūt*) *āzvarīhā anbārtan davist.*[10]

**4.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt* [1] *šapīr* (*vēh*) *māhmān patīriftan* [2] *andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī mān-ič* [3] *zak*(*ān*)-*aš māhmān dēn* (*andar*) *patīrišn yehvūnēt* [4] (*bavēt*) *ašgahānīh* [5] *davist.*

**5.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt nēša* (*zan*) *min* (*až*) *tōxmak kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī nēša* (*zan*) *min*(*až*)-*ič barā* (*bē*) *tōxmak pavan* (*pa*) *patvand* [1] *rāyēnītan* [2] *val*(*ō*)-*aš frīftakān bažakīh davist.*

**6.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt pavan* (*pa*) *pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh* [1] *dātistān rāst rāyēnītan* [2] *andaržēnīt.*[3] *Drūž astak Mānīī dātistān dāt dātōbar min* (*až*) *gēhān anāftan* (?) [4] *davist.*

* Numbers in text and translation refer to Notes, pp. 218–27.

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## Literal Translation of the Pahlavi Text

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Sanjana, 5, 242–4; ed. Madan, 1, 216–18)

1. Ten injunctions[1] which the fiend incarnate,[2] Mānī, clamorously proclaimed[6] contrary to those of the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt,[5] son of Māraspand.[5]

---

2. [i] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to cherish vengeance[2] in one's thoughts. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, clamorously proclaimed[5] that mankind[4] should incline toward[3] vengeance and other fiend(ish passions).

3. [ii] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to make a hoard (of riches) avariciously.[1] The fiend incarnate, Mānī, in accordance with his teaching of Greed-action[3] falsely said to destroy the private hoard of men of the world, and the food and possession, and avariciously to hoard them up separately (for) the life of demons and those evil serpents and creatures of his.

4. [iii] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to welcome the good as guests. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there should be[4] slackness of the house[3] also in receiving those guests of his.

5. [iv] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to take a wife from a (good) family. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to arrange for,[2] in marriage,[1] a wife[2] from even (those) without (good) family, (and) with the iniquity of her deceits.

6. [v] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to arrange for[2] just judgments in regard to plaintiff and defendant.[1] The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to reject[4] from the world the judgments given by a judge.

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**7.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt min (až) adātīhā kūštan ī*[1] *tōrāān (gāvān) ū gōspandān pāxrēž andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī pavan (pa) gēhān anaržišnīh ī gōdītan (?)*[2] *ū (?)*[3] *dārišn ī*[4] *k admn (?, hāmist)*[5] *martūm anāftan*[6] *gōspand lavata (awāk) martūm awasīhīnītan*[7] *davist.*

**8.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt gētīī*[1] *būnēdātak*[2] *rāī dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī parkār*[3] *pavan (pa) stūn*[4] *ī Kūndag*[4] *Drūž zak (ān) ī būnēdātak*[2] *drāyistan davist.*

**9.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt čabun*[1] *(hēr) ī gētīī*[2] *pavan (pa) Yazdān*[3] *frāž šadkūnā*[4] *(hištan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī gētīī čabun*[1] *apāyistan*[5] *ī*[5] *vinās ap-aš (= ū-š)*[6] *kartār ū dātār bažak-kar*[7] *davist.*

**10.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt čabun ī*[1] *mēnōg banafša (ba xvat) bavīhūnastan (xvāstan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī šapīr (vēh) mēnōg*[2] *dēn (andar) drūžišn ī*[3] *arāstakīh*[4] *ap-aš (= ū-š)*[5] *hūhēmēt (?)*[6] *bōxtišnīh-ič*[7] *davist.*

**11.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt drūž min (až) tan barā (bē) kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī martūm tan*[1] *ī drūž davist.*

**12.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt Yazdān*[1] *pavan (pa) tan māhmān kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī Yazdān pavan (pa) tan māhmān lā (nē) yehvūnēt*[2] *(bavēt) barā (bē) dēn (andar) tan bastak*[3] *ast*[4] *davist.*

**13.** *'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt 'ē ū 'ē*[1] *dēn (andar) 'ē ū 'ē nafša (xvēš) tan*[2] *gēhān vīrāstan*[3] *andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānīī gēhān akōrž*[4] *vīrāstār*[5] *[lā (nē)] yehvūnēt*[6] *(bavēt) barā(bē)-ič pavan (pa) ātūr*[7] *ī yāvētān sōž višōwīhēt*[8] *davist.*

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7. [vi] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) refraining from the killing of large cattle and small cattle unlawfully. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said for mankind to reject in the world the unworthiness of cattle-raising (?)[2] and (?)[3] every[5] possession, (and rather) to destroy[7] cattle along with men.

8. [vii] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to hold the world for an original creation.[2] The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said clamorously to proclaim that a disk[3] upon the support[4] of the fiend Kūndag[4] is its original creation.

9. [viii] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to dispense worldly riches in behalf of God.[3] The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said that worldly riches necessitate[5] sin, and the maker and giver thereof[6] is a worker of iniquity.

10. [ix] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to seek spiritual riches for oneself. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said spiritual good to be in the fiendishness of injustice, and therefrom[5] is good character (?)[6] and salvation.

11. [x] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to banish the fiend from the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said mankind to be the body[1] of the fiend.

12. [xi] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to make God a guest in the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said God should not be a guest in the body, but he is[1] a prisoner[3] in the body.

13. [xii] One contrary to that which the adorner of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) for (men) themselves,[2] one with another,[1] to make perfect[3] the world. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there is not ever[4] to be a perfecter[5] of the world, but indeed the world will be destroyed[8] by a fire[7] burning for ever.

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## Notes on Dēnkart 3, 200, 1–13

**1.**—1. x *ī*: So Mn. *d ī*, "ten (injunctions) which"; better than (PtS. *dī*, although twelve injunctions are actually enumerated; a somewhat similar miscount in the caption résumé appears to occur two chapters further on (3, 202). Both of these selections form a part of a series of chapters (196–202), in each of which "ten" sayings or admonitions are recorded, as several times elsewhere in Pahlavi literature. The schematic arrangement would consequently call for "ten" (not eleven or twelve). Now in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199 (PtS. pp. 241–2; Mn. pp. 215–16), the direct admonitions of Ātūrpāt (given as injunctions in the imperative mood) are recorded in the text as "x", but they can be so counted only by grouping §§ 8–9 of that chapter into one injunction (vi), as is done by PtS. in his transl. p. 315; or, better still, by compressing §§ 10–11 into one section. A similar method of reduction could be employed to reduce our present chapter to "ten" injunctions by combining our §§ 9–10 (here numbered as injunctions viii–ix) into one section, and further compressing our §§ 11–12 (here numbered as injunctions x–xi) into a single section. But doubtful. A further divergence to be noticed is the fact that our present § 11 (here numbered as injunction x), enjoining the banishment of the fiend from the human body, is altogether missing in Dk. 3, 199, which proceeds immediately to § 12 (there called injunction ix), which urges that the Godhead be made a guest in the body. Possibly, therefore, but by no means certainly, our § 11 (injunction x) may be due to an expansion. The last section, 13 (there x = our xii), as to making the world perfect, is practically the same in tenor in its first part in both chapters, although naturally Ātūrpāt says nothing about the final world conflagration. On the whole it is perhaps best to let our numbering stand (which PtS. has done), after having drawn attention to the divergences and discrepancies. Much the same might be said about Dk. 3, 202, mentioned at the outset.—2. *astak*: Here taken as

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from *ast* "bone", cf. *ast-ōmand*, hence "incarnate"; but it may be taken with Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 29, 23, as "seiend" (being) from *ast*, "a being"; similarly Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük*; p. 20, on ShGV. 16, 53, *hastak čīž* "existierendes ding", and West (ad loc.), *SBE.* 24, 246, "existing thing"; less well West, *SBE.* 37, 278 (Dk. 9, 39, 13), *xastak*, "broken-down" (NP. *xastan* "to break"); cf. TPhl. *xast*, S. 8, 4 (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, iii–iv, p. 42).—3. *Mānīī*: Written in TPhl. *Mānī*; the edition of Madan here wrongly has *ū* after *Mānīī*.—4. *ahrāyīh*: Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 11, n. 4, prefers *ahrākīh* or *ahrādīh*; TPhl. shows *'ardāīy* (Mü. 1078) or *'ardāīh* (S. 9 verso, *d*, 17).—5. *Ātūrpāt ī Māraspandān* (or *Mahrŏ-*, *Məhrə-*): The noted pontiff who was prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–79), thus a century later than Mānī; the text of Mn. reads, throughout, *Ātūrō pāt*, the *ō* (*ŏ*), as in PtS. *Mārŏ-spandān* for Mn. *Mārspandān*, being the "shewa" vowel (*ə*); cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 30, 29–31; 29, 248. As already observed (note 1), the original admonitions of Ātūrpāt are given in the chapter (Dk. 3, 199) immediately preceding this one, and they correspond in general tenor and sequence to these. But in that chapter the injunctions are given in a direct form as commandments in the imperative mood, while here they are given throughout indirectly in the infinitive mood (practically equivalent to indirect discourse).—6. *drāyist*: This verb, as also in § 2, has a bad sense in Pahlavi, "to clamour, vociferate, prate, babble," cf. NP. *drā'īdan*, and (like *davist*, §§ 3–13) is used of evil beings; for convenience, therefore, it may be rendered into English by the addition of a qualifying adverb, "clamorously proclaimed" (just as below, *davist*, "falsely proclaimed"); the verb depending upon *drāyist* stands in the infinitive (cf above, note 5, end); regarding the formation of this preterite (and also *davist*) see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 24, 34, 37, 38.

**2.**—1. *'ēvak* or *ēvak*: This is the accepted and assured reading of the traditional *xadūk*, *ayōk*.—2. [*kēn*]: Both PtS. and Mn. omit, but the context requires the addition of

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*kēn* from the next sentence, as indicated by PtS. through his parenthesis and footnote.—3. *'ōgirāistan* (?) *ī*: Lit. "the inclining of mankind towards"; somewhat uncertain (PtS. *an d ra st n n d*, Mn. *an dr d st k n*; PtS., p. 295, pāzandizes by *hūgərāədan-i*), but it seems plausible to compare NP. *girāyistan-* or *garāyistan*, "to incline towards, love," etc. (Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1077), and to take the prefixed *an-* as the common verbal prefix Phl. *'ō* (*au* = *ō*), the meaning then being lit. "incline down to"; the *ī* (conjoined with the verb in the PtS. edition, as often) is the common construction connecting the infin. with the following noun in Phl. and NP., cf. below (§ 7) *kūštan ī tōrāān* (*gāvān*); it would be out of place to suggest reading *'ōdrāyistan* or *āvīrāstan*.—4. *martūm(-)tan*: As cpd. lit. "mankind-body."—5. *drāyist*: See § 1, n. 6; text of Mn. has *an[d]aržēnīt*, though this may belong to part of the next sentence in § 3 (see n. 2 on that section) which is supplied by PtS.

**3.**—1. *āžvarīhā* or *āžūrīhā*: Adverb, cf. NP. *āzvar*, *āzūr*, see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 16.—2. [ . . . ] *andaržēnīt*: See remark on § 2, n. 5, end; PtS. gives the text of this sentence as here transcribed, but he notes that he has supplied the missing sentence *'ēvak . . . andaržēnīt*; his text does not include *zak ī*, though necessary to the sense.—3. *Āž-varžišnīh*: PtS. writes this cpd. as two separate words; the fiend Āž, Av. Āzi (cf. above, § 3, n. 1), is often alluded to in the TPhl. Fragments as the demon of Greed; Mn. text here has *db n rp šn īh* (*dav-varžišnīh*?, cf. Frag. S. 7, *c*, 20, *d v x v n d*, "lord of lies"?).—4. *čāštakīh*: So rightly Mn.; the text of PtS. attaches *č* to the preceding word.—5. *nihān*: So PtS., better than Mn. *n aan*, "and others."—6. *apēsahīnītan*: The transcription of this word (cf. § 7) is not quite certain, though the meaning is clear; PtS. Pāz. (p. 295) gives *awsahīnītan* and on § 7 (p. 296) Pāz. *awīsəhīnītan*; West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 233, has *awasāinīdan* "to exterminate, annihilate"; possibly we should read *apəxšīnītan* (cf. Skt. *apakṣiṇāti*), cf. Bthl., *IF*. 38, 18, n. 1, 2, 3.—7. *ūǰān ī*:

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Thus rightly Mn. (though with an unnecessary *ī* before *ū ǰān ī*); PtS. reads *kāmak*, though adding in a footnote that all the MSS. here read *ǰān ī*.—8. *gan[r]āk-ḏahakān*: Mn. *ganādahakān*; the first element of this compound is the common term employed in Phl. and Pāz. for rendering Av. *aŋra*; for various suggestions regarding the possible Iranian reading of this obscure word (*anrāk, zūrāk*, or ? *drvāk*) see Bthl., *AirWb.* col. 105. [In an article which became available only later, I find that Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntniss . . . Mundarten*, i, p. 22 (in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1916, No. 9), proposes to read *dawāk* as a pres. ptcpl. of the verb "to deceive", thus meaning "betrügend, betrügerisch". This would accord with my suggestion just above (§ 3, n. 3) for explaining TPhl. *d v x v n d* as "lord of lies".]—9. *dām ǰavīt (yūt)*: PtS. conjoins as one word.—10. *davist*: So PtS. throughout (see comments in § 1, n. 6); Mn. has generally *davīt* (cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 37), though sometimes marked with ḏiacriticals, wrongly as here, *davḏīt*.

**4.**—1. Ātūrpāt: Mn. wrongly has a punctuation mark after this word.—2. *patīriftan*: Pāz. *padīraftan*; it is possible also to transliterate as *patəgriftan*; TPhl. has both *p d y r y f t* (*padīrift*) and *g r y f t* (*grift*), see Bthl., *WZKM.* 25, 404; 30, 34.—3. *mān-ič*, etc.: The words in this sentence are clear, but the construction seems a little involved.—4. *yehvūnēt* (*bavēt* or *bēt*): Both PtS. and Mn. have the ending *-y t n* = *ēt* here and in §§ 12, 13; therefore, unless we are to assume that this is a substitution for the ordinary internal form of *t* and read *yehvūntan* (*būtan*)—for which possibility cf. Bthl., "Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 9, line 10—the verb here (and in §§ 12, 13) is a 3rd sing. pres. instead of the usual infin.; observe that PtS. Pāz. reads *yəhvūnət*; regarding this verb see West and Haug, *Glossary*, pp. 83, 86, 189, and also Bthl., *WZKM.* 25, 407, n. 2.—5. *ašgahānīh*: Abstract in *-īh*, cf. NP. *ažgahān*, "lazy, slothful, indolent," see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 29.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
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**5.**—1. *pavan* (*pa*) *patvand*: Cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 27, 370.—2. *rāyēnītan*: Cf. Bthl., "Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 22. In Manichæism only the Auditores, not the Elect, indulged in marriage.

**6.**—1. *pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh*: Lit. "complaint and defense"; on these legal terms used in the case of plaintiff and defendant, see Bthl., "Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 24; id. *WZKM.* 30, 33; cf. also West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 114. —2. *rāyēnītan*: For references see § 5, n. 2.—3. *andaržēnīt*: So PtS. as usual; Mn. here has an abridged form *andaržn.*—4. *an ap tnn* = *anāftan*: See likewise § 7, where PtS. (p. 296) gives Pāz. *anāwtan*, though here Pāz. *hŭ-āftan*; Jamaspji M. J. Asana, *Pahlavi . . . Dict.*, Bombay, 1886, vol. iv, p. 816, has *anāftan* "to forsake, abandon, withhold one's hand", etc.; West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 228, also gives *anāftan*, which Neryosang renders by Skt. *naś-*, *nihan-*, and by *nirasana*, "expelling, removal, rejection"; the meaning therefore seems certain, being further confirmed by the TPhl. Fragments; see Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3–4, p. 36.

**7.**—1. *kūštan ī*: On the infin. construction with *ī* see § 2, n. 3, end.—2. *dn dt n n* (*gōdītan* ? *ū* ?): Mn. has this word as indicated; PtS. omits it in the Phl. text, but gives (p. 295) in Pāz. *dūvītan va*. Accordingly I have ventured to read the Mn. text as *gōdītan ū* and to propose comparing this derivative verb with Av. *gaoδya-*, adj. "cattle-raising" (Bthl., *AirWb.*, col. 481).—3. *ū* (?): This conjunction "and" may be deduced from the Mn. reading and the Pāz. *va* in PtS., see preceding note.—4. *dārišn ī*: Mn. rightly has *ī*.—5. *k admn* (?): Mn. gives the final *mn* as a ligature (*kāδa* ?); PtS. writes it separately as *m n* (*kādman*). Both variations of the ending find manuscript support elsewhere. This troublesome word has been much discussed. Salemann, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1, 1, 320, n. 3, and *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25 (where the meaning "ur-", i.e. "original", is assigned), compares with Arabic *qădīm*, but the latter seems doubtful. Bthl., "Über

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ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 21, note (*), assumes the meaning "antiquitus", but does not venture to transcribe the word, though giving various occurrences of it in Phl., including ShGV. 4, 76, 89; 16, 8, 89; in these ShGV. passages West, *SBE.* 24, 135, 136, 249, cf. 143, gives "rudimentary", but latest (*SBE.* 47, 120) "ancient"; Neryosang (cf. West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 254, *xāmast, hāmist,* with which compare Pāz. *hamāē* "ever, perpetually", yet see Bthl., *Sas. Rechtsbuch*, p. 21, n.) renders by Skt. *prabhṛti, ādi.* The word *k ɑdm n* is Semitic in origin. It would be hazardous to transcribe as *kāīm(ŏ)* and compare it with Pers. Arab. *qā'im*, "standing, firm, constant, abiding, established, permanent" (cf. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 950), with the idea of "fundamental". In such event the phrase *dārišn ī kāīm* (?) would denote "fundamental ownership, established possession, permanent holding"—a development from the basic conception of "primary" or "primal". Mānī's adverse views on the subject of owning property are well known and antedate Mazdak. On the whole I decide to follow Bharucha, *Phl.-Paz.-Eng. Glossary*, Bombay, 1912, p. 291, who gives "*kād-ɑ*, non-Ir., each, every, any"; the meaning "every, or any, possession" would suit here. [*Postscript.*—Similarly Bartholomae, *Zum sɑs. Recht.*, 3, p. 39 (*Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1920, No. 18).] —6. *anāftan*: See above, § 6, n. 4.—7. *awasīhīnītan*: See above, § 3, n. 6, where the Phl. spelling in the text differs slightly from the spelling here, though the meaning is in both cases the same.

8.—1. *gētīī*: Perhaps to be read as *stī*, cf. Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 80, n. 1.—2. *būnēdātak* = *būndātak*: Although the former writing is found in both occurrences of the word in this paragraph in the two editions, the transcription as *būndātak* is preferable (cf. also Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 240, n. 2); an etymological explanation as a derivative of **būnē* (loc.) *dāta* has been proposed by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük*, p. 25, yet we have the familiar *būndahišn.*—3. *parkār*:

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NP. *pargār* "circle", see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 39, and compare Av. *pairikara-*; the orb of the earth is here intended.—4. *stūn ī Kūndag*: Lit. "the column of Kūndag". Kūndag is the well-known Avestan demon Kunda, Kundi (Vd. 11, 9, 12 = Phl. Vd. 11, 26, 35; Vd. 19, 41 = Phl. Vd. 19, 138; Bd. 28, 42), who is especially alluded to in ShGV. 16, 10–20, in connexion with Manichæan heretical beliefs which the author anathematizes. The passage thus interpreted throws new light upon Manichæan studies, especially in connexion with the story of the flayed Archontes in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia and elsewhere; see Pognon, *Coupes de Khouabir*, p. 188, and consult the references in Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, pp. 23–9, 69–75. [Cf. now also my note on this in *JAOS.* (1923), 43, 24–25.]

**9.**—1. *čabun* (*hēr, xēr*): Cf. Unvalla, *King Khusrau and Boy*, § 5 and p. 93, No. 598, Paris, [1921 ?] = Vienna, 1917.—2. *gētīī*: Cf. § 8, n. 1.—3. *Yazdān* or *Yazatān*: Written in an abridged form, as usual, and used in the plural to include Ormazd and his angels (*izads*), cf. likewise § 12; see Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 237, n. 1.—4. *šadkūnā* (*hištan*): Regarding this verb and the disguised Phl. ending *-ā*, with its variants and several values (e.g. *hišt, hištan, hilēt, hilēnd*) see Bthl., *WZKM.* 27, 357.—5. *apāyistan* or *awāyastan ī vinās*: Lit. "to be a necessity of sin", i.e. conduce to sin (quite Manichæan); Mn. here has *apāstan*. On the verb *apāyəstan* see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 14, 16, 24, 25, and regarding the *ī* (which is written attached to the verb in PtS., though lacking in Mn.) as following the infin. see notes above, § 2, n. 3, end; § 7, n. 1.—6. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): Transl. "and its"; on this conjunction (*ū*, written *ap*) followed by the enclitic pron. *-š*, as often in Phl., see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 5, n. 1 (with references); similarly West, *apaš* "and his", in *Grundr. iran. Philol.*, 2, 84, line 44; 2, 85, line 4; observe that PtS. has *ū* unnecessarily prefixed to this word; it is lacking in Mn. and is also not found in the Pāz. of PtS., which gives simply "*ajaš*". Cf. furthermore § 10, end.—7. *bažak-kar*: TPhl. *bazakar*, cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.* i, p. 61; PtS. here has *bažakgar*.

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**10.**—1. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—2. *mēnōg*: PtS. inserts (*čabun*) in parentheses after this word.—3. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—4. *arāstakīh*: So Mn.; PtS. has *arāstīīh*.—5. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): See § 9, n. 6, and cf. West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 14, "and thereby."—6. *kūhēmēt* (?): Both editions have *an adm dt n*, and the reading and meaning of the element *hēm* or *xēm* "nature, character" are certain, because the word occurs elsewhere in BkPhl. compounds; compare also TPhl. *abrāst-ḥēm*, "of perverted nature" (S. 9, *c*, 26), NP. *xīm*, and Av. *haya-*, see Horn, *NP. Ety.*, § 516; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 59. The explanation of the form *hēmēt* or *xēmēt* seems less simple, although the word in a derivative sense is preserved in the Phl. Rivāyat of "the saintly Hēmēt" (West, *Gdr. iran. Phil.*, 2, 105). In any case, the parallelism with *bōxtišnīh* demands an abstract; "good character" (?) is adopted in the translation. It might be tempting to propose an emended reading *hūhēm*[*īh*] *ast*; the change of construction from the preceding infinitive to the finite pres. *ast* "is" would be warranted by the change in the thought and paralleled in §§ 12, 13. [*Proof-sheet correction.*—Perhaps it is better to transcribe as *hū-ēmēt*, in the sense of "good hope", with *ēmēt* for *ōmēt*, see Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, p. 80, for references; and cf. Dk. 9, 30, 5, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, vol. xvii, p. 92 (text), p. 70 (transl.).] The polemical statement made against Mānī in this paragraph is wholly without foundation.—7. *bōxtišnīh-ič*: Before this Mn. has *ū*, which is rightly not found in PtS.

**11.**—1. *tan ī drūž*: Mn. omits *ī*; in that case to be taken as a compound, *tan-drūž* "embodied fiend". Either way the polemic correctly represents the Manichæan attitude towards the human body.

**12.**—1. *Yazdān* or *Yazatān*: See § 9, n. 3.—2. *yehvūnēt* (*bavēt*): See § 4, n. 4.—3. *bastak*: The idea of the divine particles of light having been taken captive by the powers of darkness and imprisoned in the body is wholly Manichæan; it is often alluded to in the Turfan Fragments (e.g. S. 9 recto,



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*a* 14–22) and elsewhere, cf. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, p. 19.—4. *ast*: Cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 23; but see id. 29, 2, n. 2, on doubts as to the supposed existence of an infin. *astan, hastan*. See also above, § 10, n. 6 on *ast*.

**13.**—1. *'ē ū 'ē*: So the manuscripts read, and there is no authority for PtS. to alter the text to *Vēh Dēn* "Good Religion" either here or in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13, where the identical phrase, *'ē ū 'ē dēn* (*andar*) *'ē ū 'ē*, occurs, meaning lit. "one and one among one and one", i.e. one with another, or individually and collectively. For a somewhat similar collocation compare NP. *yak nah yak* "one or another" (Steingass, p. 1535), *yak bi yāk* "one by one".—2. *nafša* (*xvēš*) *tan*: Lit. "one's own body, himself", pl. "themselves"; PtS. erroneously has a conjunction *ū* before *tan*.—3. *vīrāstan*: Lit. "to arrange, put in order, restore, make perfect". The whole sentence runs parallel with Ātūrpāt's injunction in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13: *jināk* (*vyāk* or *gyāk*) *'ē ū 'ē dēn* (*andar*) *'ē ū 'ē nafša* (*xvēš*) *barā* (*bē*) *vīrāyēt ap*(= *ū*)*-tān hamāk gēhān vīrāst yehvūnēt* (*bavēt*) "make ye yourselves, one with another, the region perfect, and by you the whole world will be made perfect". This formulates the Zoroastrian conception of a regeneration of the world (Av. *ahūm frašəm kar-, frašōkərəti-*, etc.). The author of ShGV. 16, 48–50, using terms kindred to those in this passage, declares that the Manichæans affirm that "this world will be finally destroyed (*višōwīhēd*) and not arranged again (*ārāhyihēt*), nor will there be a restoration (*vīrāstārīh*) of the dead (and) a future body". While the statements both of the Dēnkart and of the Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār are in general true with regard to Mānī's views on this point, particularly with reference to any physical regeneration of the world, there still is found in one Turfan Fragment, S. 9 *b* 15–16, an allusion to the spiritual "resurrection of the good-fated soul" (*giyān 'īg nēvbaxt rīstāḫēz*).—4. *akōrž* or *hakūrž*: Both editions have *ak n rž n*, which is found elsewhere written also *agarč* or *agarž*, cf. NP. *hargiz*, see Horn, *Neupers.*

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*Etymol.*, p. 244, No. 1092 ; regarding the regular employment of the negative [*lā* (*nē*)] after this word, except in Phl. translations from the Avesta, consult West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 31.—5. *vīrāstār* : See above, note 3.—6. *yehvūnēt* : See § 4, n. 4 ; § 12, n. 2.—7. *ātūr* : This allusion is a correct reference to the well-known Manichæan doctrine of the final conflagration, lasting 1,468 years, by which the world is to be destroyed ; it is called *Ādūr Vazurg* " the Great Fire " in the Turfan Fragments, M. 470, caption (= Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 19) ; see, furthermore, Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 90, 236, 237–9, 397 ; Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 353, 393.—8. *višōwīhēt* : Similarly Pāz. *vašōwihət* in ShGV. 16, 48 (cf. note 3, above ; also Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük*, p. 20) ; the radical of this verb (Av. *xšub*, Skt. *kṣubh*) is likewise found in TPhl., for example, S. 9 *a* 2, *āšūb* " confusion, disorder ".

*August, 1922.*

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# Dramatic Representations in South India, with Special Reference to Travancore and Tinnevelly District

By K. N. SITARAM

TRAVANCORE and Tinnevelly, which form the southernmost end of India, have been very little affected by Islam, and hence have preserved traits of Hindu culture and civilization which are not found anywhere else. The dramatic representations can be divided into three classes :—

(1) Indigenous, as the *kūttu*, *āṭṭam*, etc., including (*a*) those acted in temples, and (*b*) those acted in public places other than temples ;

(2) Imported, *yātrās* ; and

(3) Devil-dances and propitiatory dances, such as the Fire-dance, *Bhadrakáli*-dance, etc.

Yātrās are prevalent only among Brahmans, and the actors should be only Brahmans ; other castes and persons should be merely spectators and have no part in the action. Since the performance is sacred (most Hindu dramatic representations have a religious original) and takes place only in the temples, especially during the festivals, only the pūjārīs (officiant priests) and other distinguished outsiders (who, though Brahmans, have now formed a regular caste, corresponding to the Sūta and Māgadha) take part in the action. The representation seems to have been imported. The actors are called Bharatas and the play is sometimes called Bharatanātyam. It is also called Śākkiyar-kūttu ; probably the word Śākkiyar is a Malayalam corruption of the Sanskrit ślāghya = "celebrated," "best." (This derivation is possible, but I doubt it. The word is properly chākkīyar in Malayalam, śākkiyar in Tamil ; and it seems more natural to derive it from Sanskrit Śākya, "Buddhist.")

It will be observed that the Buddhist play Nāgānanda

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forms a stock part in the repertoire of these people (L. D. B.). In this the part of men is taken by male Śākkiyars and that of females by their women, who are called Nangiyār. There is a combination of speech and action, and the actors enact their parts and speak what they have to say as in a modern drama. But the action is different from that of a modern drama, inasmuch as it is represented by means of mudrās or gesticulations, and the speech is often only a translation into words of the action and mudrās.

Of the mudrās 64 are primary and 128 are secondary. One who has been initiated into the mysteries of the mudrās can easily understand the whole story by means of the signs by the actor or actors, without a word being spoken. With this may be compared the dancing as practised in Southern India, especially the dancing of the Tinnevelly and Tañjore schools. Though originally it was only a temple institution, and to a large extent is still so, the dance is now performed in private families during marriages, either by persons belonging to the temples or by outsiders belonging to the same caste. The party consists of a woman who performs the dance, a chief man called naṭṭuvan, and a subordinate singer and party playing instrumental music to the tune of the vocal music. The naṭṭuvan sings and the woman translates into gestures, movements, and poses what he sings. Sometimes she also repeats what he says inaudibly, more for her own guidance than to be heard by the audience. Most of the songs had originally a religious theme, and the most fruitful subject is the love of Krishna and the Gōpīs and other episodes of his life. But now other songs have been added to the list, the majority of which are of an erotic nature; for example, one song begins with words to the following effect: "I know not which wench has filched away the love which my sweetheart gave me, etc."

The mudrās represent every action of life and everything else in the world, from the crowing of the cock to the summit of a temple. There are particular mudrās from which the

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spectator can at once understand whether the sun, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, a vyali (fabulous animal), a lotus, a face, a throne, an arch, a garland, a cloth, learning, protection or a doctor is meant; and this science of mudrās has been so developed that one can express poetry with the hands and eyes alone, without the aid of the lips. All action is accompanied by recitation as well as by this gesticulation.

About two centuries ago an extra character, the vidūshaka (court fool or buffoon) was introduced (from the Sanskrit classical drama.—L. D. B.). Even now he does not form a part of the dramatis personæ, and his business is to translate into the vernacular difficult Sanskrit and Prakrit passages. The plays that are acted in this way are always Sanskrit dramas; when Sanskrit learning began to decay, and ordinary people could not understand the performance, this vidūshaka became necessary as a translator. The plays most commonly acted are Harsha's dramas, of which the Nāgānanda is the most popular, and the Chārudatta, Vikramorvāśīya, Mrichchhakaṭika, and Svapna-vāsavadatta, the last of which has been recently published by Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

There is some rough attempt at scenic representation; for instance, when a forest is to be represented, the curtain is pulled back and exposes to view a place made to look like a forest with ferns, coco-nut palms, and areca palms. A palace is represented by a throne with steps leading to it, and the courtiers seated or standing around the throne. The Dēvas are made invisible to the view of mortals by means of a thin veil; and when gods or demi-gods or kings appear on the scene for the first time there is a procession of temple paraphernalia or regalia,[1] such as the white umbrella, fan, banners, and bannerets; and the conch is blown once to announce the state entry of any one of these mighty personages.

[1] In South India the paraphernalia are the same for gods or for kings, and the word *kōvil*, lit. "house of king", may denote either a temple or a palace.

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It is curious, and perhaps not merely fortuitous, that not only did South India represent its gods after the manner of its kings, giving them the same paraphernalia, but that the countries with which she had commercial relations from early times, Babylonia and Egypt, did the same. The actors generally wore classic Indian dress. Those who took the female parts decked their hair with flowers and put a few peacock feathers in the midst of the *chūdā*, especially when they represented Gōpīs.[1] Actors taking male parts had various dresses to represent various personages.

When a person acted the part of Krishna or Rāma he had a full crown of peacock's feathers, and his dress and jewellery were modelled on the description given in the Bhāgavata Purāna or Garga Samhitā. Rishis were generally represented like Sannyāsis with the difference that Sannyāsis had bald heads while Rishis had the *jatā* or matted hair; both carried a staff, water-pot, and rug, which was either the skin of a tiger or black antelope, or a mat of *kuśa* grass. In modern times, as the *valkala* or bark from which the robes of these personages were made is hard to obtain and reduce to smoothness, a red cloth is worn instead.

From this *kūttu-āttam* acted in temples there were derived about 1,000 years ago two secular varieties, the Rāma-nāṭakam and the Kṛishṇa-nāṭakam, which were sometimes acted outside the limits of the temple, and had no caste restrictions attached to them. In the Rāma-nāṭakam or Rāman-āṭṭam representing the adventures of Rāma, the

[1] The hair is generally divided into three parts, the *sīmanta*, or front part (sometimes decorated with ornaments like the *sūrya-prabhā* or *chandra-prabhā*), the *chūḍā*, or middle part, filled with flowers and surmounted by the *chūḍā-maṇi*, or hair-jewel, with peacock-feathers around the latter, and the *jaṭā* or *sikhā*, the lower part of which was gathered into a knot or plaited into various patterns and left hanging down or filled up with flowers like an elongated basket, or with the plait tied up in the shape of an X or W or S. When the plait was left hanging it was sometimes decorated with the *jatā-śringāra*, a plate of gold and precious stones, especially rubies, with a tassel of pearls and silk at the end. In South India the art of decoration of the hair and the interweaving of it into beautiful patterns by means of flowers was raised to a fine art.

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parts are played by men alone, and no women are allowed to take part in it. Female parts are enacted by men dressed as women, with shaven faces and braided hair. This performance is held only by night, and is more of the nature of a dumb show. The dresses, especially of the Rākshasas or demons, are very fantastic and their faces are highly painted; there is no singing or speaking by the actors. The stories are taken from the Epics or Purānas, and are mostly written in the vernacular with a large admixture of Sanskrit, or in the maṇipravālam style (one vernacular word to every Sanskrit word), and are set to music. The actors perform their parts by means of mudrās, gestures and poses only, without speaking, while special musicians sing the substance of what is being acted, or rather the players act to the music. To translate into action a particular length of music which itself may last about ten minutes generally takes from four to eight times that time; hence to obviate this discrepancy the song is either repeated or, more often, elongated into a *rāga* or *ālāpa* until the whole music is translated into action.

Besides the musicians who sing there is also much instrumental music accompanying the singing and keeping time with the song. The instruments generally used are (1) the *śuddha-melam*, a large tambourine played on both sides; (2) *śaṇḍá uruṭṭi*, a very high-pitched drum; (3) *vīkkaṅśandā*, another variety of drum; (4) *sengilā*, a circular instrument made of bell-metal, which is used by the principal musicians to keep time and is generally beaten by a wooden mallet; and (5) *jālā*, cymbals. This kind of performance, especially from the Epics, is still very popular in Java and Bali, and may have been introduced there by the Tamils, who colonized those islands about the fifth century A.D.

The Kṛishṇan-āṭṭam or Kṛishṇa-nāṭakam varies slightly from the Rāman-āṭṭam and was founded by a Zamorin of Calicut some four hundred years ago. In this only the Rāsa-krīḍā of Krishna was enacted. The dress for males was that described in the Bhāgavata, including the *vana-mālā*, or

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garland of wild plants (especially the *tulasī*, or basil), and full crowns of peacock feathers. The Gōpīs wore on their heads only the *pinchhika*, in which was stuck a single peacock feather. This class of play is tending to disappear, owing partly to neglect, and partly to the decay of the sense of æsthetic appreciation in the rising generation. Besides these two main varieties, there are some performances which are confined to the Nāyars. These are more military plays, imitations of battles, etc., than anything else. Among the most important of these are the *Ézhām attukkaḷi*, literally "The Seventh Play", and the *Paḍaiy-aṇī*, a kind of military pageant. Only soldiers may take part in these, and they include boxing, fencing with swords and lathis, races, and other exercises and games. The performance known as *tuḷḷal*, of which the most popular kinds are the *oṭṭan*, *śīdangal*, and *paraiyan*, contain only one character, who acts and recites stories set to a special kind of music called *tuḷḷal-pāṭṭu* in Malabar, corresponding to the *iraḍi* and *mūvaḍi* of the Tamils. This *tuḷḷal* is not very old, having been practically invented by the greatest comic genius of Malabar, Kunjan Nambiyar, some four centuries ago. Besides Puranic themes, social life and the leading personages of the times are skilfully satirized by him. Besides being in many ways superior to our modern *Punch*, Kunjan Nambiyar was also a great poet and a deep philosopher. Nothing was too droll for him, and nothing was impossible, provided it could be made to yield its share of fun. Even Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa are made to fight fiercely for the sake of a devotee.

Another variety in Malabar resembling the *tuḷḷal*, but without its peculiar metre and modes of singing and acting, is the *Pāḍagam*, which is rather a recitation of Puranic and other stories in an entertaining and humorous way with passing allusions, character touches, and satires on contemporary life. These correspond to the *hari-kathā* or *kāla-kshēpam* of the Tamil country, which are performed either in temples or outside them. Sometimes the stories are accompanied by

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little dancing or pantomime by the singer. The most popular themes for the *kāla-kshēpam* are those taken from the Epics and Puranas and from the Marathi Bhakta-Vijaya, a Vaishnava hagiology. Besides these, the stories of Nanda, the Pulaiya devotee of Chidambaram, and of the god Subrahmanya and his wife Valli are great favourites. Along with these the drama is also very popular. In most respects it resembles the modern English drama, the only difference being due to the presence of the ubiquitous *vidūshaka*, or clown, who sometimes adds to the mirth, but often spoils the story with his crude jokes. He is, in fact, a stopgap and keeps the audience amused during the intervals between the scenes. He is generally a Brahman and the boon companion of the hero, and is paid as high a salary as the hero or heroine. Until thirty years ago, no women took part in the play. Their parts were always taken by men dressed as women, with shaven faces, false hair, false breasts, etc. But now women also take part in the play, and in some of the more fashionable theatres the part of the hero is enacted by a woman and the acting is supposed to be better thus than if the rôles were played according to sex. In these dramatic performances full advantage has been taken of the development of scenery, and many new features have been included. The dramas were formerly based on Puranic themes such as Tārā-Śaśāṅka, Hariśchandra, Subrahmanya-Valli, etc., but now there is a craze for adaptations from Shakespeare, "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," etc., and original plays by Tamil novelists and dramatists, such as "Manohara", "The Bandit Chief," "Bhōja-charitam," and the like, and plays based upon the plots of old Tamil classics like the Śilapadigāram and Maṇimēkhalai, the most famous being the Kōvilan-charitram. Last in the category of dramatic representations come what are called Devil Dances or Fetish Dances, which are propitiatory, and are danced to rude music by fantastically dressed figures. In the Tamil districts they are animistic in origin. The chief kind is called *koḍai*, literally "gift" or *ettu-kuḍuthal*. The deity propitiated is the *māḍan*,

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an aboriginal god, who is called by various names according to the locality he inhabits or the tree in which he lives, or according to his powers for mischief. The chief of them are known as Śuḍalai-māḍan (the māḍan living in the burning ground), as Vahni-māḍan (the Māḍan of Fire), or the Madan belonging to a particular haunted place or tree or dangerous pool; others are called Irulan, Kateri, Muṇḍhi, Chāmuḍi, and Karuppanār. During the performance one or more persons become seized with *sannadam* or inspiration, under which they dance to peculiar kinds of music and foretell the future or possibility of rain or drought. During the dance, sheep, fowls, and pigs are sacrificed, and are often killed by the person seized with the *sannadam*. These *koḍais* are sometimes carried out by professionals, and are given either as a thanksgiving for the healing of some disease or as a propitiation to obtain such healing, in which case an image (usually life-size) of the sick persons is offered to the deity. A variety of this is the *Koḍum-bāvi*, literally "Great Sinner", which is celebrated by the villagers if there is no rain for a long time. In it a huge figure of a man, made of straw, represents the collective sins of the community. A number of people, usually of the Maṛavar caste, divide themselves into two parties, mark themselves with black, white, and red spots, drag the straw man through the village while singing symbolical songs, and finally burn him outside the village in the cremation ground with beating of the breasts and weeping. A more refined variety of the Māḍan-kūttu is the worship of Ayyanār or Śāstā, who is supposed to be the son of Śiva and Vishṇu (Hari-hara-putra). In this several persons are seized with the *sannadam*, and a "propitiatory feast" (prīti) is held in their honour. They wear various dresses, weapons, and insignia, according to their degree of inspiration—as Dharma Śāstā, Ikshi, Kundantadi, Śangilivattai, etc.—and they are bathed, fed, and otherwise treated as are the god's images during a festival.

In Malabar there are several propitiatory dances which are

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performed by particular castes, viz. the Kainyan and Vēlan, for the cure of neurasthenic and hysterical girls. There are several varieties, the chief being the Gandharva-bali and Mōhini-bali. Another variety is the Kāla-pāśa-kaṭṭu, in which there is held a mock funeral, etc., by means of which Death is supposed to be scared away or satisfied, so that the sick person is spared. Another variety on a grander scale is the Kōlam-*tuḷḷal*; another kind is the *pala-vēsham* meaning many costumes. Among other varieties are the *Bhadrakāli-āttam* (dance of Bhadrakali), *Śāstā-āttam* (dance of Śāstā), *Tīy-āttam* (fire dance), *Madan-tuḷḷal*, *Malai-tuḷḷal* (mountain-farce), *Lakshmī-tuḷḷal*, etc. In these a huge figure of the deity to be propitiated is drawn or constructed on the ground with sixty-four hands or with symbolical representations of his or her powers and weapons in various colours, and then follow song, dance, acting, and feasting.

*April, 1922.*

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# Some Words and Sentences Illustrating the Argot of the Doms

COLLECTED BY THE REV. C. PHILLIPS CAPE (late of Benares) AND EDITED BY STEN KONOW

THE secret language of the Ḍoms, as of other Indian "Gipsy" tribes, is very unsatisfactorily known. I have made some remarks on it in vol. xi of Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, where I have also given references to such other papers about the subject as I have come across. But very much remains to be done, and we must be thankful for the new materials which are now made available. The compiler of the list says about them:—

"The following is a collection of words and sentences in use by the Magahiyā Ḍoms, who have made Benares their centre or fixed abode. The language is known to wandering Ḍoms in the Panjāb, and also to those who live in the United Provinces. It was apparently unknown to village Ḍoms in Bengal, though the town and city dwellers in some parts of the Province were familiar with it. Most of the words and sentences were obtained from gipsy Ḍoms who visited Benares in 1914, and then settled in the city, where they came under the influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, of which the present writer was superintendent. The sedentary Ḍoms of Benares city and the village Ḍoms of the district are acquainted with this argot.

"The people were naturally somewhat reluctant to explain the meaning of their jargon, but when through the influence of the Mission they began to abandon their criminal practices they consented to interpret their slang into the local vernacular.

"I ascertained that this argot is not known to the hill Ḍoms of the Kumaon and Rohilkhand district, who seem to have little in common with the Magahiyā Ḍoms."

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"This argot will be of no interest to the general reader, but it may be of value to the Indian police and to the philologist.

"The author of *Les Misérables* states that 'most commonly, in order to mislead listeners, argot contents itself with adding promiscuously to all the words of the language a sort of ignoble tail, a termination in *aille*, in *orgue*, in *iergue*, or in *uche*'. The Ḍom contents himself with adding *tul* to some words, that only Ḍoms may know their meaning. For instance, *ghamtul*, sun, and *paptul*, wicked; the words themselves are slightly modified, *ghām* becomes *gham* and *pāp*, *pap*."

I have brought the writing into accordance with the system of transliteration followed in the *Journal*. Where I have deviated from the draft list I have, however, always added its readings within parentheses. I have further arranged the words of the list into groups, in order to make it easier to use it. The phrases, on the other hand, I give as I have received them.

### Objects of Nature

*konhariya* and *Lakṣmī jī*, dark night.
*ghamtul*, sun.
*duṣman*, moon, lit. enemy.
*ceōsā*, bamboo.

### Human Beings, Parts of the Body, Dress, and Ornaments

*mairā*, man.
*benuā*, or *meriyā*, woman.
*natkhaiā* (*-khaiyan*), tooth.
*ṭippari* (*tippari*), clothes.
*gemmalū*, shoes.
*bonca*, nose-ring.
*culāk*, nose-ring.
*ḍhaṛā*, anklet.
*khalka*, a necklace of rupees.
*khaunṭī*, finger-ring.
*narkī*, an ear-ring.
*nīutī*, neck-ring.

### House, Furniture, Implements

*dhiwārī*, door.
*cinpowa*, brass pot.
*khapra* (*khapṛa*), a pot or pan.
*nīūgar*, an earthen water-pot.
*angocā*, *bogdā*, and *cibākī*, jemmy.

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*nūrī*, knife.
*lakrī* (*lakṛi*), a gun, lit. a stick.
*lūṛ*, stick.
*rām dīn*, a long stick.

### Animals

*kurkā*, horse.
*teorā*, dog.
*reonā*, a little pig.

### Food and Drink

*gehar*, rice.
*naṇṭua* (*nantua*), pulse.
*ponpī*, bread.
*ragautī*, meat.
*tillār*, spirits, liquor.

### Coins and Money

*cubī*, farthing.
*ghumānī*, money.
*khobar* (*khobaṛ*), gold coin.

### Thieving and Cheating

*caglī*, hole broken in the wall.
*guleff*, *gulefī*, poison.
*gaimī*, thieving.
*mājhī*, an expert thief.
*naggī karnā*, to sell brass as gold.
*rehdī*, loot.

### Police and Prison

*berānā*, police station.
*birāṭī*, prison.
*gilaharā*, policeman.
*goidhā*, watchman.
*kāṭī* (*kāntī*), prison.
*mākhī* (*mākkhī*), police inspector.

### Sentences

*gilaharā asawāt*, a policeman is coming.
*tillār tipuat hasuat*, he drinks spirits.
*kurkā gulefī dīsū-dī*, he gave the horse poison.
*caglī karuat*, he digs into the house.
*do tīn kāṭī khāgail*, he has been to prison several times.
*naggī karnā*, to sell brass as gold.
*koṭo* (*koto*), run away.
*gaī mālī*, hide the loot (?).



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*rikāis*, hit him.
*gemmalū rikābe*, beat with your shoes.
*ḍhiwārī ḍhuru-de*, open the door.
*gengaṛ jāo*, run away.
*Sarpāl guru rehdī dehlas*, our guru Sarpāl has given us loot.
*gilaharā dhurkāka koṭo* (*koto*), strike the bobby and clear.
*turkal hasuat*, he is sleeping.
*teorā lagat-bā*, the dog barks.
*lūṛ hasuat*, he has a stick.
*birātī* (*birāṭī*) *khāgail*, he has gone to prison.
*bhārī rehdī lesuā*, he has brought much loot.
*nokhṭua asuat, noṭo* (*noto*), you are surrounded, run!
*ḍharṭua de cilu desu*, bribe him to let you off.
*caltā rehdī lesū-le*, steal in the fair.
*maiṛa asuāt, dauṭua nahī*, a man comes, there is no chance.
*bẽnuā* (or *meṛiyā*) *asuāt, lesu-le*, a woman comes, steal from her.
*ponpī chikā-de*, throw bread (over the prison walls).
*cikan lesū*, sell the loot (lit. perhaps, take a greasing).
*khālī lesu-ā*, come quickly.
*nebh ciṭual*, did they find any loot?

It will be seen that we have to do with an argot of the usual kind. There are several peculiar words, which are partly known from similar argots, such as *gaimī*, thieving; *gemmalū*, shoes; *ghumānī*, money; *kurkā*, horse; *lūr*, stick; *rehdī*, loot; *tillār*, liquor; *turkal*, sleeping, etc.

In other cases ordinary words are used in an unusual sense. Thus *Lakṣmī jī*, the goddess of luck, becomes a designation of a dark night, because it is favourable to thieves and burglars; *gilaharā*, a squirrel, denotes a policeman; *mākkhī*, a fly, a police inspector; *mājhī*, a master, a helmsman, means an expert thief. Cf. also *guleff*, *gulefī*, poison, lit. probably "a pill", as in Sāsī *golī*; *culāk*, nose-ring, lit. probably "glitter", as in Qaṣāī *cilknī*, ring; *lakrī*, gun, lit. a stick.

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Otherwise the different words are disguised in various ways; letters appear to have been transposed in *tipuat*, he is drinking, if this word is a disguised *pītā*; aspiration has been added in *ḍhiwārī*, from *duwār*, door, etc.

The most usual devices are to add something before or after the word, wherewith other slight changes of the letters may be combined.

A guttural is prefixed or substituted for an initial sound in *koṇhaṛiya*, a dark night, cf. Hindī *andherā*; *koṭo*, for *noṭo*, run; *khāgail*, he went.

*Ch* is used in a similar way in *chikā-de*, throw, cf. Hindī *phẽknā*; *cõosā*, bamboo, cf. Hindī *bãs*.

*n* is substituted for *ch* in *nūrī*, knife, Hindī *churī*; for *d* in *natkhaiã*, tooth, cf. Hindī *dãt*; for *r* in *nokhṭua*, surrounding, cf. Hindī *roknā*; and perhaps for *k* in *nebh* in *nebh citual*, did they find any loot, which should perhaps be literally rendered as "was anything found".

*b* is perhaps used in a similar way in *bonca*, nose-ring, and a double prefix *ber*, *bir* seems to occur in *berānā*, police station (cf. Hindī *thānā*), and in *birāṭī*, *kāṭī*, prison, whatever the origin of this word may be.

Also disguising additions are used. Thus, *khaiã*, which is well known from Magahiyā Ḍom, in *natkhaiã*, tooth, Hindī *dãt*; *tul* in *ghamtul*, from *ghām*, sun; *paptul*, wicked, from *pāp*; *ṭua* in *dautua*, chance; i.e. probably of running away, Hindī *dauṛnā*; *dharṭua*, bribe; *nokhṭua*, surrounding, cf. Hindī *roknā*, and perhaps in *nanṭua* pulse, if this word is not connected with Bihārī *kaṭuā*.

On the whole, the methods of disguising are the well-known ones.

With reference to grammar, we cannot expect to find any consistency. The state of affairs is, broadly, the same as in the Ḍom argot, described by me in the *Linguistic Survey*. The use of cases is loose; thus *kurkā*, to the horse; *gemmalū*, with the shoes; *caltā*, in the fair, without any suffix. The usual present suffix is *uat* or *uāt*; thus *asuāt* and *asawāt*, is

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coming; *hasuat*, is; *karuat*, does; but also forms such as *lagatbā*, is barking, are used.

Past tenses are *khāgail*, he went; *dehlas*, he has given, and the compound forms *lesuā*, having taken came; *cịual*, it was found. In *gulefī dīsū-dī*, poison giving was given, he gave poison, we have the usual passive construction.

It is of little use to go further into details. I should only like to add that it would be highly desirable that the study of argots like that of the Ḍoms should be taken up in earnest before it becomes too late, and thankful though we are for the new addition to our knowledge, we are wishing for much more to come.

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# Proto-Hittite

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce

PROTO-HITTITE is the name given by Dr. Forrer to the prefixal language, examples of which are found in the cuneiform texts of Boghaz Keui. In them it is called *Khattilis* "Hittite", the mixed official language of Boghaz Keui being known as "the language of the scribes" (EME *sa ameli dubbi*, *Annals of Archæology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvi, 1, 12). This latter was, in fact, a mixture of Sumerian, Assyrian, and Indo-European elements on the basis of an Asianic language which was spoken in Arzawa (Western Cilicia) and Kizzuwadna (of which the southern Qumani or Komana was the capital). The royal line of Boghaz Keui, as their names show, originally spoke Proto-Hittite, and must have given the name of Khattu and Khattusis ("Silver-town") to the city which they made their capital after the conquest of the surrounding territory. They came from Kussar, written Kursaura in earlier documents, the Garsaura of classical geography, and their capital had been Arinna ("Well-town"), the Phreata of Ptolemy. Here their annals reached back to the time when Sargon of Akkad had invaded their country (2800 B.C.).

A long bilingual hymn in Proto-Hittite and official Hittite has recently been published in *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, ii, pp. 9 sqq. Here are the stanzas with the Hittite translations so far as the text has been preserved :—

waskhat-ma eswur kakkhir sûwâ — AN-MES KUR-MES maniyakh-khir

ALU Khattus tittakhzilat sûwâ tabar-na katti taniuras — dâir-mat ALU Khattusi lie dâir-mat nuza labarnas sarrûs

"The gods govern the world; they take much; of the city of Khattu they take not much since our lord is the king (thereof)."

---

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anna eskhakher-bi tabar-na na . . mânat tapariyaueni[1]-ma la . . .
lêwael nîbu-bê zîy[apa] . . . . . as BIT-ir iyaueni-mas . . .
yâe imalḳhib . . . nassi biueni DAMQ-an du . . .

" We also are the lords of them . . . the house we make . . . to him we give prosperity . . ."

---

bîb isakh taste[kh] . . . idalus-ma-ssi-gan abui (?) anda [uizzi]
urana kartanna pa[la] . . . tatranza-ya-ssi-gan alkha . . . anda . . .
tastekh karzîya . . .

" Then the wicked men come against (?) him, and, then to him . . . [comes]."

---

zîyapa Saktu nuwawa . . . ina KHAR-SAG Sak[tu] . . .
wâsakh khamurûwa wâsakh . . . idalun GIS-GUSUR idalun . . .
tewassine waz-asakh tal . . . idalun khuimpan mun . . .
wakhzîkher

" In the mountain Saktu . . . the bad beam, the bad . . . , the bad . . ."

---

imalkhibbi zîkhar imal[khibbi] DAMQ-in-ma GIS-RU DAMQ-
khâburûwa imalkhib . . . an tan . . .
imalkhib talutkheît . . . GIS khittassa DAMQ-in GIS-
katte-yâ SU[-A] . . .
labar-nai sarri

" But good timber, good . . . and *khittas*-wood, a good throne . . . to our lord the king."

---

. . . si (?) razil-bi wâ . . . dankuwai-ma taknî . . .
imalkhi[b] . . . assû-ma sarri labar-na[i] . . .

" Both a fortunate throne . . . and wealth to the king our lord . . ."

---

[1] Or " ordered ", since *dais* (as opposed to *das*) = the ideographic ME-*is*.

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| | |
|---|---|
| ândukhan kastipan [AN Zili-buras] | KA-as-tak-za-gan AN Ziliburas |
| katti pala ambu lêwa[el] . . . | sarrus zi (?) . . . GIS Khalmas suittan |
| kâ . . . an wâsuittun . . . | ieit . . . |

"In the seat at the Gate the deified Ziliburas the king [sits ?]; the throne (?) of Khalma he holds . . ."

---

| | |
|---|---|
| ântukh lêzûkh lesterakh kula ud[âtanu] | dâs-ma-za ŚU-ZUN ŚU-GAR-TAK-ZUN |
| . . . anneis kâkhan wâsuiddûn | ŚU-E-SIR-ZUN-ya na-ssan dâis GIS-TAK-ti |

"When he had taken the arms (?), the leather cushions and the leather straps, all this he took for thy throne."

---

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . udâtanu pala lêzzibir | dâis-[ma-]za . . . ya nat-san dâis |
| pala . . . kâkhan wâsuiddun | GIS-TAK-ti |

"And when he took . . . all this he took for thy throne."

---

| | |
|---|---|
| pala m(?)andabbu . . . pala . . . | nassa [TUR ?]-MES . . . nu bier |
| pala âssiya AN . . . ga tabar-na kattê | niyata . . . anta [tabarnai] sarri |

"And he . . . [the children ?]; so they gave a . . . [to our lord] the king."

---

| | |
|---|---|
| pala-kh sawa . . . uan katakh-khias pala lêbinu | . . . TUR-MES khassus . . . biandu |
| pala lêzi . . . at (?)tu . . . | |
| pala lêzi . . . tu | |

". . . the royal children . . . let them give."

---

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . kâwâkh AN Sulinkitti | AN (?) . . . massi-ssan wâtar-nakhkhi |
| [l ?]ê . . . tûkhul tuwakh-si tekhila | . . . gan sarri GAR-as imkhulius |
| . . . kassil iskatekh | . . . za kuttan pakhsaru |

". . . he has appointed him general; so . . . wicked assaults on (?) the king; . . . they will defend (his) side."

---

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anakh tastenuwa bêwil
isbiaru tastêtanusi

nu-wa-gan idalus-wa-gan [khatr?]-a uizzi
idalus-wa-gan UN-as BIT-ri anda lê uizzi

"Thereupon when the wicked come [for]th the wicked men come not to the palace."

---

ântukh AN Sulinkitti kittê lêwae ka (?) . . .
pala ândakha akkatukh pala ântakha
kâwakh-bi [zi]khalutu

dâs-ma-za AN Sulinkittes sarrus unutes nat sarâ dâs nat-gan anda dâis khatriwas GIS-RU-i

"When the deified Sulinkittes the king had taken the furniture this he took over and this he took thither, even the logs of timber."

---

[im]alkhib-bi (?) têtakhsûl asakh-bi
nastûta sûla AN Sulinkitti katti taniwas ûnkhu-bi

nasta âssu anda tarniski d-an idalu-ma-gan anda lê tarnâi
AN Sulinkittiss-an sarrus anda êszi

"So prosperity he gave him and delivered him not to the wicked; the deified Sulinkittes the king is for him."

---

neuttâ udakh bizzi . . .

. . . SE-GA-wa-gan namma kuit-ut anda paisi

"So in happiness (?) henceforth thou goest to (him)."

---

A bilingual list of the titles of trades and professions in Proto-Hittite and Hittite has been already translated in part by Professor Hrozný (*Ueber die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-landes*, 1920, pp. 26–8). The text has now been published in B.K. v, No. 11. In another text quoted by Hrozný we are told that *tâkhaya* signified "barber" "in Hittite", i.e. Proto-Hittite, and in v, 11, we have :—

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AMEL wînduqqaram = AMEL QA-SU-GAB-as "wine-bearer".
AMEL zûlûwê = AMEL GIS-BANSUR-as "table-man".
AMEL khantib-suwâ = AMEL MU-as "cook", "baker".
AMEL bar (*or* ṃas) sêl = AMEL QAR - QAR - ŚUN - as "prophet".[1]

---

AMEL sakhtarîl = AMEL US-KU-as "gallos-priest".
AMEL dû(?)el = AMEL Ziliburiya-tallas "priest of Ziliburiyas".
AMEL khaggasûel = AMEL ekuwatarra[s] "libationer".
AMEL dâgulrunâil = AMEL GIS-zalam-GAR "image-maker".

---

AMEL tâni-sawa = AMEL GIS-PA-[as] "scribe".
AMEL tuskhawâ-duntânisaun = AMEL KIT-tar-[as] "weaver(?)".
AMEL lûîzzîl = AMEL MURGU-E-[as] "brick-maker".
AMEL kîlukh = AMEL IMZU AMEL MURGU-E "potter".
AMEL dudduskhiyâl = AMEL dudduskhiyalla[s] "spear-man".

---

I published a fragmentary tablet from my own collection in the *JRAS.*, October, 1912, p. 1037, which we now know to contain a Proto-Hittite text. The tablet has been cleaned since the copy was made, and consequently one or two corrections have to be made in the published text. It reads as follows :—

[1] The ideograph is literally "image-of-mouth-with-teeth-showing". In a ritual text from Assur published by Ebeling (*Quellen zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, ii, No. 5) offerings are to be made "before (the image of) the Mouth with (protruded) tongue", which must therefore have been honoured as a god. References to an image of a similar character are also to be found in the Hittite texts.

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kakhân yaktul . . .
akkhân istarraz qa . . .
akkhân kâbar li[kut] . . .

---

ûqqa intâ ta[barna ?] . . .
likût khaliskhâ . . .
tabarna likut . . .

---

Then comes the Hittite [*nu*] GAZ-*ma kuwabi dâi* . . . GIS PASSUR *dâi* " Next he takes the victim . . . he takes the dish ", and since we have learned that *kakhan* corresponds with the Hittite verb " to take ", we may conclude that *yaktul* signifies " victim " and *istarraz* perhaps " a dish " or " table ". *Intâ* is probably " not ".

*KUBK.* i, No. 14, 15 sqq. Here we read that " the priests of the deified Ziliburiyas speak as follows in Hittite " :—

[ta]barna katti
[MAT ku]wîna AN Ziliburi
[l]ikkuru AN Takasukh
. . . khil pâûn
gauma khubbis
tisuk kistân
Khatîlât teriyan
ALU Khattus khazzin ukhe . . . a
. . . ni
. . .

" To (?) our lord the king of this (?) country, the deified Ziliburiyas, descendant (?) of the deified Takasukh."

*KUBK.* i, No. 17, 16 sqq. " The table-men bring the food to the king, and he approaches the great Asherah behind him with the table (or dish); the flutists (*khallires* = AMELI GI-GID) sing, the prophet prophesies, the *Kistas* cries (in Hittite) " :—

1. nû tê takkikhal tabar-na
2. saîl zibtibil
3. tûkhurubtes es-tabartilis
4. sunti tunti . . . palâ
5. wuromû ta . . . ra
6. wûrû-si-mû ta . . . ra
7. anâkhu misâ [sa]il
8. zibtiwâil . . . mâ
9. wûru-si-mû . . . ur
10. kunkunâ . . . ma

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11. tabarna . . . [sâi]o
12. kânakhis . . . is
13. sâio s[êta] . . . an
14. MAT Kubenna . . .
15. wûru-se-mû . . .

16. nûpa sewu . . .
17. ALU Arinna . . .
18. sipakhar . . .
19. likhzu . . .
20. es-tabarti[lis] . . . zis
21. tabar-si-rû . . . [ALU] Arinnâ

22. saîl . . . lunun
23. omû . . . kar wûru-se-mû
24. saio . . . ân MAT Kubenna
25. sêta . . . [AN] Mezzullan
26. sêta AN

27. nuwâ [AN Mez]zulla MAT Kubenna
28. kîsa . . . izzi
29. sakharu . . . alwâbizza
30. sakha[ru] . . . wâskes
31. awâ(s ?) . . . wâres

---

The following lines are destroyed. Then the second column begins :—

1. tassêgarâm
2. wûru-se-mû tassêgarâm
3. nûpâ-si wûru-se-mû
4. MAT Kubenna tabar-na
5. likhzikhkuwâs

---

After this three cooks or bakers come forward ; the king distributes the sacramental food, the wine-bearer approaches on horseback, and " the prophet speaks thus (in Hittite) " :—

1. imakhu-saîl
2. kâtti MAT Kubenna
3. wîdus kâbar wûr
4. wâskha-wun liggarân
5. wûru-se-mû MAT Kuwînna
6. es-tâwêni wâriulli
7. zipâtiwâil
8. es-tabartilis

---

Then the king drinks (or pours a libation) in honour of Tessub of Zippalanda out of a goblet in the shape of a golden bull ; after further ceremonies he goes to the " great Asherah-pillar " with a dish of offerings ; the flutists sing. and the prophet prophesies as follows :—

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1. mîsâ sâîl
2. zibtipâîl
3. sâio liggarân
4. MAT Kuwênnâ
5. [l]iggarân sâro
6. [lig]garân
7. . . . [s]ârô
8. . . . tabar-na
9. . . . sû
10. . . . sêl
11. . . . [mas]bu
12. . . . ziya

. . . .

After a break the third column of the tablet begins :—

1. sâio ligga[rân]
2. MAT Kuwênnâ lig[garân]

———

3. Zippalanti (= Zippalanda)
4. liggarâ nûpâ[si]
5. Zippalanti-ya . . .
6. MAT Kuwênnâ tûw[ô]
7. sâîl zâpasa . . .
8. zimakhsun[1] . . .
9. masbu tuwo . . .
10. tekhuzzi . . .

---

Other ceremonies follow. Eventually the order is given to "cease worship"; the cup-bearer comes riding as before, and "the prophet speaks as follows in Hittite" :—

1. imâkha-sâîl
2. ugga wârwô
3. sugga wâr-wâskhat
4. zibti-paîl
5. katti MAT Kuwênna
6. bîdûs kabar-wûn
7. wâskha-wûn
8. liggarân
9. wârû-se-mu MAT Kubenna
10. . . . sê ir . . .

. . . . .

In the fifth column of the tablet we are told that the king pours out a libation to the deified Kabu-kuzzi[lis], while the "singers of Kanis" (the modern Kara Eyuk near Kaisariyeh) "sing"; the cup-bearer comes riding and then "kneels down" (*ginuwas*), the king pours a libation from a cup in the form of a golden lion, and finally, after many other ceremonies, there is a fragment of another Proto-Hittite hymn :

. . .
[w]âkhân . . .
âskhuz . . .
lêwâ khu . . .
lêwâ kû . . .
es-tabartil[is]

---

[1] Or *zibakhsun*.

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After this a sacrifice is offered, and (in the sixth column) the following hymn is recited :—

1. sâio liggarâm . . .
2. liggarâm Khawânta[li]
3. liggarâm nupa[li]
4. Khawântalî MAT Kuwên[na]
5. tabar-na wârâisu[n ?]
6. Khatts-ru sepse
7. kayakhsu dubbu liwo . . .
8. tekhuzziya wâkhâ izzi [-wâkhâ]
9. akhâ MAT Kuwênna lizzibti
10. tabar-na lizzibti-wâil
11. nupâli tabar-na MAT Kubenna"
12. pa-kkattenna li-katti
13. iyakhsû liwât-katti
14. lê-bbinû lê-bakkû
15. lê-wârun es-tâbartilis

"Then the singer trills (*ueriyazi*) the name (?) of the king, the prophet prophesies, the sacrificer sacrifices" :

1. wâkhâ izzi-wâkhâ MAT Kuwênna
2. izzibti-bîl tabar-nas
3. izzibti-bîl nupâ-si
4. tabar-na MAT Kuwênna
5. kâtt-akhnâli kâtt-akh
6. iyakhsû lêwâ-kâtt-akh
7. se-bbinu lêwâ-kkû
8. sê-wûrû es-tâbartilis

"Then the cup-bearer takes a cup to the king. The prophet does not prophesy. But after adoring (?) [1] the Ashera-pillars the prophet prophesies" :

1. zizzinna AN Khanwâsûît
2. KAL-GA-lenna wîûl
3. tazzasnêr MAT Kuwênna
4. tass-iggarâm kamma-mâ
5. tass-iggarâm nûpâ-si
6. kammama MAT Kuwênna
7. tabar-na likhzi kuwâ[s ?]

---

Hrozný [2] quotes another text (*Bo.* 2074) in which a mutilated Hittite translation is attached to the Proto-Hittite words. In the introduction to it we have: "Then they shear (*balzakhanzi*) a sheep, [the wool] they card (*tarmâizzi*), and [repeat] in Hittite" :—

1. imâ-llen zardu ûg — "This [sheep] . . .
2. wâkâ-bunadu kânaiu — Then he . . .

[1] *Karinuwanzi.* In *K.B.* iii, 4, *Rev.* iii, 17, we read that when the women who had been sent to him embraced the king's feet, . . . *kâri tiyanun* "I allowed [them] to pay homage", or something similar.

[2] *Ueber die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-landes*, p. 33.

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| | |
|---|---|
| 3. wâtakhazi wâkhtû palâ | [he] shears . . . |
| 4. a(?)s-akhdu lêizziwâṭu | on both sides (*duwân duwanna*) |
| | . . . |
| 5. lêi-bînu palâ | his children, etc. . . . . |
| 6. lê-pa-zizintu | let them remain. And they . . . |
| 7. intâ teswâu | to the place on both sides will not assemble. |

---

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. [ima]-llên zârdu | Then like this sheep |
| 9. . . . wâsunu wâsti palâ | his person shall birds (and) foxes |
| 10. . . . aiwâs khêni ûg | devour ; and the wicked |
| 11. is(?)gabbusê palâ | man and his wives |
| 12. [a ?]sakhdu lizzwadu | his children, his people, entirely (?) |
| 13. lêi-bînu | let birds (and) foxes |
| 14. lê-pa-zizintu | etc., devour." |

---

It will be noticed that although a new combination of cuneiform signs was devised in order to denote the sounds approximating to *wa, we, wi, wo,* and *wu,* at times *b* (as in *bidus, widus* ; *Kubenna, Kuwîna*) and *p* were employed. Also that the initial dental of *tabar-na* is usually replaced in official Hittite by *l*. Professor Hrozný suggests that the actual sound was that of the Welsh or Armenian *ll*. It is evidently the same word as the *Κάβαρνοι* of Hesychius, which he defines as signifying " the priests of Demeter ".

Dr. Forrer has already pointed out that *katti* is " king " (cf. Katys, Kotys, and Katê or Katî, king of the Que, 850 B.C.), *bînu* " children ", *wil* " house ", *(a)sakh* " wicked ", *nu* " come ". To these we can add *ima-lkhi(b)* " good fortune ", *kakh* " take ", *nîbu* " make ", *zârdu* " sheep ", *zuwadu* or *ziwâtu* " wives ", *pa-zizintu* " people ". In the first bilingual *waskhat* and *es-wur* must correspond with " gods " and " countries ", while *sûwa* forms part of the compound word for " cook " or " baker ", and *tani-uras* may be connected with

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*tani-* in the word for "scribe". The last bilingual makes it clear that the prefixes *sé* and *lé* signify "thy" and "his". *Ugga* or *uqqa* and *sugga* must be "to me", "to thee"; *inta* is "not".

*Ima* seems to be a demonstrative, and *palâ* introduces a new sentence. *Zizzinna* will be related to *zizin-tu*, and the two lines *zizzinna* AN *Khanwâsûit* KAL-GA-*lenna wiûl* may signify "the people of Khanwasu(it) are powerful". *Tastekh* "he comes", compared with *tastenu-* "comes not", shows that the suffix or infix *nu* denotes the negative conjugation. From *katti* "king" we have *kattakh* "he is king". *Waskha* appears to signify "god" and *wûr, wâr* "country".

The Proto-Hittite texts give us the names of a good many early kings who preceded the rise of the Hittite empire. They were deified not only after death but also during their lifetime, and it is a question whether the deification of the king was not introduced into Babylonia from Asia Minor instead of the converse. It falls in with the general character of the religions of Asia Minor, and never took firm root among the Babylonians.

Among the early deified kings whose names have been recovered from the ritual texts are Khate-binus (British Museum, *Hittite Texts*, lviii, 6), Ziliburiyas, Kalumziburis, Walizilis, Kantuzzilis (the same name as that of Katu-zilu, king of Kummukh, 858 B.C.), Zibarwâs, Yaliyas (?), Sâuwaskhilas, Khilassiyas, Sulinkittes, Takasukh, Khawântilis (written Khantilis in the official Hittite texts), and Khanwâsûît, to which Hrozný adds Bimbiras and Pamba, a contemporary of Sargon of Akkad (2800 B.C.). Khanwâsûît is a variant of Khalmassuttum (*KBK.* iv, 9, iii, 17), and the name appears to signify "throne of Khalma" (see above, p. 247).[1]

*August, 1922.*

[1] To this list of deified kings is probably to be added Khasamilias, Khasmilis, whom I would identify with the Kabirian Kasmilos, Kadmilos, identified with Hermes (Schol. to Apoll. Rhod., i, 917). Khasa-milis is a word of similar formation to *duddu-milis*, *dud-milis*, "spear-man"; the Proto-Hittite *milis* "man" is the origin of the Hittite word *miliskus* "slave".

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## MOUNT D'ELI

In the issue of this *Journal* for January, 1923 (pp. 83–5), Sir Richard Temple appears to accept almost too readily the view expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar in his article on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India", that the real meaning of Mount D'Eli is the Rat Hill, and not the Seven Hills. I venture to suggest that Mr. Subramanya Aiyar's explanation is ingenious but incorrect, and that Sir Richard Temple and others who have held that the vernacular name for Mount D'Eli signified the Seven Hills need not so easily abandon that opinion.

Mr. Subramanya Aiyar admits that in Sanskrit works like the *Kerala-Māhātmya* the region surrounding this hill is called the land of the Seven Hills (*Saptaśaila*); but he states that the mistake arose with the Indian scholiast, who confounded the dental *l* with the lingual *ḷ* in transcription. This appears to me to be a gratuitous assumption; for it is not only in Sanskrit works, which are more or less modern, that the hill in question is known as the Seven Hills, but also in Tamil works of undoubted antiquity in which this hill is mentioned the name it bears means unequivocally the Seven Hills. Thus in *Narṟiṇai*, which is one of the acknowledged Sangam works, we find in lyric No. 391 the following passage :—

*Ponpaḍu Koṇkāna Nanna-nannāṭṭ'*
*Ēḷiṟ kuṉṟam peṟinum,*

which means "even if we obtain the Seven Hills (*Ēḷiṟ Kuṉṟam*) situate in the prosperous territory of Nannan in golden Koṇkāna". Again in *Aganānūṟu*, another well-known Sangam collection, we read in lyric No. 152, *Nannan ēḷineḍu-varai*, that is, "the Seven Hills of Nannan". We gather from old Sangam works that this Nannan belonged to a minor branch of the Cēra line (*Aganānūṟu* 97; 258) and ruled over a territory, Pūḷi-nāḍu (*Padiṟṟup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), situated in



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Koṇkānam, the modern Konkan (*Narriṇai* 391). His chief cities were Kadambu-peru-vāyil (*Padirṟup-pattu* IV, Epilogue), Pāḷi (*Aganānūṟu* 15; 258), Viyalūr (*Aganānūṟu* 97), and Piramбu (*Aganānūṟu* 356); and he owned two mountains, Ēḷil Kuṉṟam or Ēḷin Neḍuvarai (*Narriṇai* 391, *Aganānūṟu* 152) and Pāḷi Cilambu (*Aganānūṟu* 152). Kuṉṟam, Varai, and Cilambu are synonyms, meaning mountain. It is this Ēḷil Kuṉṟam or Ēḷin Neḍuvarai—the seven mountains—that the European navigators came to call Mount D'Eli. Thus, if the evidence of ancient Tamil literature be accepted—and there is no reason why it should not be—the term *eli* in the European Mount D'Eli has no connexion with *eli*, the Tamil word for *mūshika* or "rat", but it stands for *ēḷu*, the Tamil numeral denoting seven. In these circumstances, no purpose is served by attempting to connect the name of the hill with the Tamil word for rat, as Mr. Subramanya Aiyar has done, on the strength of a story told by a romancing poet-chronicler of comparatively recent date. It will be much nearer the fact to hold that the poet gave an ingenious twist to the name of the hill to suit the exigencies of his miraculous story.

K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

Trivandrum.

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## THE *ALLALLU*-BIRD = *CORACIAS GARRULUS* LINN.

The *allallu*-bird of the Gilgamish Epic has never been satisfactorily identified. It will be remembered that he was one of the lovers of Ishtar, and that Gilgamish taunts the goddess with her cruelty to the unfortunate bird:—

"Next thou didst love the gay-hued *allallu*-bird; him thou hast smitten,
Breaking his wing: in the grove doth he perch, crying *kappi*, 'my wing!'"

While I was serving in Basrah in 1915–16 I used constantly to see the brilliant-coloured Roller (*Coracias garrulus* Linn.) darting in short flights amid the palm-groves, uttering its harsh cry. Its very striking colouring aptly coincides with

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"gay-hued" (*bitruma*); the head is greenish-blue, mantle chestnut-brown, wings light and dark blue, chin white, underparts light blue (Saunders, *British Birds*, p. 272). Its cry is a rapid repetition of a harsh sound, which I may indicate (perhaps Assyrianizing here excusably) as *chap, chap, chap, chap, chap, chap*, half a dozen times or more, certainly in late June. Saunders' description of it is to the point: "During the breeding-season the male indulges in some extraordinary tumbling antics, turning somersaults in the air, and uttering a harsh cry which the Germans syllable as 'Racker-racker' and the Spaniards as 'Carlanco-carlanco'." [1]

In this description of its cry and tumbling flight we must obviously see the parallel in the epic of the cry *kappi* and the broken wing of the *allallu*-bird. So insistent were the Assyrians about its cry that we have in one of the bird-lists (my copy in CT. xiv, 6, *r.* 1, the restoration pointed out by Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1904, 200) [*al-lal*]-*lum* | *kap-pa ip-pu-uš* "the *allallum* | makes '*kappa*'."

The modern Arabic name for the bird in Basrah is مهاهل *muhelhel*, i.e. from هَلّ "to shout" (Hebrew הִלֵּל), thus even repeating in a slightly different form the old Assyrian *allallu* (= "the crier"), from the same root. I think, therefore, that in every way—colouring, cry, "broken wing," habitat in the palm-grove, and even name—the *allallu* corresponds with the *Coracias garrulus*.[2]

R. Campbell Thompson.

[1] W. J. Gordon, *Our Country's Birds*, p. 89, says "its flight is like a Tumbler Pigeon's, rapid and erratic . . . its cry is a peculiarly dry and thirsty 'rakker-rakker-crea'". I once asked an Arab policeman in Basrah if he knew what the Roller said in his cry, and his answer was that Solomon, the Prophet of God, knew what it meant, thus referring to the old tradition of Solomon's knowledge of bird-language.

[2] Houghton, in his article *PSBA.*, viii, 142, identified *allallu* with "starling". His quotation from Dr. Tristram is, however, to the point: "You ought to find places for the bee-eater and the roller; so common, beautiful, and striking birds must have been known to the Assyrians."

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## NOTE ON OPHIR

The question of the geographical position of Ophir is still an object of keen controversy. The choice is between Africa, India, and the two coasts of the Persian Gulf (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii, p. 353 seq.). Thus far the attempts to decide the question moved on vaguely historical or rather speculative grounds. There is, however, a philological side to it, and a certain clue towards the solution of the problem is furnished by the Greek version of Genesis x, 28, where we find the spelling *Οὐφειρ*. The variations *Σουφιρ* and *Σωφιρ* given in the Prophets and Hagiographa can be discarded. *Οὐφειρ* corresponds to Arabic أُفَيْر, a diminutive form common in proper nouns. The Hebrew transcription could hardly be anything but אופיר. The root أَفِر is not frequently found in the dictionaries and its meaning *to be prompt, nimble* does not bear any relationship to gold, although this is not really necessary for the name of a locality. The ו in the Hebrew word *may* be *mater lectionis*, but it seems preferable to think of وَفَرَ *to be abundant*, which brings us much nearer to the probable identity of the two words. A Hebrew speaker or writer would instinctively change the initial ו to א while putting the و in the second place of the transcribed word. Thus the south-eastern coast of Arabia might have a better claim than the other places. Moreover, the Biblical Ophir is a descendant of Yoqtān, the eponymos of the genuine Arabs. It is also more probable that Salomon's ships did not travel farther than a little way round the coast of Arabia instead of venturing on a perilous journey to India or even South Africa.

H. Hirschfeld.

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## THE KUNDAMALA OF DIGNAGA ACARYA

The second publication in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Series, edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, is a play attributed to Dignāga Acārya, and entitled *Kundamālā*. It deals with the story of the banishment of Sītā, the birth of her two sons, Kuśa and Lava, and their ultimate discovery by Rāma in the hermitage of Vālmīki. Though perhaps a little uninspired, the play is affecting and in tone elevated and pure. The editors state that a play of this name is mentioned in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* of Śāradātanaya, and in the *Kāvya-kāma-dhenu*, and there are quotations in the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Mahā-nāṭaka*, and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*.

The identification of the author, named in the *prastāvanā* as the poet Dignāga of Arārāla-pura, with the celebrated Buddhist logician will no doubt be debated. The Tanjore copies of the play are stated (preface, p. iii) to read Dhīranāga in place of Dignāga and *Anūpurādhasya* in place of *Arārāla-pura-vāstavyasya*—the Editors think of *Anurādha-pura* in Ceylon (p. vi), whereas according to Tāranātha the Buddhist divine belonged to the neighbourhood of Kāñcī and died in Orissa (pp. 130–5). The dedication of the play to Heramba may or may not be a further difficulty. If so, it applies also to Dhīranāga, who bears the Buddhist title *Bhadanta*, and whose verses quoted in the *Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta* and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* do not seem to occur in the play.

It is worth while to point to one touch which is suggestive of a Ceylonese authorship. This is the expression *jyotsnā-nirmoka* "slough of moonlight" (resting on the ground). I am not acquainted with this idea of the moonlight patches (on roofs, etc.) as comparable to a snake's (white) cast-off skin, except in verse 4 of the *Jānakī-haraṇa* of the Ceylonese poet Kumāra-dāsa. Or is it known in south India, e.g. in Tamil literature ?

F. W. Thomas.

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## THE PADA-TADITAKA OF SYAMILAKA

In this *bhāṇa*, which I have discussed elsewhere (in the "Centenary Supplement" of this *Journal*), there are many points of interest. Among these I may call attention to the character and nomenclature of the numerous personages and the references to classes and peoples.

Here is a list of the Rakes (p. 7)[1] assembled to provide the dénouement of the story :—

The Kāmacāra Bhānu.
The Gupta Lomaśa (Romaśa, p. 47) and his friend Maheśvaradatta (p. 47).
The Councillor (*amātya*) and Judge (*prāḍvivāka*, p. 9) Viṣṇudāsa.
The Śaivya Ārya-Rakṣita, a poet who sells his poems in Kāśī, Kosala, and among the Gargas and Niṣādas (p. 45).
The Dāseraka Rudravarman (a poet, p. 47).
The Āvantika Skandasvāmin.
The Bāhlika Kākāyana Aiśānacandri (p. 14) Hariścandra.
The Ābhīra prince Mayūradatta (Mayūra-Kumāra, p. 39).
The drummer Sthāṇu-Gāndharvasenaka.
The Upāya-nirantakatha Pārvatīya (Dhāvaki Anantakatha, p. 44).
The first Aparānta (Koṅkaṇa, p. 19) ruler Indravarman.
The prince Mukhavarman from Ānanda-pura.
Jayanandaka of Surāṣṭra.
The Maudgalya Dayitaviṣṇu, the Commander-in-Chief.
A certain Bhavakīrti (p. 46).
Tauṇḍikoki Viṣṇunāga, the "hero" (p. 48).

In the course of the narrative we become acquainted, further, with :—

Bāṣpa Bāhlika-putra (p. 11).
Kauśika Siṃhavarman, half-brother of the emperor.
Ārya-Ghoṭaka, who, though no Hūṇa, wears Hūṇa costume (p. 15).

[1] The page references are to the *editio princeps* in *Caturbhāṇī* by M. Rāmakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (*Śivapurī*, 1922).

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Bhaṭṭi-Maghavarman, son of the Senāpati Senaka (p. 15).

Śamadāsī, a Śaurpārika woman (p. 20).

Bhadrāyudha, chief Chamberlain, Lord of the northern Bāhlīka and Kārūṣa-Maladas, who addresses the Lāṭa folk with *j's* in place of *y's*, and who may well visit foreign countries, since—

" Having set upon the heads of Aparānta, Śaka, and Mālava kings
His two feet, he goes as he will,
And, at length visiting his mother and mother Ganges,
Displays the glory of the family of Magadha kings "
(pp. 20–1).

Nirapekṣa, a Buddhist *ḍiṇḍi* (pp. 21–2).

Guptakula (*sic*), the Yuvarāja, son of the Dāseraka king, whose agent is scornfully described as possessed of the full complement of his country's (Magadha's ?) dress, language, and manners (pp. 23–4).

Śivasvāmin, teacher of painting, and the Pratīhāra Padmapāla (p. 25).

Sūryanāga Tauṇḍikoki of Śūrpāra, the Baladarśika Skandakīrti, and the Maudgalya *pāraśava* Haridatta (pp. 30–3).

Mayūrasenā, a Simhalese Hetaera (p. 33).

Talavara Hariśūdra of Vidarbha, who is surrounded by Dākṣiṇātyas and wears an Āndhra *kārṣṇāyasa* (p. 33).

Jayanta of Saurāṣṭra, a Śaka prince (p. 39).

Ghaṭadāsī, a Barbara woman (negress) (p. 39).

Drauṇilaka, the Pratīhāra, who is *veśyādhyakṣa* (p. 33).

The *pustaka-vācaka* Upagupta, a sort of Falstaff, at war with his mother-in-law (pp. 28–9).

Bhaṭṭi-Ravidatta, an old rake, a Lāṭa (pp. 29–30).

The Yavanī Karpūraturiṣṭhā with her sibilant, unintelligible speech, her recourse to " thingumlob ", etc., and to the use of gesture (p. 40). Her lover Varāhadāha (*sic*), son of Śārdūlavarman (pp. 39–40).

The Deccan poet Āryaka (p. 46).

Hastin of Gāndhāra (p. 47).

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A Sauvīra (p. 47).
Bhaṭṭi-Jīmūta, the chief rake (p. 48).

We have also some pungent descriptions of national types. Thus the Lāṭa man (p. 16) :—

"Bathes naked in a crowd, always washes his own clothes in the water;
Has dishevelled hair, goes to bed with unwashed feet:
Eats anything, as he walks in the road, wears a tattered cloth;
And, if he once happens to get in a blow, boasts of it for ever."

A Dāseraka man (p. 23) :—

"His middle covered with a fragment of foul rag;
Goat-faced, his shoulders yellow, hairy and fat;
Here comes, eating a root, with eyes tawny as an ape,
If not a Dāseraka, then clearly a Piśāca."

"Saurāṣṭrikas, apes, and Barbaras are all one lot" (p. 39); "A Yavana woman and a hetaera, a female ape and a dancer, a Mālava man and a lover, an ass and a singer" have the same qualities (p. 40).

The peoples represented in the imperial city are enumerated (p. 9) as Śakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Pārasīkas, Magadhas, Kirātas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kāśas, Māhiṣikas, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas: we have also mention of Yaudheyas, Rohitakas, Bāhlīkas (p. 11), Dākṣināṭyas, Koṅkaṇas = Aparāntas, Keralas, Lāṭas, and others mentioned above. Nowhere is there any suspicion of Musalmans; and, what is quite strange in a scene especially favouring western India, the Gurjaras are never mentioned. These facts, combined with the contempt poured upon the Guptas, suggest irresistibly for Śyāmilaka a date considerably earlier than the lower limit fixed by the reference of Abhinava-gupta. It is the time of Harṣa of Kanauj, or even that of the later Guptas, that is indicated, and the lexicographical and stylistic affinities to Bāṇa point in the same direction.

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The fictitious name of the capital city, Sārvabhauma, invites even a further reflection. Why should not Ujjain or Daśapura or Kanauj have been named ? Is it possible that a real capital would have too definitely identified the subjects of the scandalous gossip, whose names and titles, in fact, show little sign of being merely invented ? In that case we should be able to boast an acquaintance with at least the caricatured lineaments of a number of personages belonging to an interesting period, upon whom a northern poet thought it worth while to exercise his spiteful wit. If so, the names may have been disguised only slightly, or not at all. In any event the characters are such as had a satiric probability in his time.

F. W. Thomas.

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## WERE THE ASURAS ASSYRIANS?

The identification of the *Asuras* of Indo-Iranian mythology with the *Assyrians* was first suggested by Mr. H. M. Chadwick (in J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 32), who derived *Aššur* from *Asura*, and his idea was then modified by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*JRAS.* 1916, p. 355), who, on the contrary, derived *Asura* from *Aššur*. This derivation has met with some approval, Mr. Belvalkar in his book on Sanskrit grammarians alluding to this etymology as generally accepted and standing beyond all doubt.

On the other hand, Professor A. Berriedale Keith in the *Commemorative Essays presented to Bhandarkar*, p. 88, denies the possibility of either derivation. He says: "There is no identity of character in the two conceptions, and the similarity of name is far from close. The Indo-Iranian Asura has an obvious derivation from *asu*,[1] and, while the name of Aššur

[1] I am quite aware that Professor Keith alludes to another *asu* than Yāska, *Nirukta*, iii, 8, but, in speaking of the etymology of the word *asura*, we should not forget this oldest etymology known to us. Yāska says: "it is well known that he (the Creator) formed the *suras* (gods) from *su*, 'good,' in which their essence consists, and that he formed the *asuras* from *asu*, 'not good,' and that in this consists their essence." [I do not think that the question of *Asura* > or < *Aššur* is yet ripe for discussion.—F. W. T.]

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is less certainly interpreted, it is important to note that its western form seems to have been Ašir, and in Palestine we have the place-name Ašer, and among the Amorites, the sacred post, the Ašera, and the divinity which took up its abode therein."

Though I agree with Professor Keith in rejecting the etymology *Aššur* ≶ *Asura*, I am not satisfied that his reasons for rejecting it are conclusive.

But there are reasons of a phonological character which prevent us from accepting the enticing possibility of identifying the Assyrians with those mythological beings.

For, first of all, Old Indian *asura* corresponding to Avestan *ahura*, the second sound of the word must, in the time of linguistic community of the tribes speaking these languages, have been what is styled an Indo-European *s*. As a representative of Assyrian *š* we would have expected not this sound but rather that one, which the Old Indian renders by *ś*, the Avestan and Old Persian, as known to us, by *s*. In an older epoch still, the Iranians also pronounced it *ś*—this has been proved by Jacobsohn in his *Arien und Ugrofinnen*: the oldest Iranian loan-words in the Finno-Ugrian languages presuppose the existence of Iranian *ś*. Now, if the reading of *Assara Mazāš* in a record of Assurbanipal is to be relied upon, it proves that *Aššur* has nothing to do with *Assara* or *asura-ahura* whatever.

But there is another point which I think settles the question beyond all doubt.

In the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I we meet with the deity *Ahuramazda*, who in the Persian text appears as *auramazda*, in the Babylonian as $^{ilu}$*ú-ri-mi-iz-da*, in the Elamite as $^{an}$*u-ra-mas-da*. But we also meet with the Assyrians, who are called *atura* in the Persian text, $^{matu}$*áš-šur* in the Babylonian, and $^{I}$*aš-šu-ra* in the Elamite. As will be seen, in none of the three languages there exists such a phonological similarity as might speak in favour of Messrs. Chadwick's or Thomas' suggestion.

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What is of special interest is the fact that the Persians represent the *š* of *Aššur* by a sound that is believed to be identical with or approaching to New Greek *θ*.

The *Assara Mazāš* of Assurbanipal, if reliable, can help us in settling a point of sound chronology. We know that the Indo-European *s* has passed to *h* in Iranian. As *Assara Mazāš* hardly can be anything but the Old Persian deity, we must infer that in the times of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) this sound process had not yet taken place.[1] Now, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I, the *h* already appears for *s*. And thus the said phonological process must have taken place between the middle of the seventh and the end of the sixth century B.C. As the Avesta also shows *h* instead of Indo-European *s*, the Holy Books of the Parsees, as known to us, could hardly have originated in the time of Assurbanipal or earlier.

But if it should happen to be true that the Indo-European *ś* was still pronounced in Old Persian at the time of Assurbanipal, this implies also that Iranian *ś* had not yet passed to *s*. For those sounds would else have been confounded. And thus the latest epoch when the oldest Iranian loanwords of the Finno-Ugrian languages could have been borrowed would seem to be the time fixed above, viz. from about the middle of the seventh century to the end of the sixth century B.C. At any rate, this must have been earlier than Darius I, if they were borrowed from Old Persian or an Iranian language that developed parallelly with Old Persian. But this, of course, remains to be proved.

HANNES SKÖLD.

LUND.
*February, 1924.*

[1] [This argument is evidently fallacious, and the fallacy vitiates all that follows. A similar argument would prove the *s* of *Paris* to be still pronounced in France. We do not know when the Assyrians and Babylonians first heard of Aśura Mazdā.—F. W. T.]

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## NOTE ON *JRAS.*, P. 136

The reviewer appears to have confounded, as is frequently done, the author of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* with the Kūfī grammarian 'Alī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisā'ī, who accompanied the caliph Hārūn on his last journey to Khorāsān and died on the way in the year A.H. 189. The nisba Kisā'ī points to Persian origin and this is borne out by other scholars and traditionists. The exact date of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'ī, the author of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, is not known, but I believe I am correct in saying that he lived towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra. The reason why he did not find a place in the many books of biographies of traditionists is not far to seek. Though in the books on traditions there may be many which are spurious, the work of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh is so crammed with fables and legends that hardly any other book could contain more in the same compass. It was written for people who preferred the wonderful to the truth. The very authorities mentioned by the reviewer prepare us for a large store of inventions. While Ibn 'Abbās is in earnest, this cannot be said of Ka'b al-Aḥbār (not Akhbār, as the reviewer writes) and Wahb ibn Munabbih. The former, a convert from Judaism, brought forward a large quantity of Jewish legendary lore, which he often palmed off as being derived from the Torah; while the latter, probably also a convert from Judaism, invented similar tales and added such about the antiquities of Yemen, his native country. His knowledge about the antiquities of South Arabia was nil.

The reviewer states further that the book is one of the oldest books on tradition, which is a clear error, as is evident from the date of the author stated above. However, to make the point clear I should like to state that at the date assigned by the reviewer no *books* on traditions existed in the sense we understand it. While the century that followed produced an endless number, it was the acknowledged practice that traditions were handed down *orally*, and it is frequently stated as a reproach to traditionists that they *wrote* their

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traditions down. The process was, however, that certain hearers made notes of the traditions which they had heard from their Shaikhs, and these notebooks, intended to serve as a help to the memory, may probably later have served in the compilation of the canonical collections. It was considered a sign of untrustworthiness if a person recorded a tradition in later times from the jottings of a third party unless he himself could prove that he had heard them from the other person himself. For this reason we find on the earliest manuscripts the attestation of the teacher (Ijāza) that a certain person had read the book over to him. The earliest books on traditions, by which I mean those before Bukhārī, will generally be found to have been shaped into book-form by their pupils or even the pupils of the latter. I have seen two printed editions of the Musnad of Abu Ḥanīfa (died A.H. 150 or 151), but both were issued as books later than Bukhārī, while of the Muwaṭṭa' of Malik (died A.H. 179) all sixteen recensions are by his followers. The Musnad of Shāfi'ī, of which I know two different recensions, does not appear to have been definitely made into a book till long after the death of Bukhārī. The only book on tradition which has come down to us and which is older than Bukhārī is the Musnad of Tayālisī (died A.H. 204), which has been printed in Haiderabad. All these books are later than A.H. 189.

F. KRENKOW.

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# NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BĀBUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH. By ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE. 2 vols. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, lxi + 880 pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

Mrs. Beveridge, having from time to time whetted our appetite with *hors d'œuvre*, now sets before us a noble feast. The appearance of the life-story of this most attractive personality, told by himself, and presented to us in English by the greatest living authority on the man and his time, is an event in the history of Oriental studies in the West; and the book is such as might have been expected of the translator's ripe scholarship and long devotion to her subject, and is fittingly dedicated to her hero's fame.

The life of Bābur has hitherto been known to English readers chiefly from Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābur*, a work which, useful as it has been, is but a translation of a translation. Mrs. Beveridge has gone to the fountain-head, and the result of her labours convinces us that she has, by long and deep study, so identified herself with her model that we have before us his thoughts and his deeds as he expressed and described them, and that we have before us the man as he was.

Her subject is worthy of her devotion. Even from the translations already in our hands, Persian and English, it was recognized that the *Bābur-nāma*, in its simplicity, sincerity, and complete absence of affectation, stood alone among Oriental biographies and histories; but Mrs. Beveridge gives us a more complete and faithful portrait of the soldier, poet, man of letters, boon companion, and practical philosopher to the study of whose life she has devoted herself, and a very lovable character he is. A king, beset by enemies before he was twelve; four years later a conqueror almost immediately compelled to relinquish his conquest and reduced to such

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misery that he "could not help crying bitterly"; but ordinarily cheerful and even gay under the most severe hardships and the bitterest disappointments: surely none born to a throne ever tasted more of "the hot and the cold of fate". His deep grief for departed friends, his gaiety, enhanced by, but not dependent on wine, his generosity, his patience, the æsthetic sense which could expatiate on the beauties of a scene amid sufferings and privations, the courtesy which invited but never urged a guest to drink, endear the man to us and enable us to appreciate Mirza Haidar's eulogy, quoted by Mrs. Beveridge, "Bābur . . . at a time so provoking, gay, generous, affectionate, simple, and gentle."

Not the least of his merits as an author is his observation, usually so accurate that his remark that Hindūstānis sometimes drop a vowel, saying *khabr* for *khabar* and *Aṣd* for *Asad*, comes as a surprise. The tendency now is the reverse, and natives of the Panjāb and Hindūstān find so much difficulty in pronouncing two consonants together that they will usually say *'ilam* for *'ilm*, *'aqal* for *'aql*, *chasham* for *chashm*, and *shamas* for *shams*, though they will write and point the words correctly. That this intolerance of two "quiescent" consonants together is nothing new is shown by the tendency of Hindī to insert short consonants not found in the corresponding Sanskrit words.

The book is not entirely free from blemishes, mostly typographical. Among these are the occasional misplacement of the letter *'ain* and the *hamza*, as in *t'alīm*, *Yaq'ūb*, and *Qu'rān*; and a few errors of transliteration, such as *saiyār* for *siyar*, *nū-roz* for *naurūz*, *nashka* for *nuskha*, *kasht* for *kusht*, and *Qalāt* for *Kalāt*. We must protest, too, against the transliteration Badāyūnī. The historian took his territorial name from the town of Budāon, which is so spelt and pronounced, and it would be as reasonable to write the name of a neighbouring town *Āyūnla* as to write *Badāyūn*. *Bī murād*, too, does not mean "against his will", but "without attaining his object"; *bī bāqī* cannot mean "without fear" (*bāk*).

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These remarks are made in no spirit of carping criticism, and the slight blemishes noticed in no way diminish the deep debt of gratitude owed by Oriental scholars to Mrs. Beveridge for her careful, exhaustive, and masterly study of one of the most attractive characters in the history of Islām.

W. H.

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GEMS OF CHINESE LITERATURE. By HERBERT A. GILES, Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. 11 × 8½, xiv + 287 pp. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1922.

This handsome second edition of the "Gems" has been carefully revised, and by many additional translations has been doubled in size and brought down to the present day. Beyond question, these accessories of pearl-powder and carmine have not failed to accentuate the charms of the original edition, albeit these were of unusual attraction. And I do not know really who is most to be congratulated, the translator or the translated. The translator, because with the exception of his *Chinese-English Dictionary*, a monument of massive labour and learning, but naturally devoted only to the student, *Gems of Chinese Literature* will probably of all his works represent him at his best, exhibiting him as a great interpreter and conciliator between the mentalities and ideals of the East and West. While the thin shades of the translated must feel an almost genial breath from the upper world, as their long silent words, though in a strange and unknown tongue, echo once more among the haunts of men. And though in his original preface Professor Giles repeats "that translators are but traitors at the best", the fidelity to the spirit of these originals that he has maintained is as striking in the final accomplishment as it must have been exacting in the process of sympathetic transfer.

All of these specimens are gems of prose, not of poetry. Eighty-eight authors have been illustrated, ranging from the



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Duke of Chou, in the twelfth century B.C., to Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, still living, and we trust "flourishing". Of all these extracts there is but one that had better, I think, have been omitted. It is headed "A broken oath", and whether kept or broken, the text of the oath can hardly claim to be a Gem of Literature.

Let me rather end this brief notice of an admirable collection by drawing attention to the charming allegory of the Peach-blossom Fountain on pp. 162–3, with its waft of Hans Christian Andersen.

L. C. HOPKINS.

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THE TRAVELS OF FA-HSIEN (A.D. 399–414), OR RECORD OF THE BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS. Retranslated by H. A. GILES. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$, xvi + 96 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

The pioneer of Chinese pilgrimage to India appeals to all who take pleasure in tales of adventure. It is primarily as a book of travel that Professor Giles now presents Fa-hsien; for he gives a bare translation ungarnished with foot-notes, Chinese characters, or other additions likely to hinder the general reader from full enjoyment of the narrative. A fine tale it is, and this handy volume is bound to be widely welcomed.

Much has already been written on Fa-hsien's travels, and much remains to be written on them both as an eyewitness's account of India and as a pious devotee's record of the Buddhist religion fifteen centuries ago. The first published version in an European language was that of Rémusat in 1836. Klaproth had worked on the book as early as 1816, and it was he who shaped a rough draft of part of Rémusat's translation, and finally prepared it for press with the aid of Landresse. An English version of it, with still more notes, was brought out at Calcutta by J. W. Laidlay twelve years later. Twenty years after that Beal's first translation appeared. In 1877 Professor Giles' former translation was published in

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*The Shanghai Courier*, and again in book form under the title *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Professor Giles in his preface stated that he had "not spared the feelings of Mr. Beal", and, indeed, he had not; for his criticism was ruthlessly severe. Some sixty pages of the *China Review* for 1879–80 were taken up by Watters in discussing mainly the respective merits of the two translations. Unfortunately that distinguished scholar did not himself provide a translation. Beal included a revised version of the *Travels* in the introduction to his *Buddhist Records of the Western World* of 1884. Two years later Legge published a translation annotated with a Corean recension of the Chinese text.

W. Perceval Yetts.

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## Some Recent Persian Books

The trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" have inaugurated their "New Series" (N.S.) with two Persian texts, the one geographical and the other historical, as follows:

The Fárs-náma of Ibnu'l-Balkhí. Edited by G. le Strange and R. A. Nicholson. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series I. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxxii + 199. Printed at the Cambridge University Press. London: Luzac, 1921.

This old and important account of the province of Fárs, compiled early in the twelfth century by a little-known author, whom, for want of a more definite name, his editors denote as Ibnu'l-Balkhí, is represented in Europe only by two MSS., the old thirteenth century Codex of the British Museum (Or. 5983) and the Paris MS., which is only a modern copy of it, made, apparently, for the late M. Ch. Schefer, whose library of Persian books, both manuscript and lithographed, was probably the finest from the literary point of view ever brought together by a private collector. To Mr. G. le Strange belongs the merit of first calling attention to Ibnu'l-Balkhí's valuable work, of which he published a translation in this

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*Journal* in 1912 (pp. 1–30, 311–39, 865–89), afterwards embodied in Vol. XIV of the Society's Monographs. In the preparation of the text, now at last rendered available to students, he has had the valuable co-operation of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, whose name is a guarantee of accurate and scholarly work. Besides geographical material, the book contains a great deal of ancient legend and history, and is provided with full indices of personal and place names and of books cited, an alphabetical list of archaic forms and unusual words found in the British Museum MS., and an illuminating introduction in English, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars.

THE RÁḤATU'Ṣ ṢUDÚR OF AR-RÁWANDÍ. By MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ALÍ . . . AR-RÁWANDÍ. Edited, with Notes, Glossary, and Indices, by MUḤAMMAD IQBÁL. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series II. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xlii + ٥٧٥ pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

This detailed and authoritative history of the Saljúq dynasty, from its rise in the early eleventh to its fall at the end of the twelfth century of the Christian era, is contemporary with the latest events recorded, and is represented by a single MS., copied in 635/1238, which originally formed part of the late M. Ch. Schefer's unrivalled Persian library, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Suppl. Pers.* 1314). The original was very carefully copied by Mírzá Káẓimzáda in 1913, but nearly ten years elapsed before an opportunity of printing the text arose. It was then taken in hand by Dr. Muḥammad Iqbál, then a Government of India Research Student at Cambridge, who, after much patient and judicious work, has finally produced a text worthy of the best traditions of Oriental scholarship, in spite of the difficulties which are inseparable from editing a text from a single MS. A scholarly preface deals with (1) the author; (2) the contents and sources of the book; (3) some of the later histories that borrow directly or indirectly from the present work; (4) orthographical and grammatical peculiarities of the book. It is also furnished with

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full indices of names of persons, places, and books mentioned in the text. The numerous and extensive quotations from early Persian poets, seldom available in so old a MS., give the book a special literary value. In all 2,799 verses are quoted, of which no less than 676 are from the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí. These the editor has, as far as possible, identified and traced in Turner Macan's edition. The historical portion of the work ends on p. 405 of the text, and is followed by dissertations on Chess (pp. 405–16) with diagrams; Wine-drinking (pp. 416–28); Archery and Riding (pp. 428–31); Hunting (pp. 431–7); Calligraphy (pp. 437–47), with illustrations; and the method of Divination called *al-Ghálib wa'l-Maghlúb* ("Victor and Vanquished").

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY IN ṢÚFISM. Three lectures delivered in the University of London. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 77 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1923.

This little book contains the revised and annotated text of three lectures delivered in the University of London (School of Oriental Studies) last summer by Dr. Nicholson. Its chief purpose, he tells us, "is to show, by means of examples chosen from the literature, that Ṣúfism, or Mohammedan Mysticism, is not necessarily pantheistic, but often bears the marks of a truly personal religion inspired by a personal God." No one can speak with greater authority on this subject than the author, whose fine scholarship includes not only Arabic and Persian, but also (a qualification of great importance for all researches in Islamic philosophy) Greek, thanks to which he was able to show in one of his earliest published works (*Selected Odes from the Díwán of Shams-i-Tabríz*) how great an influence Neo-Platonism exerted on Muhammadan thought, especially in this realm. Since then he has given us in text (e.g. the *Kitábu'l-Luma'*) or translation (e.g. the *Kashfu'l-Maḥjúb*) some of the oldest and hitherto

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least known manuals of Ṣúfí doctrine; and, indeed, he and M. Louis Massignon (on whose profound and illuminating studies of that wonderful mystic Ḥusayn ibn Manṣúr al-Ḥalláj he freely draws) have done more than any other living Orientalists to present us with a picture of Ṣúfism at once sympathetic and scientific, far in advance of the vague generalizations of an earlier generation. The old notion that Ṣúfism was a "reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion" tended to divert attention from the very important part played in its development, if not by Arabs, at least by men of Arabian speech, such as the great Egyptian mystical poet, 'Umar ibnu'l-Fárid, and the Maghribí "Doctor Maximus" (*ash-Shaykhu'l-Akbar*) Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, whose influence, even at the present day, is after seven centuries still potent throughout the Islamic world. To these Dr. Nicholson does full justice, and from their works he draws many of his illustrations.

PERSIAN LITERATURE: AN INTRODUCTION. By R. LEVY, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Oxford. Language and Literature Series. Edited by C. T. Onions. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 112 pp. Oxford University Press, 1923.

It requires some courage to endeavour to compress into about a hundred small pages even an outline of the literary history of Persia from the time of Cyrus to the present day. This is what Mr. Levy has attempted, and it must be admitted that, so far as the limitations imposed on him allowed, he has accomplished his task with wonderful success. Four periods are distinguished, the pre-Islamic (558 B.C.–A.D. 650, pp. 5–16); the 'Abbásid Caliphate (A.D. 750–1258, pp. 16–53); the Mongol and Tartar Domination (A.D. 1258–1500, pp. 53–86); and the Modern Period (A.D. 1500–1910, pp. 86–103). The book concludes with a short but well-considered bibliography and an adequate index. Brief as it is, the book is not a mere compilation, but bears the traces of original thought and wide reading, and the author has avoided the fault common to

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so many writers on Persian literature of thinking only of the poets and of assuming that there is no literature, worth speaking of after the time of Jámí (circ. A.D. 1500). Of contemporary poets, Mr. Levy mentions Bahár of Mashhad, Sayyid Ashraf of Gílán, and 'Árif (not *'Ásif*, as it is misprinted on p. 103), but omits the more versatile and talented "Dakhaw" (= *Dih-khudá*, "Squire") of Qazwín, whose prose satires, published in the *Charand-parand* ("Charivari") columns of the unhappily deceased *Súr-i-Isráfíl*, marked an absolutely new departure in style; and whose poetry included on the one hand the really beautiful and touching elegy on his friend and former editor, Mírzá Jahángír Khán, a victim of the *coup d'état* of 23rd June, 1908, and the rollicking buffoonery of "Kabláy". Since the war, Berlin has become one of the chief centres of Persian intellectual progress, as shown by the very high critical level attained by the now deceased newspaper *Káwa* ("Kaveh") of the "New (i.e. post-war) Cycle" (1920–1), and the remarkable work accomplished by the "Kaviani" Press, of which something must now be said.

### Publications of the "Kaviani" Press, Berlin.[1]

This Press, financed and managed by Persians desirous of producing good and cheap Persian books, both classics and modern educational works, offering correct and well-printed texts, provided, where necessary, with the requisite indices and *apparatus criticus*, has in the last year or two published some dozen volumes. These include three Persian plays by the late Prince Malkom Khán, for many years Persian Minister in London; a reprint of Ḥamza of Iṣfahán's (Arabic) history of the pre-Islamic kings of Persia; a treatise on Persian music; a German-Persian Dictionary containing 30,000 words; a Persian Wall-calendar for the current solar year; a "Boys' Guide" (*Rahnumá-yi-Pisarán*); and a "Farmers' Guide" (*Rahnumá-yi-Dihqán*), besides four of the older classical

[1] This Press is located at 43 Leibnizstrasse, Charlottenburg, Berlin. Its publications can be obtained from Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

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works, viz. the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí, the "Cat and the Mouse" (*Músh u gurba*) of 'Ubayd-i-Zákání, and two volumes of the works of that great poet, thinker, and traveller, Náṣir-i-Khusraw, particulars of whose life and work will be found in the *JRAS.* for 1915 (Vol. XXXVI). The first of these two volumes contain the prose *Safar-náma* ("Travels") and the two poems entitled respectively the *Sa'ádat-náma* ("Book of Happiness") and the *Rawshaná'í-náma* ("Book of Illumination"), all of which had been previously published, the first by Schefer, the second by Fagnan, and the third by Ethé. These first editions are now, however, almost unobtainable, and the present edition offers a more correct text and a much needed index to the *Safar-náma*. The second volume contains the hitherto unpublished *Zádu'l-Musáfirín* ("Pilgrims' Provision"), of which two manuscripts (one in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, the other in the Library of King's College, Cambridge) are known to exist, and which contains a very detailed exposition of the religious and philosophical views of that great missionary of the Isma'ílí branch of the Shí'a.

E. G. B.

## Books on India and Central Asia

1. L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra. Tome II, second fascicule. Par A. Foucher. 11×7, 409 pp., 331 plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1922.
2. Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne. Par Robert Gauthiot. Première partie, phonétique. 9×5½, xi + xviii+183 pp., 2 maps. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1914–23.
3. Die Zehn Prinzen, ein indischer Roman von Dandin, vollständig verdeutscht. Von Johannes Hertel. Three vols., 7×4¾, 182, 209, 140 pp. Leipzig: Haessel, 1922.
4. Bombay: A History of the Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations, 1660–77. By Shafaat Ahmad Khan. 9½×6¾, 155 pp. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1923.

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5. EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN. 9×6, vii+325 pp. Oxford University Press, 1923.

6. CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. $11\frac{3}{4}\times8\frac{3}{4}$, 150 pp., 86 plates. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1923.

7. PORTFOLIO OF INDIAN ART. Edited by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 108 plates, with 108 pp. of letterpress. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (also New York: E. Weyhe, and others).

8. JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA. Vol. X. $10\times6\frac{1}{2}$, 360 pp. Calcutta: University Press, 1923.

9. ETERNAL TRUTH. By JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{2}$, 187 pp. Aligarh: Sat Gyan Prakashak Mandir, 1923.

10. ARCHÆOLOGY OF CEYLON, ANNUAL REPORT, 1921–2. By H. M. HOCART. $13\times8\frac{1}{4}$, 12 pp., with 11 plates. Colombo: Cottle, 1923.

11. ANTIQUITIES OF BHIMBAR AND RAJAURI: REPORT OF A TOUR BY RAM CHANDRA KAK (Supt. Arch. Jammu and Kashmir). 13×10, ii+16+iii pp., 12 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1923.

12. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA (SIR JOHN MARSHALL) FOR 1920–21. $13\times10\frac{1}{4}$, 57 pp., 20 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1923.

13. INDIAN EPHEMERIS. By L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI. Eight vols., $12\times8\frac{1}{2}$, 413 pp. in each vol. Madras: Government Press, 1923.

1. A work by M. Foucher always marks an epoch, and one feels that an apology is due to the distinguished author for reviewing in a few lines a volume which should have several pages to itself. There is, however, this consolation, that a book from his pen does not need a review. Scholars require

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merely to be told that a new volume has appeared, and they know what qualities to expect. This "second fascicule" on the Græco-Buddhist Art of Gandhāra contains the history of that art, the wonderful story of the rise, efflorescence, and decline (one cannot say "death", for its spirit lives still) of that remarkable school. M. Foucher, with the lucidity of thought and charm of style which are characteristic of him, unfolds the history of the meeting of Hellenism, arising out of the conquests of Alexander, with Buddhism pushing its way north owing to the missionary efforts of Aśoka, and shows how there grew up, not in Takṣaśilā, where superficially it might have been expected, but in Gandhāra, fitted for it by various circumstances, that school of artistic reproduction which influenced all India until the time of Muhammadan power, and Ceylon, Tibet, Indochina, Japan, and China, down to the present day. Its foundations must be looked for in the first century B.C., it was at its best in the second century A.D., and began to decline in the third century. No one could then have foreseen the greatness and extent of its influence on India and other eastern countries.

One of the striking facts brought out is that the representation of Buddha is due to the Gandhāra school. Previously he had been implied, but not represented, and all the later images of the Madhyadeśa and other parts of India show traces of the original Gandhāra sculptures. Indianists, M. Foucher says, will not be pleased to hear this, will not wish to admit it, but the "tranquille insolence des faits" allows of no other conclusion. To change the idiom, "facs are chiels that winna ding." The argument is relentlessly followed to its conclusion—these images are the prototype of all known images of Buddha.

The volume is fully illustrated throughout, and one is able to follow the argument by studying the photographs. The work in its completeness is one which it seems almost an impertinence to praise, for it is useless to "paint the lily or gild refined gold".

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2. The Sogdian Grammar by the late Robert Gauthiot, whose lamented death deprived us of one of the foremost of Iranian scholars, ought to have been reviewed at greater length than is possible in this series of brief notices. By a fortunate providence the leaves of this work were preserved during the burning of that part of Louvain where it was housed. The chain of circumstances which have led to our present knowledge of this ancient language can only be thought of as a linguistic romance. An article on the language by Dr. Cowley appeared in the January number of the *Journal* for 1911, followed by articles from the pen of Gauthiot himself in April, 1911, and April, 1912. One has merely to read those articles in order to realize the distance which was travelled in the next couple of years—for this grammar was nearly all written by the end of 1914. The Sogdians lived in the region round about Bukhāra, Samarqand, and Tāshqand. Herodotus calls them Σόγδοι. From Strabo we learn that they spoke a form of Scythian, a non-Persian, but certainly Iranian language. They were agriculturists and traders, and held a position of great importance for many hundreds of years. They finally disappeared along with their language. It is now being recovered, as this brilliant monograph testifies. We realize that it is difficult to place limits upon the information which an earnest scholar can derive from a small amount of material. It is gratifying to know that a second volume—on morphology, may shortly be expected from the pen of E. Benvéniste.

3. *Die Zehn Prinzen* is a translation of the well-known Sanskrit prose work by Daṇḍī. It is printed in three volumes. The first contains an interesting introduction, while the last is given up to appendixes of various kinds, including a discussion of the personality of the author, his object in writing the book, the authenticity of the central portion of the story, and other matters. It contains also genealogical trees, bibliography, and a full index. What may be called the original work has three parts, viz. *pūrva pīṭhikā, daśa kumāra chārita*, and *uttara pīṭhikā*, of which the first and third are not believed

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to be Daṇḍi's work, while some of the second portion is doubtful. It dates probably from the fifth or sixth century A.D. No work could be better adapted for giving us an insight into life in India in the fifth century. Its clear characterization of all classes, kings and courtiers, priests and common people, and its intrinsic interest stamp it as a work of considerable power. The author's real name is unknown. Daṇḍī is a mere title, meaning either mace-bearer (staff-bearer) or, perhaps, door-keeper. It is a pity that the translator has not inserted diacritical marks. They would have been useful if not in the actual story, at least in the introduction and appendixes. However, this is a small blemish in a work of such thoroughness and ability.

4. Mr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan is the author of the two historical volumes under review. He is Professor of History in the University of Allahabad. "Bombay" is reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*, Ser. III, vol. x (September, 1922). It is a full account of Anglo-Portuguese negotiations relating to Bombay during the years 1660–77, and is largely the story of the East India Company and its connexion with Charles II and Oliver Cromwell, and the relations which subsisted between the Portuguese and all three parties. The author has studied the original documents, and has extracted from them what was germane to his subject. We are taken back to the times of "Oranzeeb" and "Savajed" (under which name it is difficult to recognize Shivaji), and these great historical figures are no longer dim with age, but move over the scene instinct with life. It is a painstaking and valuable record of the history of Bombay at an important period of its existence.

5. The volume which treats of East Indian trade in the seventeenth century is more ambitious in its aim. It is less a historical than an economic treatise. In it we see that the absorbing topics of the twentieth century were discussed with equal vigour 300 years ago. Free Trade and Protection, the question of money—is it a commodity or is it treasure, or, again, is it a mere medium of exchange? These and other

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matters were eagerly, even fiercely, debated then as they are now. The volume before us is a serious contribution to the economic history of England for a hundred years. It was the century which took England from James I through the reigns of Charles I and Charles II and through the Protectorate to William III, and which incidentally saw the country shaking off semi-mediævalism and emerging into the condition which we recognize as modern England. The author has given full quotations from the documents (a list of them may be found in the index); we learn the economic views of various important persons, and the attitude of the Stuart kings and of Cromwell to the East India Company. Only Charles II appears to have been personally interested in the Company. The author rejects Hunter's opinion that Cromwell was markedly favourable to it. He did indeed grant it a charter, but he failed to give it any support. Both volumes show ability and are characterized by a genuine attempt at impartiality.

6, 7. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is to be congratulated upon these two sumptuous volumes. The Catalogue is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction in which the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religions are discussed briefly and very forcefully. But why does Dr. Coomaraswamy say that Kaikeyi was the mother-in-law of Ram? The second part gives us a useful account of Indian sculpture, with a descriptive catalogue of specimens in the Museum. The third part consists of a series of eighty-six photographic plates beautifully executed. Each of the first two parts is followed by a good bibliography. The Portfolio contains 108 loose plates illustrating the sculptures and other objects of Indian art belonging to the Museum. Each plate is accompanied by a loose page of description which states *inter alia* where, if anywhere, a photograph of the same object has already been published. The talented editor is one of a rapidly increasing band of Indian scholars who are devoting themselves to scientific study of the literature and art of their homeland.

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8. The *Journal of the Department of Letters of Calcutta University* affords an opportunity for Indian scholars to make public the results of their studies and encourages the scientific spirit. In the 360 pages of which this number consists are to be found a number of articles on very diverse subjects, all of them interesting and some of real value. The two most important are Early Buddhist Monasticism, by Sukumar Dutt (172 pp.), and Gurjura-Pratīhāras, by R. C. Majumdar (76 pp.). The former discusses his subject in great detail, and shows, the "modernity" of the customs of ancient times, as, for example, in the matter of freedom of thought and even speech. Reference is much facilitated by a careful division of the matter into chapters. We are never tired of hearing the story of the Gujars, and Mr. Majumdar is to be congratulated on the acumen with which he marshals his facts. His spelling of modern place-names might be improved. He writes *Shāharanpur* for *Sahāranpur*, *Mirāt* for *Meraṭh*, *Jumnā* for *Jamnā* (*Jamunā*), *Punjāb* for *Panjāb*. "Jumna" and "Punjab" might be passed if they were printed without the diacritical mark.

Another article worth reading is that on the Religion of Asoka, by Manindra Mohan Bose. Mr. Abinascandra Das deals with the Art of Writing in Ancient India. Much that he says is of interest, but he mars his work by special pleading. Thus we read: "Whatever may be the views of European scholars, we cannot admit that the Brāhmi script was brought to India from abroad." This may be laudable in a patriotic society, but in a scholarly journal we look for a willingness to form conclusions upon evidence. Again, he repeatedly speaks of the "perfect alphabet of the Brāhmi script", forgetting that everything human is imperfect. He holds that the Brāhmi script was in regular use when the earliest Vedic hymns were composed.

9. *Eternal Truth* is a theological and metaphysical treatise written to prove pantheistic monism. "Every form of matter and every form of soul has come out of primal reality and is

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bound to dissolve into it." Two examples of his arguments may be of interest. (1) In support of metempsychosis :—why should God take the trouble to create new souls ? It would be much more economical to let one soul do for several bodies. (2) In support of soul-dissolution :—if there were no dissolution the "globe would get piled up with souls". The author is sometimes in danger of a mistake against which he warns the reader—of letting illustration take the place of argument. The book closes with a fervent prayer to Ram.

10–12. We have before us three Archæological Reports. The Ceylon report is very brief, but it helps us to realize the difficulties with which all such work is associated. Lack of funds, insufficiency of trained workers, dissipation of energy in the humdrum task of police supervision in order to protect ancient buildings from deliberate damage—these are negative items, little thought of by the outside public, which take up a great deal of the attention of the Department. The photographs are good.

The report of the tour south of the Pīr Panjāl range is extremely attractive, and if the author has not sought assistance in the writing of it, he must be congratulated on his excellent command of our language, and the Jammu and Kashmir Darbar is to be congratulated on having so well equipped an Archæological Department. The photographs are unusually good. The Pīr Panjāl route to Kashmir, which was once the most frequented of all, is now seldom traversed by Europeans. These pictures, with their accompanying letter-press, will draw attention to a route which though somewhat rough is well worth following not only for the Mughal remains scattered here and there upon it, but for the views to be obtained from the hills which have to be climbed.

The Annual Report of Archæology in India is an unvarnished account of what is being done to conserve old monuments and buildings and to explore sites where there is promise of good results. The photographs in several instances show ruins both before and after conservation, and enable even

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a neophyte to appraise the remarkable skill with which apparently hopeless masses of debris are made to yield up their secret. It must be a matter of legitimate pride to Sir John Marshall that during his tenure of office the department has made such great discoveries and preserved so much that would have been lost. The remarks on "archæological chemistry", a highly specialized science, are of special interest.

13. *Indian Ephemeris* is a work of what appears to the layman at least to be stupendous labour. For the sake of epigraphists and historical students Mr. Pillai has given in parallel columns all dates from A.D. 700 to 1999, according to various eras, including the Christian and the Muslim. All the *tithis* and *nakshatras* are calculated to two places of decimals. Full information is given about Hindu fasts and feasts, the casting of horoscopes, lunar and solar months, and other matters of interest to the chronologist. The author has already written a volume on Indian Chronology—solar, lunar, and planetary—from 3703 B.C. to A.D. 2000. He expresses his gratitude to the Madras Government for their assistance in publication. All who study epigraphy and history are under a great obligation to the learned author for this admirable work.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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## Indica

1. GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. Nos. XX, XXIV. $9\frac{5}{8}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, i, 69, 148, 174; 15, 84 pp. Baroda, 1923.
2. THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASWATI BHAVANA TEXTS, Nos. 1–6, and THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASVATI BHAVANA STUDIES, Vols. 1, 2. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{4}$. Benares, 1920–3.

In No. XX of the "Gaekwad's Oriental Series" we have the text of Dhanapāla's Bhavisayatta-kahā, a Jain story in twenty-two cantos of Apabhraṃśa verse, edited by Messrs. C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune. It has previously been published by Professor Jacobi (Abh. d. philos.-philolog. Klasse of the

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Munich Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. xxix, Abh. 4, 1918), and thus is the first considerable work in Apabhraṃśa that has been printed. The present edition is based upon a better MS. than that used by Jacobi, and is furnished with an introduction treating of the story of the poem, the grammar of Apabhraṃśa, the metres, and Apabhraṃśa literature, and with explanatory notes, while a glossary at the end presents the words found in the text with their Sanskrit equivalents where possible, and in many cases the corresponding Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindi words. The work therefore should be a very useful and valuable contribution to the study of that exceedingly important and still imperfectly known stage of linguistic evolution which linked the older Prakrits to the modern vernaculars; but unluckily its value is considerably impaired by its technical shortcomings. As both Mr. Dalal, who prepared the text, and Mr. Gune, who completed the work with the introduction, notes, and glossary, were removed by death before the publication of the book, we are unwilling to dwell upon these points; but it must be confessed that the work is badly in need of revision. The introduction contains some valuable information, but it swarms with slips and misprints, and on p. 46 a whole paragraph is out of place, and should be on the next page; the corrigenda to the text cover eight pages, but they are by no means exhaustive; and the glossary gives in most cases no references to the places where the words occur in the text, besides mixing up *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas* in the corresponding vernacular words. No. XXIV of the same series is the Tantra-rahasya, consisting of five chapters by an otherwise unknown pandit of Dharmapuri named Rāmânujâcārya, which form an introduction to a Sanskrit commentary upon the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra. Whether the author carried his work further than this introduction is unknown. The present chapters throw considerable light upon the arcana of their subject, and are adequately edited with an English introduction by Dr. R. Shamashastry.

Although "The Pandit" and "Indian Thought" are now



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defunct, students of the profounder branches of Saṁskrit literature may find some *solatiolum sui doloris* in the "Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Texts" and "Studies" edited by Gaṅgānātha Jhā and Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, *par nobile*. Of the texts, No. 1 contains Padmanābha's Kiraṇâvalī-bhāskara, a commentary on Udayana's famous Kiraṇâvalī; No. 2 Raṅgōjī's Advaita-cintāmaṇi, a treatise on monism; No. 3 the great Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Vēdânta-kalpa-latikā, on the same theme; No. 4 Varadarāja's Kusumâñjali-bōḍhaṇī, upon the Kusumâñjali; No. 5 Vādîndra's Rasa-sāra, a Vaiśēṣika work expounding the Guṇa-kiraṇâvalī; and No. 6 Maṇḍana Miśra's Mīmāṁsā work Bhāvanā-viv ēka with Bhaṭṭa Umbēka's commentary. Of these, Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are edited by Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, No. 2 by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste, No. 3 by Rāmâjñā Pāṇḍēya, and No. 6 by Gaṅgānātha Jhā. The Studies contain some interesting articles on various themes of philosophy, law, and religion by both the editors and other scholars, and also include an edition of a new Bhakti-sūtra by Gōpīnātha Kavirāja, an English translation by the same of the Nyāya-kusumâñjali, etc.

3. Hymns from the Rigveda. Selected and metrically translated by A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. The Heritage of India Series. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$, 98 pp. Calcutta and London, 1923.
4. Vedic Hymns. Translated from the Rigveda with introduction and notes by Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. Wisdom of the East. $6\frac{3}{4}\times5$, 128 pp. London: J. Murray, 1923.
5. Das Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl. Text, Übersetzung, Indices von W. Caland. Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Dl. i, N.R., Dl. xix, No. 4. $10\frac{1}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$, 326 pp. Amsterdam, 1919.
6. Das Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra. Herausgegeben von E. Hultzsch. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Abhand-

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lungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xvi Band, No. 2. $9\frac{1}{4}\times6$, xi+168 pp. Leipzig, 1922.

7. The Jaiminigṛhyasūtra belonging to the Sāmaveda, with extracts from the commentary [of Śrinivāsa Adhvarin]. Edited, with an introduction, and translated for the first time into English by Dr. W. Caland. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. II. $9\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{1}{4}$, xii, 80, 62, i pp. Lahore, 1922.

8. Brihaspati Sutra, or The science of politics according to the school of Brihaspati. Edited, with an introduction and English translation, by Dr. F. W. Thomas. . . . The Devanagari text prepared from his edition (in Roman script) . . . by Pt. Bhagavad Datta, B.A. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. I. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$, 20, iii, 32, 31 pp. Lahore, 1921.

The little books of Professor Macdonell and Dr. Thomas are exceedingly welcome. Each of them presents an admirably selected *florilegium* of typical Ṛgvedic hymns in excellent translations, the former (40 *sûktas*) in verse and the latter (61 hymns and excerpts from hymns) in prose, with introductions. No better means could be found to interest the general reader in the Ṛgvēda than these volumes of selections; tasteful and lucid in style, they have all the advantages of sound scholarship without any of the literary deficiencies that are usually attached to it.

In the absence of manuscript material adequate for a definitive edition of the Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Professor Caland has done the next best thing: he has produced an admirable volume of excerpts, with translation and indices.[1] The Jaiminīya has the same features as other Brāhmaṇas: while it is full of dreary ritualistic fantasies,

[1] We regret that our notice is so belated; but the book only reached us a few days before these lines were written.

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it is, on the other hand, often most interesting as a document of early Sanskrit prose; it contains many important hints as to the development of religious thought, and the wealth of persons and places mentioned in it supplies considerable materials for history. Dr. Caland's admirable scholarship, unrivalled in this domain, finds abundant scope in the selection, critical constitution, translation, and elucidation of these extracts, which form a remarkably rich repertory of brahmanic lore.

In preparing the new edition of the Baudhâyana-dharma-sūtra, Professor Hultzsch has been able to use seven MSS. and the Mysore edition of 1907 to supplement the materials that were at his disposal for the first edition. For critical purposes these accessions have not been very fruitful, and the editor is justified in lamenting that the textual tradition still remains faulty and uncertain. However, he has handled his somewhat unsatisfactory materials with his usual skill and soundness of critical judgment, and the text of this important law-book which he here presents is incontestably the best that is under the circumstances possible.

Professor Caland's edition of the Jāimini-gṛhya-sūtra contains a reprint in Nāgarī script of the Roman text published by him in the Verhandelingen of the Akademie van Wetenschappen (Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., dl. vi, No. 2), with the addition of a translation, etc. The text as here presented shows a few misprints, and the divisions of paragraphs have been omitted; but in spite of these minor imperfections the book will be very useful to students of Hindu domestic religion.

The Bṛhaspati-sūtra, also termed Bārhaspatya-artha-śāstra, is likewise a Nāgarī reprint of a text previously edited in Roman script, the latter having been published in the Muséon for 1916, sér. III, tome 1, No. 2. Dr. Thomas, who has accomplished his difficult task with much skill, is probably right in holding that this "brief and strangely disjointed exposition" of the science of polity is only remotely derived from the ancient Bārhaspatya school, and at any rate in parts

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must be as late as the twelfth century.[1] It is, however, interesting, though often rather obscure, on account of its references to social and religious conditions.

9. THE VIRĀṬAPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Edited from original manuscripts as a tentative work with critical and explanatory notes and an introduction by NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A. With three illustrations drawn by SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. 10×7, i, i, lvi, 534, 146, 286, 24, xxviii, 6 pp. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1923.

10. DER PRETAKALPA DES GARUḌA-PURĀṆA (NAUNIDHIRĀMA'S SĀRODDHĀRA). Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens . . . übersetzt und mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices versehen von EMIL ABEGG. 9½×6, x+272 pp. Berlin and Leipzig, 1921.

The above edition of the Virāṭa-parvan is the firstfruits of the labours which have been in progress for several years for the purpose of producing a sound critical text of the Mahābhārata, and is offered tentatively, as a specimen of the method on which it is proposed to edit the text of the great epic, subject to such improvements as may be suggested by critics of this volume. It contains (1) an introduction by the editor, Mr. Utgikar, explaining the critical method that he has followed, (2) the text of Vp. with *apparatus criticus* in two divisions of footnotes, the upper one containing readings of MSS. and editions of the Northern Recension and the lower one giving readings of MSS. and editions of the Southern Recension, (3) English explanatory notes, (4) an appendix containing lines found in MSS. and editions of both recensions

[1] Among the features of the language of this work noted by Dr. Thomas is substitution of neuters for masculines, e.g. *āsavāni, upāyāni, dēvālayāni, mantrāṇi*. As he has elsewhere (*JRAS.*, 1922, p. 82) maintained that a few precisely similar forms found in the dramas of "Bhāsa" are archaic Prakrit accusative masculines, this variety of view is interesting.

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which the editor has rejected from his text, (5) supplements giving (*a*) the Rāja-vasati-khaṇḍa of the Vidhura-paṇḍita-jātaka, (*b*) quotations from Vp. found in the Javanese version, compared with the present text, and (*c*) readings of Vp. to which the commentary Viṣama-pada-vivaraṇa refers, and (6) a concordance of the verses of Vp. in this text with those of the Bombay edition of 1862 and the Kumbakoṇam edition of 1906–10. The text as now constituted is based mainly upon three MSS., which together form a group belonging to the Northern Recension, viz. (in order of merit) F., of Samvat 1493, A., of Samvat 14 (? 1400), and M., a modern transcript, supplemented by a collation of thirteen other MSS., together with printed editions, the commentaries, and the Javanese version (made from the Southern Rec. in A.D. 996). The editor has also had recourse to conjectural emendations in some cases, and has not included all lines given in FAM. "Each individual reading," he tells us (p. xvi), "is based upon its own merits, though in the majority of cases the agreement is more with FAM than with other texts; and each individual line or Śloka is admitted into the text or relegated to the Appendix, strictly in the light of the Manuscript evidence as modified by the accepted principles of textual criticism." A striking result of this method is seen when we compare the data of the Parva-saṃgraha-parvan, which states that Vp. contains 67 *adhyāyas* and 2,050 *ślōkas*. The Bombay edition of 1862 has 72 *adhyāyas* and 2,272 *ślōkas*, the Kumbakonam text 78 *adhyāyas* and 3,494 *ślōkas*; but the present text of Vp. has 67 *adhyāyas* and 2,033 *ślōkas*, and this number of 2,033 is raised to 2,050½ if we count in the 35 lines (reckoning them as 17½ *ślōkas*), which the editor, on purely aesthetic grounds, has banished to the Appendix, although they are found in every MS. and edition. These 35 lines therefore would seem to have existed in Vp. before the Parva-saṃgraha was composed, i.e. not later than *c.* A.D. 500, and the propriety of ejecting them seems open to doubt. Probably they are ancient interpolations; but at almost all times there was a

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possibility of making interpolations, and the athetization of these lines seems to us to be the first step towards a *regressus in infinitum* of arbitrary criticism.[1] We therefore venture to think that, with the still comparatively limited MS. material at his disposal, Mr. Utgikar would be well advised to keep his text provisionally within the bounds laid down by the Parva-saṃgraha. It is to be hoped, however, that the discovery of really ancient MSS. and an exhaustive study of the Southern Rec. (of which he has collated only four MSS., apart from the printed texts) will ultimately enable him to go further, and to trace with certainty the still obscure history of the epic text both in the North and in the South. Meanwhile, we must thank him for a notably able and interesting contribution to this subject; and a word of acknowledgment is also due to the Chief of Aundh, the generous and cultured patron of these researches, for his coloured illustrations, for which he has drawn inspiration from the genial fount of Ajanta.

Dr. Abegg's book is an excellent presentation of Hindu eschatology and cult of the dead according to Puranic doctrine. The Sārôddhāra prepared by Naunidhi-rāma as a summary of the Prēta-kalpa (Uttara-khaṇḍa) of the Garuḍa-purāṇa is often known by the name of the Gāruḍa-purāṇa, and is much used in funeral ceremonies; and it seems to be based upon a recension of the Gp. considerably older than the one which has been published under the latter title. Dr. Abegg's careful translation of this Sārôddhāra, furnished with copious and excellent explanatory notes, and prefaced by an introduction treating of the Gp. and its Prēta-kalpa, will be welcomed by students of Indian religion.

[1] Mr. Utgikar writes (p. xix): "The main object of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata is, in the first place, to have a text of the Mahābhārata, which contains no external interpolations, and secondly to have also a text which intrinsically approximates to the spirit and characteristics of the period to which . . . the epic is generally assigned." But the only sound test of "external interpolations" is the evidence of MSS., which in this case Mr. Utgikar overrides; and his second canon opens wide the door to a subjective "Höhere Kritik".

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11. Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics. By Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Lit. Vol. I. 9×6, xx+376 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1923.
12. The Vakrokti-jivita. A treatise on Sanskrit poetics by Rājanaka Kuntala, with his own commentary. Chapters I and II. Edited with critical notes and introduction by Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Lit. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 8. $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{4}$, xlvii+120 pp.
13. The Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha. Parichchhedas I–X, with notes on Parichchhedas I, II, X, and history of Alaṅkāra literature by P. V. Kane. Second edition. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$, clxxx, 64, 352, 142 pp. Bombay, 1923.

Dr. S. K. De is already known to readers of this *Journal* as a young scholar who has made a thorough critical study of the Indian art of poetry. His investigations have been put together so as to form a history of the subject, which is designed "to trace the development of the discipline through its fairly long and varied course of history", and accordingly he has given in the present volume of this work—after an outline of the beginnings of this study, which first appears in a rudimentary form in the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta—a careful chronology of the authors of the Alaṃkāra-śāstras, from Bharata, Bhāmaha, and Daṇḍin to the minor writers, including many of quite modern date, with a complete bibliography in each case. The book shows exhaustive research combined with sound critical judgment, and readers will look forward with eagerness to the appearance of the second and concluding volume, which is to present an historical account of the development of the various rhetorical doctrines. Another valuable contribution of Dr. De to the same study is his *editio princeps* of Chapters I and II of Kuntala's Vakrôkti-jīvita with the author's commentary, from the MS. in the Madras Government Library. Kuntala, a Kashmiri who apparently lived between (approximately) A.D. 950 and 1050, held somewhat original views on the nature of poetry, the essence of which he found to lie in the presence of *vakrôkti*,

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expression of ideas in language free from prosiness and banality, and these he embodied in his Vakrôkti-jīvita, a work which had considerable influence upon the theories of later rhetoricians. The relations of Kuntala to his predecessors and successors are fully elucidated by Dr. De in the interesting introduction which he has prefixed to his edition.

The history of the Ars Poetica which Mr. Kane has prefixed to his edition of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, though it does not attain the same degree of critical exactitude as that of Dr. De, shows wide learning, and is on the whole sound and judicious. The English notes in elucidation of books 1, 2, and 10 are excellent in their way, and the book well deserves the success which it has attained.

14. On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat. By Johannes Hertel. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, 26 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
15. Bharaṭakadvātriṃśikā: The Thirty-two Bharaṭaka Stories. Edited . . . with an introduction, variants . . . notes, and a glossary by J. Hertel. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, 55 pp. Leipzig, 1921.
16. The Pañchākhyānavārttika. Part I, containing the text. Edited by J. Hertel. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, 65 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
17. Prinz Aghata. Die Abenteuer Ambadas. Vollständig verdeutscht von Charlotte Krause. $6\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, 208 pp. Leipzig, 1922.
18. Kaufmann Tschampaka von Dschinakîrti. Pâla und Gôpâla von Dschinakîrti. Ratnatschûda von Dschnânasâgara. Vollständig verdeutscht von J. Hertel. $6\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$, 191 pp. Leipzig, 1922.

The first three of these books form Nos. 1–3 of the publications of the Indische Abteilung of the Forschungsinstitut für Indogermanistik, a series of which we hope to see more. Dr. Hertel is always interesting, and never more so than when he is handling Jain literature. What he presents here is not a bibliography—hardly any books are severally

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mentioned by name—but a survey of the nature of the Gujarati Śvētâmbaras' writings, particularly in connexion with folk-tales and Sanskrit. As he says, "during the middle-ages down to our days the Jains, and especially the Śvetāmbârs of Gujarat, were the principal story-tellers of India"; hence their works are of supreme importance for the study of the transmission of stories. Moreover, being more or less soaked with the vernacular, they have drawn from it many words and idioms; and the consideration of these facts leads Dr. Hertel to comment sorrowfully upon the contaminated state in which the Sanskrit classics have been preserved, and to plead for genuinely critical texts. He says: "We do not, in the printed editions, read the works of Vālmīki, of Kālidāsa, of Bhavabhūti, and of most of the other celebrated Sanskrit authors, but only disfigurations of their works, in whose every passage the authenticity of the wording is more than doubtful." These are strong words, but largely true, as are likewise the author's notable conclusions regarding the mutual relations between the Sanskrit of each region of India and the vernaculars spoken therein. The Bharaṭaka-dvātriṃśikā, though not altogether new, is now for the first time critically edited. The word *bharaṭaka* denotes a kind of Śaiva monks; and this little collection of thirty-two tales, as Dr. Hertel truly remarks, is designed for purposes of Jain propaganda, satirizing the Śaiva monks by means of stories illustrating their moral depravity and stupidity. The Pañcâkhyāna-vārttika is likewise a Jain work; it belongs to the Pañca-tantra cycle, and contains stories in old Gujarati attached to Sanskrit verses, mostly from the Pañca-tantra.

The next two numbers on our list form vols. iv and vii respectively in a popular series of translations, "Indische Erzähler." As they are primarily addressed to non-Orientalists, they use a popular system of transliteration of names which must be as unpleasing to the translators as it is to us; but in every other respect they are excellent, being attractive to the general reader because of their matter and

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literary merit and to the Orientalist on account of their sound scholarship. All these stories are taken from Jain Sanskrit sources. Aghaṭa is a hero of the same familiar prehistoric type as Candrahāsa, the youth of inevitable luck, but the story has been recast in a thoroughly Jain mould. The tale (or cycle) of the miracle-worker Ambaḍa, however, is plainly of Śaiva origin, and for the most part bears distinct signs of its source, having been only superficially jainized by a few mechanical additions. In her interesting appendices Dr. Krause, among other germane matters, discusses the figure of Ambaḍa in legend, the connexion of these stories with the Vikrama-tales (notably the Throne-Vētāla and the Corpse-Vētāla cycles), and the language of the text. In the last she rightly points to the presence of Gujarati influence; but several of her examples prove nothing for Gujarati, as they are equally applicable to some other vernaculars. The Campaka and Pāla-Gōpāla legends have been previously published in Sanskrit and German by Dr. Hertel (*ZDMG.*, Bd. 65, 1911; *BKSGW.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 69, 1917, Heft 4); but their reappearance in this neat and revised form is welcome. Campaka belongs to the same class of heroes as Aghaṭa and Candrahāsa, but Jinakīrti has interwoven with this story the quaint satiric theme of the Rogues' City, which is developed more fully in the legend of the young merchant Ratnacūḍa. In Pāla, Gōpāla, and their father King Mahāsēna of Ujjayinī we have historical names, but the tales attached to them are as mythical as the others. All these stories possess literary merit in varying degrees, and are moreover full of references to circumstances of daily life, superstitions, and ceremonies of ancient and medieval India, which are adequately explained in the notes. Thus these two modest little books are indeed *ἀντ' ὀλίγου μέγα δῶρον*.

19. L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu. Traduit et annoté par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Premier et deuxième chapitre. 10×6½, ii+331 pp. Paris and Louvain, 1923.

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20. ÉTUDES SUR ĀRYADEVA ET SON CATUḤŚATAKA. Chapitres viii–xvi. Par P.-L. VAIDYA. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 176 pp. Paris, 1923.

For many years the great *kōśa* of Sanskrit Buddhism has remained a sealed chamber to most students, and only to a few have been vouchsafed brief glances at its vast stores of thought. At length there has appeared in Professor Poussin the master who is enabled by his unique combination of linguistic and philosophical knowledge to make it known in its original text and in translation. Already in 1914 he made a beginning towards the publication of the text in his *Cosmologie*, giving ch. iii of the Kōśa (Kārikās, Bhāṣya, and Vyākhyā), and he now presents the first instalment of an annotated French translation, which will occupy at least three more volumes, and will be completed by an introduction dealing with the Abhidharma literature and the doctrines of the Sarvâstivādin-Vāibhāṣika and Sāutrântika schools discussed in the Kōśa, with a revised text of the Kārikās, extracts, appendices, and indexes. The work is thus in every sense a *magnum opus*, the preparation of which has entailed and will continue to entail a profound study not only of the Kōśa itself, but likewise of its Vyākhyā, the Tibetan translation of the Bhāṣya, and the Chinese versions and commentaries. To the gifted translator and the Société Belge d'Études Orientales, which is publishing the work, are due warmest thanks for this great enterprise; may it soon be our good fortune to congratulate them on its completion!

Āryadēva was in his day—probably the third century of our era—one of the leading lights of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, and his Catuḥśataka (in full, Bōdhisattva-yōgâcāra-catuḥśataka) has attained the dignity of being translated into Tibetan and incorporated in the Tanjur. To this Tibetan version is due the survival of the work, for of the Sanskrit original only a portion has been preserved. Mr. Vaidya has therefore found in the study of the Catuḥśataka and its author a fitting field for the exercise of his erudition and ability. His book comprises firstly an introduction, in

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which he discusses the origin and development of the Mādhyamika school, its doctrine and literature, and its teachers (notably Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita, Bhāvavivēka, Caṅdrakīrti, Śāntidēva, Śāntirakṣita, and Āryadēva), and then the Tibetan text of chapters viii–xvi of the Catuḥśataka with the corresponding Sanskrit (the original Sanskrit where it has survived, and a conjectural restoration where the original has been lost), followed by a French translation and a Tibetan-Sanskrit vocabulary. The introduction is a learned and useful study, though perhaps open to criticism on some points, particularly as regards its handling of historical tradition. The treatment of the Tibetan text is not altogether impeccable. It has long been a subject of wonder to us that modern scholars should cling to the old-fashioned transliteration invented by Csoma de Körös; Mr. Vaidya follows the same method in general, and in some points does even worse. Thus he uses *tc, tch, ds,* to represent Csoma's *ts, tsh, ds* (Jaeschke's *ts, t's, dz*), and *sh* for Csoma's *zh* (Jaeschke's *ż*), which are all more or less wrong. But, apart from this question of transliteration, the handling of the Tibetan text is in places open to criticism. Firstly, Mr. Vaidya does not seem to have troubled himself to constitute a critical text: he has uncritically copied nine chapters out of some editions, not always quite correctly, and has neglected to compare the readings of other editions and MSS.: secondly, he has sometimes seriously erred in his translations, both Sanskrit and French; and thirdly, he has often lapsed from accuracy in grammar and spelling. A few examples may be taken, chiefly from the first pages of his work, to justify these criticisms.

p. 69, v. 176: *rāga* is not a very correct rendering of *mdsaḥ ba*; *prēma* would be nearer. p. 70, v. 179: read *cig tu* for *cig du*. Ibid., v. 181: for *thar baḥi* read *thar paḥi*; correct *ḥphel pa* to *ḥphel ba*. p. 71, v. 182: the translation is too free. p. 72, v. 185: for *parpakṣas* read *parapakṣas*, and for *dkaḥ* read *dgaḥ*. Ibid., v. 186: there is here a discrepancy between the Tibetan and the Sanskrit, for *bsam bral med pas* means

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the opposite of *niścintēna*; moreover, *nêtaraḥ* does not mean "non pour un autre", but "not the other thing", viz. not *bhava*. Ibid., v. 187: *skye* is a blunder for *skyo*. p. 73, v. 189: for *spyin* read *sbyin*. Ibid., v. 191: the British Museum printed copy of the text (mDo, xviii) reads *dños po gcig gi lta bo gaṅ . . . de ñid kun gyi stoṅ pa ñid*. Ibid., v. 192: read (as in the B.M. copy) *smos* for *smros*. p. 74, v. 193: read *sbyar* for *spyar*; the translation of *gnas ma yin par sbyar ba* should be *asthānayuktaṃ*, not *ayōgayuktaṃ*. Ibid., v. 195: the B.M. copy reads at the beginning *yod par med daṅ yod med daṅ*. p. 75, v. 196: *bzad* is a blunder; read (with the B.M. copy) *bzaṅ*. Ibid., v. 198: for *spyor* read *sbyor*. Ibid., v. 199: the B.M. copy, probably wrongly, gives *thob nas* instead of *thos nas*. p. 76, v. 200: for *mthar* read with B.M. copy *mthaḥ*, and correct *ma tchad* to *ma tchaṅ*; in the colophon *spyoṅ pa* must be a mistake for *sbyoṅ ba* (as in B.M. copy). p. 77, v. 204: the reading of Haraprasad Śastri's text, *nâsti tēnâstu*, seems right, and is confirmed by Candrakīrti's commentary; Mr. Vaidya's emendation *nâstitâivâstu śāśvataḥ* is ungrammatical, as well as needless. p. 78, v. 207: Mr. Vaidya's conjectural restoration of the missing Sanskrit is not quite true to the Tibetan; better perhaps would be *sō 'nyavaśō bhavēt tasmāt kāryam ēva sa vidyatē*. p. 122, v. 377: correct *smra po* and *uod* to *smra bo* and *yod*. p. 123, v. 383: correct *mthum* to *mthun*. p. 125, v. 390: Mr. Vaidya has omitted *bla* before *shes* in the second line, thus spoiling the metre and sense. These observations, which relate only to fourteen pages of the text, are enough to show that Mr. Vaidya has still a good deal to learn in respect of accuracy and critical method.

21. Tikapaṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Part II. Kusalattikaṃ, together with Buddhaghosa's commentary from the Pañcappakaraṇatthakathā. Edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Pali Text Society. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, v, i+69–315 pp. London, 1922.

22. Tikapaṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Part III. Tikapaṭṭhāna (concluded), together with a digest of the

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five other Paṭṭhānas and the commentary (concluded). Edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Pali Text Society. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, v, i, 317–378 pp. London, 1923.

23. Sammoha-vinodanī, Abhidhamma-piṭake Vibhaṅga-ṭṭhakatha. Edited by A. P. Buddhadatta Thero. Pali Text Society. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, v, i, 550, i pp. London, 1923.

24. The Path of Purity. Being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga by Pe Maung Tin. Part I. Of Virtue (or Morals). Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 11. $8\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$, vi+95 pp. London, [1922].

25. Anuruddhâcariyaviracitō Abhidhammatthasaṅgahō. Edited by Dhammânanda Kōsambī. $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$, xvi+87 pp. Ahmadabad, 1923.

26. The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa. By Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L. With a foreword by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. $8\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{4}$, xiii+183 pp. Calcutta and Simla, 1923.

Mrs. Rhys Davids deserves hearty congratulations on completing her labours upon that monument of Buddhist scholastic psychology the Paṭṭhāna. She has worked long and with a skill that few, if any, fellow-Palists can equal; and she realizes only too well what the value of its results are. As she tells us, "so far as we can get at the founder of Buddhism at all, we see a man spending nearly half a century in adapting his simple gospel of the good life to every shade of individual spiritual need that came before him. At the other extreme of this passionate patience to help the particular case we find, a few centuries later, the gigantic effort of the Paṭṭhāna to make a class or type of every possible particular case that can be imagined. The result may be imposing in its complexity and ingenuity. But we there move in a world of *dhammas* as far removed from the flesh-and-mind actuality of this man's case or that woman's as are the symbols in a book of algebra. Years were spent on that result, without the work of the founder being advanced a single step . . . How

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strange a phenomenon does the growth of any church present!" All the more honour, then, is due to her for the immense energy and ability with which she has ploughed this dreary field. A welcome also may be offered to the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta for his edition of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vibhaṅga, which is a great advance upon the Burmese and Sinhalese prints of the work. Much care has been taken in the collation of MSS., and many of the references to passages in the Piṭakas have been traced to their sources.

Of post-canonical works few could be more useful to the student of Buddhism, and few have been more desired by him, than an accurate and readable translation of Buddhaghōsa's great digest of Thēravāda doctrine; and the first instalment of his version which is now presented by Maung Tin promises abundant fulfilment of all expectations. It is scholarly, with the formal accuracy of the trained philologist and the insight of the oriental; and it is good reading. The present volume comprises chapters i–ii, treating respectively of moral virtue, *sīla*, and of the thirteen permitted ascetic practices, *dhutaṅga*; and of these the second is decidedly the more interesting. The Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha of Anuruddha needs no introduction; not to mention the large number of Oriental editions, a valuable translation by Mr. Shwe Zan Aung has lately been published by the Pali Text Society. The present edition by Dhammânanda gives the text in Dēvanāgarī type, with a judicious introduction in Gujarati and an index, and will be very useful to the growing number of students of Pali in India.

Mr. Law's monograph on Buddhaghōsa is a well-executed piece of work, in which he has collected all the historical and semi-historical materials bearing on the life and labours of the great Master of the Law and sifted them with considerable ability, supplementing this by chapters on the origin and development of the standard commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures (a very interesting *exposé*), on Buddhaghōsa's successors (Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Mahānāma, the younger Moggallāna, and Culla Buddhaghōsa), and on his

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writings. The account of the Thēravāda system as presented by its greatest exponent might have been more complete; otherwise the book is really good.

27. HATIM'S TALES. Kashmiri stories and songs recorded, with the assistance of Pandit Govind Kaul, by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., and edited, with a translation, linguistic analysis, vocabulary, indices, etc., by Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. With a note on the folklore of the tales by W. CROOKE, C.I.E. Indian Texts Series. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, lxxxvi + 527 pp., 1 plate. London: J. Murray, 1923.

Legend celebrates Hātim Ṭā'ī for his princely kindness to mankind; in a more humble way, and all unconsciously, his namesake Hātim "of the Oil-Mill" is likewise a benefactor of his species, for in the fine *eranos* of scholarship that now lies before us his tales and songs are presented in such wise as to be a perpetual delight to all who love philology and folklore.

To Sir Aurel Stein belongs the honour of being the "great original" of the work. It was he who in 1896 took down these stories and verses from the lips of Hātim, a professional *rāwi* or reciter, transcribing them phonetically in Roman characters, while at the same time Pandit Gōvinda Kāula made a Nāgarī transcript in accordance with the customary spelling of Srinagar pandits, to which he added later a word-for-word interlinear translation into Sanskrit, and then a free Sanskrit version of most of the text. In 1910 these papers were placed by Sir Aurel Stein at the disposal of Sir George Grierson, who has now edited them in their present form, giving us firstly Sir Aurel's Roman transcription (with slight and insignificant modifications) accompanied by a free English rendering on parallel pages, and secondly a Roman transcription of Gōvinda Kāula's copy, in which the words are spelt according to the system based upon Īśvara Kāula's Grammar which he has followed in his previously published works on Kashmiri,



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together with an interlinear English translation. Then follow a full vocabulary to this latter text, an index to the words in Sir Aurel Stein's transcript, and an index of words in Gōvinda Kāula's text arranged in the order of their final consonants side by side with the corresponding words in the Stein transcript. To all this are prefixed firstly a preface by Sir Aurel Stein, giving a sympathetic biography of his loved and honoured friend Gōvinda Kāula, and secondly an introduction containing an account of the preparation of the work and the peculiarities of Hātim's language by Sir George Grierson, a survey of the folklore by Mr. Crooke (who now, alas! is *kīrtti-śēṣa*), and a note by Sir Aurel on the metres of Hātim's verses. We have thus, with full exposition, a double phonetic record presenting with almost the exactitude of a gramophone the living speech of the Musalman peasantry of Kashmir, which forms a philological *opus* of the first order.

The Dardic speech of Kashmir, as the Pandits would say, is a *Vāgdēvī* as coy as she is fascinating; in plain English, it is a peculiarly interesting but also a singularly difficult tongue. Unlike the Aryan vernaculars of Hindostan, which have simplified both their flexions and their sounds in passing through the various stages of Prakrit, Kashmiri, while it has suffered a considerable amount of phonetic decomposition, has still preserved many ancient features of phonetics and flexion, much of which is now half masked in new subtleties of vocalism, while it has also created a number of novel flexions. The language has thus become crabbed and difficult; but these very singularities render it a veritable Garden of Paradise to the philologer. From the linguistic standpoint, therefore, the materials presented in this volume are of immense interest and value. Making all due allowance for a few archaisms with which the Rāwis may have sporadically seasoned their tales, we are enabled to hear in them the living speech of the peasantry, unspoiled by pandits' pedantries; and even in their irregularities and discrepancies they reveal the processes of phonetic change which have been and are still

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at work in the language.[1] Even the loan-words from Arabic and Persian, which are numerous in Hātim's dialect, are instructive in this connexion. Thus we see *ā* (both original and derived from *a'*) becoming *ö*, as in *löyikh, söhib, töbir, töriph*, from Ar. *lā'iq, ṣāḥib, ta'bīr, ta'rīf*,[2] just as happens in native words, while *ai* also changes to *ö*, e.g. in *göb, ṁödān, pöda*, from *ghaib, maidān, paidā*.[3]

The racily told stories are also well worthy of study. With the exception of the eleventh, which is a ballad on the forcible impressment of men and women to serve in the camp of Sir Douglas Forsyth during his passage through Kashmir on his mission to Kashgar in 1873–4, they belong to the domain of folklore and folk-poetry, and are adequately treated by Mr. Crooke in his introductory note.[4]

The *saeva necessitas* which limits the space of reviews, however, forbids us to dwell longer, as we wish we might, upon this most fascinating book, and we must now take leave of it, saying in conclusion that it is fully worthy of the two eminent scholars who have collaborated to produce it—than which no higher praise can be bestowed.

L. D. BARNETT.

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THE COPTIC THEOTOKIA. Text . . . with an Introduction by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 11×8¾, xii+80 pp. London: Luzac, 1923.

Twelve years ago Dr. O'Leary published a valuable study, with translations, of the so-called *Theotokia*, that Coptic

[1] Hātim is far from consistent: he often pronounces the same word in different ways, thus unconsciously controverting one of the pet laws of the phoneticians.

[2] But inconsistently *mānĕ*, from *ma'na*.

[3] In this connexion we may note a slight misprint which is not noticed in the corrigenda; on p. 249, l. 2 from bottom, the first letter of *löyikh* has been dropped.

[4] With the legend of the fairy Lālmāl we may perhaps connect, *longo intervallo*, the legend of Suvarṇaṣṭhīvin (Mahābhār., Drōṇa-p., lv–lxxi, Śānti-p., xxix–xxxi). The tale of the ring recovered from the fish has some resemblance to the stories of the rings of Polycrates and Śakuntalā (cf. Mr. Surendranath Majumdar Śastri's note in *JBORS.*, June-September, 1921, p. 96).

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office which consists of a series of hymns to the Virgin for the days of the week, with various additional pieces, differing in context and arrangement according to the type of manuscript, i.e. presumably according to the monastery whence it came. He here publishes the text itself of the seven *Theotokias*, based upon that of the fourteenth century Vatican MS., but with contributions from a number of other later copies—for there is no material for the study of this, or of any Bohairic liturgical book, from an earlier age. Indeed, an investigation of the previous history of the *Theotokia* has yet to be made. Dr. O'Leary refers to Euringer's ascription of its origin to Simeon, the Syrian potter (sixth century), which is, so far, all that has been said on the matter. Something, however, might perhaps be deduced from the occasional phraseology of a different class of composition: the Panegyrics upon the Virgin extant in Sa'idic, such as those ascribed to Demetrius (Budge, *Misc. Texts*, 663 f.), Theophilus (Worrell, *Coptic Texts*, 361), Theodosius (in *Cod. Vatic.* lxi), Damianus (doubtless genuine and, from its date, more significant, Crum, *Theol. Texts*, 27). Only when at last the Sa'idic liturgical MSS. have been edited—as yet nothing is available but fragments of the Mass—can we hope for means of ascertaining whether the use of the *Theotokia* in Upper Egypt had preceded (or, it may be, followed) that which we know in Nitria and thence in the rest of northern Egypt to-day. It would probably be difficult to prove a *provenance* for any mediaeval MS. of the *Theotokia* other than Nitria, and it would be interesting to trace the share these monasteries had in its development and the extension of its popularity.

Dr. O'Leary's Introduction gives a clear description of the elements which make up this, the most popular office of the Coptic church. He has had the use of a good deal of unpublished material in the form of fragmentary MSS., lately brought from Nitria by Mr. Evelyn White. The texts he gives us are those of service-books actually used in church

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and therefore far more valuable than the concocted versions which printed editions have hitherto offered us. It is to be hoped that Dr. O'Leary will find time and means to continue his publications in this liturgical field which he has made his own and where there remains still much of interest to edit.

W. E. CRUM.

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DAS KLOSTER AM ISISBERG (Wien Philos.-Hist. Klasse, lxvi, 1). By H. JUNKER and H. DEMEL. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, 67 pp., 7 plates, 3 plans. Wien: Hölder, 1922.

Dr. Junker describes the remains at El-Kubanieh (south) on the left bank of the Nile some 10 kil. below Aswan. After an introductory note on the names by which the place has been known he discusses (pp. 9–13) the Ptolemaic sanctuary of Isis, then (pp. 14–60) the Coptic Church and monastery which rose on the site of this Isis sanctuary, and Dr. Demel adds (pp. 61–7) an appendix on the pottery, etc., found there. The church is of the quadrangular domed type with triple apsé which Somers Clarke (*Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912) classifies as type B.2: it probably dates from the sixth–seventh century. This type seems to reflect the prevailing influence of the neighbouring land of Nubia and the pottery also shows Roman-Nubian and Meroitic affinities. The general plan of the buildings and the details of construction are very fully described, the result of a careful survey made during the winter of 1910–11. Copies of nine Coptic inscriptions are given with translations and notes; one of these refers to the place as *Es(s)aiao* (=*Isieion*) "the mount of Isis". Only of recent years has any serious attention been given to the remains of Coptic buildings, which throw an interesting light upon the derivative form of Byzantine culture evolved in the Nile valley and which from their nature are far less enduring than the monuments of ancient Egypt. Curiously enough the Greek influence seems to have been purer in Nubia than in Egypt itself and the subject of the present work is close to the Nubian frontier. Coptic-

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Hellenistic culture continued to flourish long after the Arab conquest and its traces appear as far off as the Yoruba country. The present work does not, of course, deal with the general history of this most important culture drift, but is a careful and exhaustive examination of the material available in one locality, evidence essential to the correct history of the derived forms of Byzantine culture.

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THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION (University of Michigan Studies, X). By W. H. WORRELL. 11 × 8, xxvi + 396 pp., 12 plates. New York: Macmillan, 1923.

The Freer collection contains two Coptic manuscripts and sixteen fragments. One manuscript is a copy (imperfect) of the psalter in Sa'idic, which the editor presents as part i of this edition, and dates as between the seventh century British Museum text published by Budge in 1898 and the fifth century Berlin text edited by Rahlfs in 1901. The text has been collated with these and other printed editions, but contains no noteworthy textual variants. The other manuscript is the fifth quire (16 pages) of a codex of which quires 1, 2, and 5 form Brit. Mus. Or. 7028, and quires 4 and 6 form Brit. Mus. Or. 6780. The editor gives the whole text from these three sources as part ii of the present work. It contains two homilies, one on the archangel Gabriel ascribed to Celestinus of Rome, the other on the Virgin Mary ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria—ascriptions which cannot be received with much confidence. Neither contains any very fresh material. A colophon enables the date of this manuscript to be fixed as A.D. 974. Of the fragments two contain short passages from Job and are here appended to the psalter. A third contains a magical text, seemingly Gnostic, partly an amulet against perils of the sea, partly one against sickness: this is appended to part ii. Of the remaining fragments one contains a brief extract from Matt. i, 22, and is here

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reproduced in facsimile, another has a crude portrait, another some pen trials, whilst seven are illegible, three unintelligible. The Coptic text is well printed, practically in facsimile, illustrated by photographic reproductions, followed by a translation of the homilies and the magical text. The whole is well indexed, though some of the proper names are given their references both in the text and in the translation, whilst others (e.g. Solomon) have their references marked for the translation only. The introductions descriptive of the palæographical character of the manuscripts are excellent and form the most valuable feature of this edition. The magical fragment is in the dialect of Middle Egypt; the two manuscripts are described as in Sa'idic, but they contain peculiarities which are distinctive of Middle Egyptian.

DE LACY O'LEARY.

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SYRO-CHALDAIC GRAMMAR. By the Rev. Fr. GABRIEL, of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D. Mannanam.

Among the many welcome signs of health and growth in the ancient Church of the Christians of St. Thomas in Southern India is the appearance of a grammar of their ecclesiastical language, that language which is one of their strong and enduring links with the "Church of the East". That Church, once powerful and widespread, now long since fallen on evil days, exists only as a remnant in the extreme North of Mesopotamia.

The study of this ancient tongue is fast reviving; it is being taught in Missionary colleges in North India as well as in the seminary of Mannanam; while in Europe the knowledge of Syriac, in connexion with other Semitic languages, widens.

Another link supplied by the book before us is the list of references to writers of the Mother Church: St. Ephrem, acknowledged by Westerns among Ecumenical Fathers and depicted among Latin and Greek Fathers in Italian churches;

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the great Gregory Bar-Hebræus; St. James of Sarug;' and others.

The introductory pages on Syriac language and literature are very clear, and give much detailed information in small space; the writer has either made up his mind on disputed points such as the language spoken by Our Lord, or else thinks it better not to trouble elementary students with conflicting views. His views also as to the antiquity and value of the Syriac alphabet differ from those held by Western scholars.

The whole book is worked out with great care and thoroughness, but, although the writer acknowledges the help of standard Syriac grammars, his arrangements are for the most part taken from grammars of other languages or are his own idea. Thus he makes use of a few Arabic and Hebrew terms, and later on introduces Latin cases, though these various expressions do not correspond with the character of the Syriac language. Now it may be possible to make use of foreign forms already familiar in the acquisition of further knowledge. But when we come to the verbs, instead of the usual allowance of several conjugations, simple, intensive, causative, etc., with their respective passives, we find a new system, invented by the Rev. Father. We must allow that his set of conjugations is admirably clear, but they are in conflict with well-known Semitic idioms, and this is likely in the end to cause much difficulty to the student. For, in any other grammar which he may consult, whether Syriac or of another of the same family of languages, he will find few terms of Latin grammar; he will then have to learn afresh in the usual way or else will be led to treat a closely related language as one of a different kind, while with Syriac itself he will find himself in a wood.

Still, the Rev. Father knows his students and their needs, and his painstaking and thorough work may be exactly suitable to them.

J. P. Margoliouth.

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## Some Recent Egyptological Works

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS FROM EGYPTIAN STELÆ, ETC., IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Part VI. $14 \times 9$, 12 pp., 50 plates. London: British Museum, 1922.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. BURY, S. A. COOK, P. E. ADCOCK. Vol. I: Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxii + 704 pp., 11 maps, 1 plan. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

MÉMOIRES PUBLIÉES PAR LES MEMBRES DE LA MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE FRANÇAISE AU CAIRE. By E. CHASSINAT. Tome onzième. *Le Temple d'Edfou.* Tome second, troisième fascicule. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, Part II, iv + 314 pp., Part III, 9 plates. Cairo, 1920.

CHAMPOLLION. By E. NAVILLE. $9 \times 6$, 30 pp. Geneva: Société anonyme des Editions "Sonoi", 1922.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. A BEGINNING AND A PROGRAM. Oriental Institute Communications No. 1. By J. H. BREASTED. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxviii, July, 1922, pp. 233–328. Chicago, 1922.

DIE RELIEFS UND MALEREIEN DES MITTLEREN REICHES. By LUISE KLEBS. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9$, xiv + 196 pp., plates. Heidelberg: Winter, 1922.

In *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum* are published some reliefs and inscriptions of great archæological and historical interest, those on pls. i–xx dating from the Old Kingdom, those on pls. xxi–xxviii from the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties, and those on pls. xxix–l from the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties.

The first twelve plates are devoted to inscriptions and reliefs from the *maṣṭabeh* of Urirneptaḥ, and of these the most interesting are pl. vi, on which male musicians and female dancers are seen entertaining a party of banqueters, and pls. x and xi, which depict Urirneptaḥ's peasants busying

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themselves in their various tasks and his scribes making entries in their books, while the great man himself stands leaning on his staff and surveying the scene. For the bed-making episode (wrongly interpreted by Dr. Hall), below the figure of Urirneptaḥ, cf. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi*, ii, pl. xxiii, p. 29, and cf. also Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, pl. xx. The scene of sowers followed by sheep driven on by men with whips finds a parallel, exact in almost every detail, in Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, pl. xvi.

A most interesting representation is that on pl. xvii, the two groups of boys playing games—the central figure of the left-hand group being an older (?) male wearing a lion-mask. Of considerable importance is the stela on pl. xxvi, which bears one of the earliest extant representations of Amunrē‘. The god wears not the familiar flat-topped cap with tall plumes, but a head-dress resembling that usually assigned to Onuris.

Of the New Kingdom monuments here published the most important is that of Nebwawy on pl. xlvii. This stela was seen some years ago in a dealer's shop at Luxor by Spiegelberg, who there and then copied the inscription, which he published in *Recueil de Travaux*, xix, pp. 97, 98, Sethe shortly after bringing out a translation accompanied by a commentary in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvi, pp. 70–2. The copy of the text here given is superior to that of Spiegelberg's, and a very careful examination of the original has enabled the reviewer to make only one or two slight improvements.

Let it here be stated that none of the outline drawings of these often important and interesting reliefs and inscriptions are strictly speaking facsimiles. Indeed, the copies of the inscriptions are often hardly more than hand copies, retaining very little of the character of the original signs, while the drawings of the reliefs are scarcely better than sketches. This seriously detracts from the scientific value of the volume. Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions should always be published in the form of accurate facsimile outline drawings, supplemented if possible by collotype or process reproductions of

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photographs to give a clear impression of the style and technique of the originals.

An accurate facsimile is particularly necessary in the case of an inscription like that of Nebwawy, in which there are several lacunæ. In the copy in question of that particular inscription the signs do not occupy the same positions in respect to the signs in the line above and below them as in the original. It, therefore, cannot be employed for deciding, at least with any approach to exactitude, how many groups of signs are missing in each lacuna.

May the reviewer suggest that in the future the name of the scholar who is really responsible for these publications of British Museum texts be placed on the cover and title page of the volume, and not be merely relegated to a passing reference in the preface?

The chapters and parts of chapters dealing with Egypt in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, are the work of Dr. Hall and Professor Peet. The latter writes on "Egypt: The Predynastic Period" (ch. vi), and "Life and Thought in Egypt under the Old and Middle Kingdoms" (ch. ix). These two chapters display the careful and scholarly treatment which one expects to find in any of Professor Peet's publications.

He rightly urges caution in the matter of accepting any theory yet advanced as to the origin of Egyptian civilization. There are indications, he owns, that point towards the East, but it is, as he says, impossible to furnish their precise interpretation so long as the early civilization of the Delta remains a closed book to us (p. 256). It is interesting to note that he inclines to the view that there is a strongly marked substratum of totemism in the Egyptian religion, though "in historic times the true totemic stage has passed away". On this totemism sun-worship and other cults were imposed (pp. 328–31). Particularly good is what he has to say on the subject of Osiris, the *ka* (see esp. p. 337), *bai*, and *ikh*. It should be pointed out, however, that on p. 332 a statement occurs

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that is liable to produce misunderstanding. Professor Peet rightly regards the Fifth Dynasty as an Heliopolitan family "whose cult was therefore that of the sun". After thus pointing out that the sun-cult became the State religion and referring to the temples built in Rē"s honour,[1] he goes on to speak of the Fifth Dynasty kings being "laid to rest in tombs which in form were perhaps reproductions of the pyramidical *benben*-stone sacred to the sun at Heliopolis", a remark that might well be taken to mean, what, of course, Professor Peet does not intend to imply, that these kings were the first to be buried under pyramids. The truth is that the sun-cult was attaining, if it had not yet already attained, to the position of the State religion by the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, as is shown both by the fact that Khufu and his successors were all laid to rest beneath pyramids, and also that all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty, except Khufu and his predecessor Sōris (Šȝ-ḥrw), bore solar names. It is possible indeed that there was a Heliopolitan predominance anterior even to the Fourth Dynasty. This is indicated by the solar names borne by several of the kings of the Second Dynasty (see p. 275 of the volume), while Sethe, as is well known, holds the view that Heliopolis was the capital of a united Upper and Lower Egypt before the time of Menes, and that the influence of Heliopolis on Egyptian religious ideas and institutions dates from that remote period.

Professor Peet comments on the practical nature of the Egyptians and their apparently almost entire lack of interest, as compared with the Greeks, in philosophic thought and speculation. He rightly points out that the great outburst of literary activity which is such a distinguishing feature of the Herakleopolitan period (Ninth and Tenth Dynasties) and the Middle Kingdom was a result of the disasters that befel the country after the close of the Sixth Dynasty. The third division of chapter ix, that dealing with the morality of the Egyptians

[1] For the nature and purpose of these temples see the reviewer's remarks in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, ix, p. 265.

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and the effect that the belief in the efficacy of magic had on their ethical development, is an important contribution to this branch of Egyptological studies.

There are two errors, probably slips of the pen, to which attention should be drawn. On p. 353 Sēth is spoken of as the *uncle* instead of *brother* of Osiris, and on p. 330, line 9, the name of King Mernerē' has surely been omitted.

To Dr. Hall has fallen the task of writing up the history of Egypt from the first dynasty to the end of the Hyksōs period (chs. vii, viii)—a most interesting task in view of all the new knowledge that has come to light since Professor Breasted's *History* was issued in 1906. To Dr. Hall has also been allotted the thorny subject of Egyptian chronology (pp. 166–73), and he likewise contributes ch. xvi, which is concerned with the art of early Egypt and Babylonia.

This last-mentioned chapter contains a great deal of important and interesting information, well put together, though one or two statements challenge criticism. The steatopygous clay figures of women are much more likely meant to represent wives or concubines than mourners (p. 570). On p. 572 it is stated that iron "was not at all common in early times, when it is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts as 'Heavenly Metal' (the Coptic *bənipe*, 'iron')". But it should be pointed out that though the word *bi3* "metal" (i.e. probably = "copper") occurs several times in the *Pyramid Texts*, the compound *bi3-n-pt*, "metal of heaven," never once occurs in that compilation, and apparently does not come into use till the period between the Middle and New Kingdoms or the Middle Kingdom at earliest.

On p. 575 the wooden models of boats, servants, workmen, etc., are spoken of as characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. But, as Winlock and Mace have pointed out in the *Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 49–56 and 114–16, these wooden models, and the elaborately decorated rectangular wooden coffins with which they are associated, are mostly to be assigned to the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties. Also with reference to the state-

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ment on the same page, line 28, it should be pointed out that five of the large decorated tomb-chapels at Meir belong to feudal lords of the Twelfth Dynasty, and only two to the Sixth.

On the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Hall in his article on Egyptian chronology is based the Egyptian dating adopted in this volume.

The date of the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty has hitherto been regarded as fixed by the statement in one of the Kahun papyri (preserved in the Berlin Museum) that a heliacal rising of Sōthis took place on the sixteenth day (not the *first* day as Dr. Hall states) of the fourth month of Prōyet in the seventh year of the reign of Sesōstris III. The event is computed by astronomers to have fallen in 1876 or 1872 B.C. Accordingly, the Twelfth Dynasty was calculated as beginning about 2000 B.C. and as ending about 1788 B.C., thus allowing two centuries for the second intermediate period, the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties inclusive. Dr. Hall does not think that an interval of 200 years is sufficient to account for the changes that took place between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. But though he is against accepting the dating of Meyer and Breasted, which is based on the above-mentioned astronomical evidence, on the ground that it makes the second intermediate period too short, he refuses to follow Petrie in putting back the twelfth dynasty a whole Sothic period of 1,460 years, for that, in his opinion, makes the period too long. He demands for it only 400 years, or at the most 500 years, and therefore comes to the conclusion that either there was some mistake in the original observation of the star or in the modern calculation, or "possibly", he adds, "some change in the calendar, unknown to us, was introduced between the time of Senusret III and the beginning of Dynasty XVIII." Accordingly, rejecting the only certain evidence we possess for the dating of the Twelfth Dynasty, evidence accepted by Meyer, Breasted, Petrie, Borchardt, and Sethe, Dr. Hall somewhat arbitrarily assumes "the round date 2000 B.C.

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for the end of Dynasty XII". "This," he maintains, "would satisfy all the requirements of our other knowledge." The reviewer is inclined to think that Dr. Hall exaggerates the length of time required for such changes as have been noted to have come about. A catastrophe like the fall of the twelfth dynasty and the ensuing anarchy, and then the Hyksōs invasion and domination on top, were bound to produce changes; indeed, that the changes were not even more far-reaching is to be ascribed to the intense conservatism and the tenacity of the Egyptians.[1]

Dr. Hall, be it noted, accepts 4241 B.C. as the date of the introduction of the calendar, but makes the accession of Menes take place about the year 3500, a hundred years earlier than the date assigned to that event by Meyer and Breasted.

On p. 168 Dr. Hall connects Theon's era of Menophris[2] with the *nśwt-byt* name of Ramesses I, Menpeḥtirē', which he wrongly reads Menpeḥrē'. As a matter of fact, as Sethe points out,[3] "*Μένοφρις* would be a correct (Greek) rendering of the ancient full name for Memphis, which was pronounced *Mennofru*, and of which the usual name Mĕnfer (*Μέμφις*) is only a contraction."

The two chapters dealing with the history are full of good things, but now and again display signs of having been somewhat too hastily written. Will Dr Hall permit the reviewer to point out a few errors and also ask him to reconsider certain of his statements when he revises the chapters for the surely inevitable second edition of this important volume?

Dr. Hall must forgive the reviewer for paying so much attention to the weak points in these two chapters; but

[1] For further evidence in support of the shorter dating of the second intermediate period see G. H. Wheeler in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, ix, pp. 196–200.

[2] Theon reckons 1,605 years *ἀπὸ Μενόφρεως ἕως τῆς λήξεως Αὐγούστου*, i.e. till the end of the era of Augustus, the beginning of the era of Diocletian.

[3] Sethe, *Die Zeitrechung der alten Aegypter in Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker*, in *Nachrichte des k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1919, p. 309.

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Dr. Hall's reputation as a historian stands so high that any errors—and errors are so liable to creep into one's writings when one has as much work and responsibility laid upon one as Dr. Hall has—any errors of which he is guilty are sure to take root in the minds of his readers, unless attention is promptly and plainly drawn to them.

pp. 262, 269 (see also p. 371). Is not Dr. Hall too positive in stating his view that the Egyptians "obtained their knowledge of copper-working by way of Syria"? He should also have referred to Reisner's view, quoted by Elliot Smith in his *Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1911, pp. 3–7; see also Reisner, *Archæological Survey of Nubia*, Report for 1907–1908, p. 132, item 52.

p. 263. Surely it is far from certain that "the Mesopotamian writing-system, originally hieroglyphic, had already become simplified into a semi-cuneiform system when the Egyptian script was still an archaic picture-writing".

p. 265. Sethe, in his *Beitrage zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, has shown that the meaning of *šmśw-Ḥr* is "worshippers", rather than "followers, of Horus".

p. 266. "Lord of the Upper Egyptian vulture and the Lower Egyptian uraeus" is an incorrect rendering of the title *nbty*, which means "the Two Mistresses", i.e. the Pharaoh was the embodiment of the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt as he was of Horus alone or of Horus and Sēth together.

The name of one of the early Delta kings given as Hsekiu should be Seka, as is perfectly clear in all the publications of the Palermo Stone. The name read by Dr. Hall as Uaznar is more probably to be read *Wꜣḏ-ʿad* (Waz'az).

The earlier form of the Egyptian name of Herakleopolis Magna is *Nnw-nśwt*, pronounced something like Nenēsu(t), and meaning "Child of the Upper (or perhaps, rather, 'Middle') Egyptian king". The later form was *Ḥ(t)-nn-nśwt*, pronounced something like Ḥenēsu(t) (Coptic ϩⲛⲏⲥ; Arabic Ehnāsiyeh), and meaning "House of the child of the

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Upper Egyptian king". The form *H(t)-nśwt*, rendered *Het-insi* by Dr. Hall, does not exist.[1]

p. 267. Sethe has shown that the existence of a king Ro is exceedingly dubious, while *Ip*, if a personal name at all, is that of a private person (see *Beitrage*, pp. 30–3).

p. 268. The Pharaoh was not "dressed up as a mummy, Osiris," at the *Sed*-festival. What he does hold and wear in many of the *Sed*-festival representations are the ordinary insignia of Egyptian royalty and the primitive royal mantle or cloak, which Osiris also holds and wears in his capacity of a *king* and not in his capacity of a *dead god*.[2]

*Wonḥir*, "face-opener," is an impossible rendering of the signs attached to the sandal-bearer on the Narmer palette. The sign read *ḥir*, "face," by Dr. Hall, is almost certainly that for *ḥm*, "servant." What the seven-leaved rosette means is at present unknown. On the mace-head of the "Scorpion" king it occurs above the sign for scorpion written in front of the figure of that king.

p. 269. Reference might have been made to Gardiner's highly probable suggestion that the two signs here rendered "Harpoon-marsh" form the personal name of the prisoner who is being smitten, i.e. Wa'-shi. Again, the group of six papyrus plants almost certainly stands for 6,000 (Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, ii, pp. 72, 74).

p. 270. The name of the successor of King *Dt* of the first dynasty is probably not to be read Semti (*Smyty*) but Khasti (*Ḫśty*).

p. 271. As has been pointed out by Peet in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, ix, p. 124, there is no evidence that the arm with bracelets on it found in Zer's tomb is that of his queen.

The Egyptian word for incense is not *snutri* but *sonte(r)* (Coptic ⲥⲟⲛⲧⲉ), and means not "sanctified", but "that which sanctifies" or rather "divinizes".

[1] Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xlix, p. 16.
[2] Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, iii, p. 247, with note 3.



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p. 272. What is the Egyptian original of the title of the god Seker rendered by Dr. Hall as "the coffined one"? No title that can bear this meaning seems to occur in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Lanzone's *Mitologia*, or Budge's *Gods*. "Lord of," or "he who is in the midst of, the *štyt*", is the most usual title. But *štyt* is the name of the shrine of Seker at Memphis and does not mean "coffin". Certainly there is no reason to suppose that "coffined one" is the meaning of the name *Skr*.

p. 286. The statement that the Fourth Dynasty pyramids were "built of solid granite blocks throughout" is, of course, a slip of the pen. The lowest course of the casing of the second, and the lower sixteen courses of the casing of the third, pyramid at Gīzeh are of granite, but in all three pyramids the core consists of blocks of limestone.

pp. 287, 323. The title (*wr mȝȝw*) of the high-priest of Rē' of On is probably to be rendered "Chief of the Seers", not "Great Seer" (Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, lv, p. 65), and *Wr-ḫrpw-ḥmut* (?) means "Chief of the Directors of the Artificers"; cf. the Roman high-priestly title of Pontifex Maximus.

As the reviewer has shown in the articles "Priest, Priesthood" (Egyptian), "Worship" (Egyptian), in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the sacerdotal subordinates of the high-priest in an Egyptian temple of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were not laymen but priests in every sense of the word. The word *wnwt*, generally rendered "lay-priesthood" (whatever that may mean!), is the designation for the whole temple "staff". The division of the priesthood of each temple into four "watches" or phylae can be traced back to the Old Kingdom and is probably of still greater antiquity (see *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, vii, p. 15, note 3; Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, liv, p. 3, note 5).

It was the priestly college of the Heliopolitan sun-god Rē'-Atum, not that of Theban Amūn, that "was imitated . . . in every temple throughout the land," and that long before the Eighteenth Dynasty (see the references given just above, and

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also the reviewer's article, "The Sun-Cult in Ancient Egypt," in *Nature*, 14th and 21st April, 1923).

p. 288. It is almost certain that the body was not regarded as the residence of the *ka* ("double"); see e.g. Professor Peet's remarks on the subject on pp. 334–7 of the same work.

p. 289. The recent discoveries at Byblos make it fairly certain that the reliefs in Saḥurē''s pyramid-temple depict that Pharaoh's fleet going to and returning from Byblos itself or some other Phœnician port, and not, as Dr. Hall supposes (and also Dr. Borchardt), to and from Sinai.

pp. 292, 295. Neither the Sudanese or, rather, Nubians (*nḥśyw*) in Una's army, nor those encountered by Pepi-nakht, were negroes, but Hamites (see Junker, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, vii, pp. 121–32). The owners of the so-called "pan-graves", to which Dr. Hall evidently refers on p. 295 (bottom), were also not real negroes but Hamitic Nubian captives or settlers, possibly slightly tinged with negroid blood.

p. 297. The later Herakleopolitan kings must certainly have controlled Memphis, for in his *Admonitions* the reigning king (Akhthoi ?) advises the crown prince Merikarē' to fortify Athribis, the modern Benha, and to build castles in the Delta (North Land). He also speaks of quarrying operations at Turah, and, moreover, as Gardiner points out, Merikarē''s pyramid is probably to be sought for in the region of Dadesut, the pyramid-town of the Sixth Dynasty king Teti at Saḳḳāreh (*Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, i, pp. 31 ff.).

Here let it be remarked that strangely enough Dr. Hall has nothing to say on the subject of the invasion and partial occupation of the Delta by Asiatics in the first intermediate period, though there is abundant evidence for this occurrence in the two Petersburg papyri, published in 1913 by Golénischeff, and in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, published by Gardiner, which last-mentioned composition Dr. Hall half playfully associates with the Hyksōs invasion of the second intermediate period (p. 325)!

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p. 305. Junker, *El-Kubanieh Nord*, pp. 20 ff., has shown Reisner's view that Zefaiḥap of Asyūṭ was buried at Kerma to be incorrect.

p. 307. The old name for the Ḥanebu (or, rather, Ḥa-nebut [*Ḥꜣ-nbwt*]) was not Haau but Nebut (*Nbwt*); see Sethe, *Beitrage*, p. 133.

p. 309. Why suppose the "fish-offerers" and sphinxes found at Tanis to have been brought there by a Hyksōs king from Ḥawāra? It is true that the bust of a statue of the same unusual type was found in the Fayūm, but a sphinx also of the same type has been found, according to Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, p. 105, at El-Kāb. To what king or group of kings these monuments are to be ascribed is a subject around which controversy rages. Petrie, *History*, i, 10th edition, p. 127, assigns them to a Seventh or Eighth Dynasty Pharaoh of foreign (probably southern) origin. Capart, *Les Monuments dits Hycsos*, dates them to before the Fourth Dynasty. Petrie would have us suppose that these and all the other early statues found at Tanis (see Naville, *Tanis*, i, pl. xiii) were brought together there by Ramesses II.

p. 317. Ḏḥutnakht, the eloquent peasant's oppressor, it should be pointed out, is not described as a *ḥmwty*, "artizan," but as a *ḏt*, "vassal," or "tenant", of the High Steward Rensi. The word *ḥmwty*, by the way, does not occur once in the *Story of the Eloquent Peasant*.

p. 321. The *shawabty*-figures did not apparently in the first instance represent the servants of the deceased person with whom they were buried, but were intended for reduplications of that person himself; see Erman-Ranke, *Ægypten*, p. 357, who gives references in note 1.

p. 322. Surely a dead person is never designated "the god there", though the departed are euphemistically referred to as "those who are there" (*ntyw ỉm*).

p. 323. Dr. Hall speaks of Sutekh (better written Sētekh) as though he were a different god to Sēth. Sētekh or Sētesh is merely the old form of the name, the form that occurs

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regularly in the *Pyramid Texts*. He was probably the local divinity of the region of Avaris and was identified by the Hyksōs with a god of their own whom they brought with them (Gunn-Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, v, p. 44). Dr. Hall cannot really mean what is implied by the statement "he (Sētekh) became the murderer of Osiris; his worship was proscribed", i.e. on the grounds of his association with the Hyksōs, for Sētekh appears as the murderer of Osiris in the *Pyramid Texts*.

p. 324. Sethe, in his recently published *Beitrage zur Geschichte Amenophis IV*, has pointed out that the Aton, or solar disk, was not regarded by Ōkhnatōn, as the "manifestation of the one god behind the sun". Ōkhnatōn, in his conception of the Supreme Deity, was thoroughly materialistic, and what he worshipped was the actual cosmic body, the physical sun itself (see *Nature*, 21st April, 1923, pp. 537 ff.).

The third part of the second volume of *Le Temple d'Edfou* consists entirely of outline drawings of the reliefs decorating the west and east stairways leading up to the temple roof, the columns and part of the roof of the second hypostyle hall, the vestibule of the treasury, the laboratory, and the so-called room of the Niles. It is a pity that these volumes, which are of such great importance to students of the Egyptian religion, cannot be brought out at shorter intervals and more systematically. Many of the plates in question are long overdue; for example, the texts attached to the reliefs decorating the walls of the east and west stairway were published as long ago as 1897, in part iv of the first volume. Even now, and the work began to appear in 1892, the publication has not got beyond the second hypostyle hall. There still, therefore, remains to be published the first hypostyle hall, the colonnaded forecourt, the pylon, and all the important reliefs and inscriptions on the exterior walls of the temple.

Professor Naville and Professor Breasted deal with the opposite ends, so to speak, of the narrative of Egyptological studies. Professor Naville gives us a short but excellently

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written account of the life and achievements of Jean-François Champollion, that young genius who at the tender age of 18 occupied a professional chair at Grenoble! A most dramatic description is given of the events of the famous September morning when Champollion suddenly found he could read the names of Ramesses and Tethmōsis—the morning which signalized the beginning of a long series of triumphs, the due reward of years of hard work and disappointment. It is a tragedy that the long hoped for visit to Egypt in 1828 should have been the cause of the final break-up of Champollion's health, terminating in his all too early death in 1832. By that time he was reading hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic with considerable ease, and all this only ten years after he had written his memorable letter to Monsieur Dacier containing the thrilling announcement of his great discovery.

Under the directorship of Professor Breasted the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has accomplished, and is accomplishing, great things, but it has in view operations of much greater magnitude. In the brochure under consideration Professor Breasted describes his own and his colleagues' travels in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, travels undertaken by way of a survey for the purpose of determining upon suitable sites for future excavations.

Professor Breasted also tells us a good deal about the highly important bibliographical and lexicographical work that is being carried on in the Institute under his skilful and far-seeing direction. An achievement of first-rate importance will be the publication, with the assistance and under the supervision of Professor Breasted, of the mostly Ninth to Tenth Dynasty coffin texts. Very interesting and instructive is the account given of the methods to be employed for the collecting, examination, and then finally the publication of this highly important material. The report also contains a description of the Edwin Smith medical papyrus, practically identical with the paper read by Professor Breasted at the Centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society last July.

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Frau Klebs' *Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches* holds a high place among a number of admirable Egyptological works that, despite unfavourable political and social conditions, have recently been published in Germany. The introductory paragraphs dealing with the art of the Middle Kingdom, the various types of tombs and tomb-chapels, the different sorts of stelæ, the coffin, canopic box, *shawabty*-figure, and the statue-house, form a valuable contribution to Egyptian archæology. Very useful, too, is the list which the authoress has compiled of the objects usually to be found in tombs of the period.

One word of criticism. The term *ka*-statue used on p. 26 is unsatisfactory and should be avoided, for it is exceedingly doubtful, as the reviewer has already pointed out on p. 323, if the statues of the deceased have anything to do with his *ka*.

The disquisitions on the various scenes depicted on the walls of Middle Kingdom tomb-chapels and on grave-stelæ, together with the accompanying lists of references, are admirable; everywhere are to be seen signs of unremitting care and labour.

A noticeable feature of the book is the use made of Caillaud's great work, *Recherches sur les arts et les métiers*, published in Paris as long ago as 1831, and yet, in the case of many of the Beni Ḥasan paintings, still supplying the best available reproductions. Professor Newberry's excellent drawings in his *Beni Hasan*, i and ii, have often, for reasons of economy, been unfortunately too greatly reduced to be of real use when it is a question of studying small but nevertheless important details.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

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LUXOR AND ITS TEMPLES. By A. M. BLACKMAN, D.Litt. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 200 pp., 24 plates, 50 illustrations, 1 map. London: Black, 1923.

If I have a complaint against this book—and I am not sure that I have—it is that its title is not quite a fair indication

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of its contents. In reality the book consists of a number of admirable sketches of life in ancient Egypt, some of them taken from scenes on the walls of the Luxor temples and others not. The title will doubtless under present circumstances attract buyers, and this is all to the good, for there could hardly be a better popular book on Egypt than this of Dr. Blackman's. The word popular, when used of a book, has evil associations, for too often such a work is the product of either the professional book writer or the amateur archæologist possessing only second-hand knowledge culled from ill-chosen sources, and totally ignorant of the language of the documents on which his statements are or should be based. With Dr. Blackman it is far otherwise. His book is so modestly written that few will guess that on some of the subjects he treats, notably matters connected with religion, priesthood and festivals, he is admittedly the foremost authority in this country. His translations from the Egyptian prove at every point his sound scholarship in the ancient language, and are in themselves enough to place the volume in a class by itself among popular books on Egypt. His first-hand knowledge of the country bears its fruit on every page, and his choice of illustrations shows not only the breadth of his reading but the desire to introduce his readers to new material and to spare them, wherever possible, the hackneyed scenes of which we are all so tired.

Major Fletcher's illustrations need no recommendation from my pen, for his work is well known to all visitors to Egypt. They are particularly interesting as a successful attempt to give an idea of Egyptian buildings as seen in detail from close quarters rather than as complete structures from a distance. If I were to add that I do not quite like the brown ink in which they have been printed, it would probably merely be a proof that my taste is inferior to that of the artist himself.

T. Eric Peet.

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THE FALL OF NINEVEH. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle, No. 21901, in the British Museum. Edited with Transliteration, Translation, Notes, etc., by C. J. GADD, M.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, 42 pp., 6 plates. London: Oxford University Press, 1923.

Mr. Gadd is to be congratulated on a find of great interest and importance. The tablet (79 lines) contains a Babylonian chronicle of the hitherto obscure years 616–609, which are the last years of Assyria; and "everything this chronicle relates is entirely new". In 616 we find Nabopolassar, "King of Accad," already at war with Sin-šar-iškun, his nominal overlord; a little later the Assyrian defence is strengthened by an Egyptian army. Mr. Gadd conjectures that the Egyptian policy was to support Assyria as a bulwark against the northern hordes—"Scythians" and the like. Throughout the period covered by the chronicle we find Egypt allied with Assyria. This reverses the accepted theory of the relation between the two powers at this time. In 614 the Medes besieged Nineveh and destroyed Aššur; Nabopolassar then entered into alliance with Cyaxares. In 612 the siege of Nineveh was *renewed* (evidently that of 614 had been discontinued) and after two or three months the city fell, in the month Ab, to the Medes, Babylonians (so! against some moderns), and Uman-Manda (corresponding to the Scythians of Herodotus and the Bactrians of Diodorus). Hitherto the great event has usually been dated 606. The three years' siege of Diodorus is disproved, but explicable as an inclusive reckoning from the abortive attempt in 614. The Assyrian king perished, apparently with his city, still agreeably with Greek tradition; but no details are found in the existing (defective) text. A contingent of the defenders escaped, and one Aššur-uballit established the kingdom of Assyria at Harran! In 610 Babylonians and Manda drove him (it seems) across the Euphrates; in 609 an Egyptian army joined him, and together they laid siege to Harran. The attempt to regain the new capital almost certainly failed.

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The chronicle breaks off in this year. Hebrew history takes up the story in the following (608), when according to 2 Kings xxiii, 29, as hitherto understood (I am not sure how Mr. Gadd interprets it), Pharaoh Nechoh "went up *against* the King of Assyria to the Euphrates". Since these kings were allies, we expect "went up *to*"; and this is sometimes the sense of *'alah 'al* (cf. also 2 Kings xxiv, 12).

Besides the above there is a good deal of Hebrew literature relating to the last days of Assyria, much of it contemporary. When re-explored in the light of the new chronicle, it may give some interesting results . . . Meanwhile, Mr. Gadd's editing of the document is admirably thorough.

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British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers I, 1923. Index of Hittite Names Section A. Geographical. Part I. Collated and edited in collaboration with the Director by L. A. Mayer, Ph.D. (Vindob), Inspector in the Department of Antiquities for Palestine. With Notes by John Garstang, M.A., B.Litt., D.Sc. (Oxon), Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$, 54 pp. London: Issued by the Council at 2 Hinde Street, 1923.

This valuable aid to a new science, and to all the archæologies of the Near East, will be gratefully welcomed. The geographical Index is to contain the names in the Hittite texts from Winckler's find at Boghaz-Keui, with a few Hittite names added for completeness or comparison from other sources, e.g. the Egypto-Hittite treaty of Hattušil III. It contains the different forms of each name, classified as Early, Middle, or Late; the references; and in many cases notes and identifications. In this part the names are derived—chiefly—from the texts which have been transcribed; later Part II will index such transcribed texts as have reached Jerusalem in the meanwhile. Notes discussing the identity of many sites are deferred until the evidence is more complete. These

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circumstances dispense the reviewer from any attempt to supplement the judicious work so far accomplished.

A map of "the eastern frontier of Ḫatti under the Later Empire" indicates some of the larger results. The kingdoms of Ḫatti, Kizzuwadna, Ḫarri, Gašga, and Arzawa would correspond approximately with Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and Greater Cilicia respectively.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A.D. 330 to 1922). By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. $8\frac{3}{4}\times6$, xvii+408 pp., 12 maps. London: Macmillan, 1923.

The scope of this opportune book is to outline succinctly the historical antecedents of those events which have "focussed the gaze of the world upon the unhappy Levant". (By the way, as to the point of departure, the dedication of Constantinople is now believed to have occurred in 324; see J. Maurice, Centenary of the *Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, p. 287.)

The work will hardly be useful to the Orientalist. In regard to things "Asiatic" we soon lose confidence in our author. The notice that Arabic words will be given in the most familiar forms may or may not justify *Sheik* and *Bagdad*; but surely the general reader is not assisted by, e.g., three different transcriptions of genealogical *bn*, and three each of the letters *ǧ* and *š*—including the exasperating word "Koraichites" (so regularly). Equally disconcerting is an argument from the existence of the Septuagint to the hellenization of *Syria* (p. 5); the statement that the Parthians and their kings were "Turanians" (6); that pre-Moslem Arabia for a thousand years feared *divs* (104); that the Yermuk flows into the sea of Tiberias (130); that Islamic law could not show to Zoroastrians the toleration granted to Peoples of the Book (146); and the etymologies, or suggestions of etymology,

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in *Elagabalus, a "Baal"* (9); *"Allah-Taala"—"God Almighty," the God of Ishmael and of Abraham* (105); "*Saracens*" (*desert-dwellers*) (106); the version "There is no Allah but Allah . . ." (109). Allusions to Oriental heresies, also, are sometimes reckless; as the references to speculation "whether Jesus Christ had one or two souls", to persecuted Monothelites before the Arab conquest, and to grievance against communion under one species before Cerularius.

However, it is quite probable that topics of more ordinary interest, and the later part of the history, are more accurately treated. In a second edition the book might be very useful to a large contemporary public. It is well arranged, and the story is clear and brisk.

E. Burrows.

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Fir-Flower Tablets: Poems translated from the Chinese by Florence Ayscough. English versions by Amy Lowell. 8 × 5, xcv + 227 pp. London: Constable, 1922.

The result of close collaboration between two women of culture and talent, this book must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. Mrs. Ayscough, who has lived many years in China, began by making some rough translations of Chinese poems with which to illustrate a course of lectures, and requested her friend Miss Lowell, of Boston, to put them into poetic shape. Miss Lowell, a writer of some distinction, was so fascinated by the poems that she wished to continue the work, and thus the present volume came into being. It must be freely recognized that this method of translating Chinese poetry has its dangers; for the spirit of poetry is elusive, and especially apt to evaporate if distilled through two minds instead of one. Yet, on the whole, the experiment has been surprisingly successful, even in the case of Li Po, whose brilliancy of diction is so hard to reproduce. No fewer than eighty-three of his poems are translated here, some for the first time. There are thirteen

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by Tu Fu, and three by Wang Wei; and about forty other authors are represented by one poem apiece.

Much though there is to admire in the volume, one cannot endorse, without qualification, the claim that these translations are "extraordinarily exact, they are poetry, and would be so though no Chinese poet had conceived them fourteen hundred years ago". In the first place, they are in prose, and moreover in prose which is seldom truly rhythmical. It is unfair to base any general judgment on isolated passages, but the name of poetry is hardly applicable, at any rate, to these opening lines of a stanza by Li Po:—

"In the attitude, and with the manner, of the woman of old,
Full of grief, she stands in the glorious morning light";

or to this by Tu Fu:—

"The poems of Po are unequalled.
His thoughts are never categorical, but fly high in the wind."

Nor should a translator of poetry carry the passion for literalness so far as to write: "We think of each other eternally. My heart and my liver are snapped in two." The Chinese idiom is one that cannot be transferred to English without a ludicrous effect.

Owing to the absence of exact references, it has only been possible to test the soundness of the translation in a few instances; these, however, seem to show that Mrs. Ayscough's share of the work has been done very conscientiously and well. But why is *ch'ing* invariably translated "green", even when applied as an epithet to heaven? Mrs. Ayscough has also contributed a long and cleverly written introduction, a number of useful notes, and the plan of a typical Chinese dwelling-house, with a key.

LIONEL GILES.

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# OBITUARY NOTICE

## René Basset

Our Society lost by the death of Professor René Basset on the 4th January this year one of its distinguished Honorary Members, and the world one of its greatest authorities on the Berber languages of North Africa. An indefatigable worker, it would require much space to enumerate all his works, many of which are scattered in the *Revue Africaine* and other journals. But it is not in his own works that we find all his labours; one needed only to mention that a certain scholar was intending to write upon a certain subject, and I always found him replying immediately, giving references from his valuable notes made during many years of research, and I believe I can assert that he guided many of his pupils to take up work, and we owe many books of the younger generation of French Orientalists to his inspiration.

Among his many writings on the Berber dialects are the following: *Manuel de la Langue Kabyle*, Paris, 1887; *Notes de Lexicographie Berbère*, Paris, 1883–7; *Contes Populaires Berbères*, Paris, 1887; *Nouveaux Contes Berbères*, Paris, 1897; *Le Dialecte de Syonah*, Paris, 1890; *Étude sur le Zenatia*, Paris, 1892; *Mission au Senegal, with a study of the Zenaga Berber dialect and the Ḥassaniyya Arabic of the Senegal.* Finally he published the materials for the study of the Tuareg language left by Pére de Foucauld, of which have appeared *Dictionaire Abregé Touarègue*, Alger, 1918–20, in two vols, 8vo, comprising 1440 pages, and the *Notes pour servir à un essaie de grammaire Touarègue*, Alger, 1920. He was occupied with the publication of the texts (tales, poems, etc.) in Tuareg, left by de Foucauld at the time of his death.

It was rather later in life that he began to publish works in Arabic, among which the "Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite" in the *Patrologia Orientalis* is perhaps the most important. The

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first half, containing the first six months of the Coptic year, has been published, comprising 890 pages of text and French translation, and Professor Basset was working on the remainder at the time of his death. I do not know if he was able to complete it, but in a letter shortly before his death he wrote me that he had a considerable amount of proofs to read. Interested in all appertaining to North Africa, he published the Arabic *Futuḥ-al Habasha*, an account of the temporary Muslim conquest of Abyssinia early in the sixteenth century, and he had in hand an edition of the *History of the Sūdān*, dealing principally with the conquest of Nigeria by the Sharifian Sultān al-Manṣūr. Destined for the use of students at the University of Algiers were his *Textes litteraires*, Alger, 1917, and an edition of the *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b ibn Zuhair, Alger, 1910. He was preparing an edition of the poems attributed to Majnūn Beni 'Āmir on the basis of all accessible manuscripts of the Dīwān, for which I collated the rather bad copy in the library of the India Office. The edition was to contain a study of the origin of this poet, who was probably never historical and to whom verses of many other poets are attributed. I fear this work was not advanced sufficiently to be published.

Considering his numerous official duties as Doyen de la Faculté de Lettres, it is amazing with what zeal Professor Basset was working untiringly right to the end, having always in view the widening of our horizon in the knowledge of the people of North Africa in particular.

If Science and our Society have lost one of its foremost scholars, I have lost a kind and ever helpful friend.

F. KRENKOW.

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# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–April, 1924)

## *Gifts*

The Duke of Sermoneta has presented vols. 3–8 of the *Annali dell' Islām*, 1910–18, and *Onomasticon Arabicum*, vols. 1 and 2, 1915. M. G. Coedès has presented *Bull. de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, T. 17, No. 2, which has been missing from the R.A.S. set; Mr. Beveridge, *William Carey*, by S. P. Carey; and Mr. D. Du B. Davidson, 13 volumes of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.*, a large number of unbound parts, Childers' *Pali-English Dictionary*, 1875, Carter's *English-Sinhalese Dictionary*, 1891, and Miller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, with a volume of plates, 1883.

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The following twenty-nine have been elected as members during the quarter:—

Mr. S. Barua.
Dr. S. K. Basu.
Mr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A.
Mr. G. H. Chandavarkar.
Mr. A. K. Chatterjee.
Mr. B. Das, B.A.
Mr. N. A. Das, B.A.
Maulvi Mohammad Din, B.A.
Mr. K. N. Dwera.
Mr. M. B. Hlaing, B.A.
Major O. Holstein.
Mr. O. W. McMillen.
Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.
Pandit K. Parshad, M.A.
Shrimati G. K. Parukutti-Amma.
B. Rajendra Sinha, Jagerdar of Jubbulpore.
Mr. M. G. Raju, L.M.E.
Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A.
Mr. S. H. Rizvi.
Mr. I. Rohman, B.A.
Mr. B. V. N. Roy, B.A., LL.B.
Kaviraj S. Roy, M.B.
Sriyukla M. N. B. Saraswati.
Dr. L. G. Sen, B.A., Ph.D.
Srijut S. Sharma.
S. M. P. Singh, Taluqdar of Khapradih.
Raja J. Singh, Feudatory Chief of Sarangarh.
Mr. S. Taylor.
Pandit M. Y. Wankhade.

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The following eleven have resigned :—

Lieut. C. C. Baker.
Major Cyprian Bridge.
Mr. Darnvalla.
Mrs. de Z. Elliot.
Mr. S. G. V. Fitzgerald.
Mr. A. T. Holme.
Mrs. L'Estrange Malone.
Mr. H. Proctor.
Rai Bahadur S. Prosada.
Rev. D. C. Simpson.
Mr. E. J. Wood.

The Society has lost by death one of its Honorary Members, Professor Réné Basset, also Miss Louise Kennedy and Mr. Lyon Thomson.

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*Lectures*

During the quarter Mrs. Ayscough, Mr. Grant Brown, and Father E. N. B. Burrows read interesting papers, a résumé of the first appearing in the January *Journal*.

Mr. Grant Brown's lantern lecture in February was entitled "Pictures of Burma". He first took his audience up the Chindwin, beginning with a Burmese town in the south and ending with the border of unadministered territory four hundred miles further up the river. He showed photographs of river scenery, of Burmese life and art, of border raiders, and of the head-man of a village in unadministered territory where human sacrifices were offered annually to the harvest-god. Then he took them to that curious survival in a Buddhist country, the pagan festival at Taungbyon, near Mandalay, with its tree-worship and images of the ancient gods, and ended with some photographs in natural colours taken by Mrs. Scherman, wife of Professor Scherman, of Munich, when on a tour of Burma in 1911. On the President's table were displayed a model of the Dragon of Tagaung (*JRAS.*, October, 1917) and one of the "Golden Boys" that originally guarded the slumbers of the Kings of Burma.

This is a résumé of Father Burrows' paper entitled "The Mythology of the Rivers of Babylonia".

The earliest myth of the Sumerian God Nimurta may be



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traced back to a prehistoric incident in the foundation of civilization in Iraq. This was the creation of the first dam on the Tigris and the invention of the same system of river control that has recently been re-introduced in Iraq. Elaborations of his achievement brought Nimurta to the rank of a great god. For instance, the contest with the river being in Sumerian epic a battle with wild beasts, he becomes god of war and of the chase. Nimurta appears probably in Genesis as Nimrod. The thesis was mainly founded on a recent work of P. Witzel and a suggestion of P. Deimel.

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The following books are wanted for the Library :—

China Branch R.A.S. Transactions. Pts. 5, 6, 7, 1855–9.

China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.

Hakluyt Society, Rundall, Collection of Early Documents on Japan.

Le Strange, Mesopotamia and Persia in 14th cent. A.D. from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi. As. Soc. Monographs, 1903.

Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6. Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12. New Ser., Vol. iii, Nos. 9, 10. Proceedings from the beginning.

Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.

Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. i, Nos. 2, 3. Vol. 2, No. 1.

Temple, Legends of the Panjab. Vol. iii.

Vienna Or. Journal. Vols. i, ii, and xxix, pts. 3, 4.

Zeits. der Deut. Mor. Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.

Zeits. für Assyriologie. Bd. xxii, pts. 3, 4.

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The remainder of Additions to the Library will appear in the July *Journal*.

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# PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

*The Gift of the late H. C. Fanshawe, I.C.S., retired*

An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years 1833–5 by E. W. Lane. London, 1890.

L'Art Chinois, par M. Paléologue. Paris, 1887.

L'Art Japonais, par L. Gonse. Paris.

Bijapur, the old Capital of the Adil Shahi Kings, by H. Cousens: Poona, 1889.

A Book of Water-colour Sketches of Indian Life.

British New Guinea, by J. P. Thomson. London, 1892.

The Buried Cities of Ceylon, by S. M. Burrows. 2nd ed. Colombo, 1894.

The Burman, his Life and Notions. by Shway Yoe. London, 1896.

Cairo, Sketches of its History, Monuments, and Social Life, by S. Lane-Poole. London, 1893.

The Canton Guide, compiled by Dr. Kerr. 4th ed. Hongkong, 1889.

Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784–1883. Calcutta, 1885.

China, by R. K. Douglas. 2nd ed. London, 1887.

The Cities of Egypt, by R. S. Poole. London, 1882.

China, the Long-lived Empire, by E. R. Scidmore. London, 1900.

Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas, by W. M. Conway. London, 1894.

Constable's Hand Atlas of India, prepared under direction of J. G. Bartholomew. Westminster, 1893.

Descriptions sommaire des Salles du Musée Égyptien, par Vicomte E. de Rougé. Nouvelle ed. refondue par P. Pierret. Paris, 1895.

Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum, by W. Anderson. London, 1886.

A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan, Letters from home to home, by Mrs. H. Fraser. 2 vols. London, 1899.

Durch Indien ins verschlossene Land Nepal. Ethnographische u. photographische Studienblätter von K. Boeck. Leipzig, 1903.

Egyptian Self-taught (Arabic), by C. A. Thimm. 2nd ed. London, 1898.

The Emir of Bokhara and his Country Journeys and Studies in

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Bokhara (with a chapter on my voyage on the Amu Darya to Khiva), by O. Olufsen. London, 1911.

European Settlements in the Far East. London, 1900.

Fans of Japan, by C. M. Salwey, with introduction by W. Anderson. London, 1894.

Feudal and Modern Japan, by A. M. Knapp. 2 vols. London, 1898.

Four Years in Upper Burma, by W. R. Winston. London, 1892.

Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, by L. Hearn. 2 vols. London, 1896.

The Gods of the Egyptians, or Studies in Egyptian Mythology, by E. A. W. Budge. 2 vols. London, 1904.

Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire, par G. Maspero. Le Caire, 1902.

A Guide to Constantinople, by D. Confopoulos, 3rd ed. London, 1902.

A Guide to Hongkong, with some remarks upon Macao and Canton, by W. Legge. Hongkong, 1893.

Guide to Japan, by Keeling. 4th ed., revised by A. Farsari. Yokohama, 1889.

A Guide to Sanchi, by Sir J. Marshall. Calcutta, 1918.

Hampi Ruins, described and illustrated by A. H. Longhurst. Madras, 1917.

A Hand-book of Benares, by Rev. A. Parker. Benares, 1895.

A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese, by B. H. Chamberlain. 2nd ed. London, 1889.

Handbook to Singapore, by Rev. G. M. Reith. Singapore, 1892.

Handy Guide Book to the Japanese Islands, by H. W. Seton Karr. London, 1888.

The Heart of Asia, by F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross. London, 1899.

Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, by Major T. W. Haig. Allahabad, 1907.

A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages, by S. Lane-Poole. London, 1901.

A History of Egypt under Roman Rule, by J. G. Milne. London, 1898.

A History of the Japanese People from the earliest times to the end of the Meiji Era, by Captain F. Brinkley, with the collaboration of Baron Kikuchi. London, 1914.

Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Hand-book, by K. Ogawa. Tokyo, 1894.

Illustrated Guide to India, by G. Hutton-Taylor. Calcutta.

An Incarnation of the Snow, translated from the original manuscript, by F. W. Bain. 3rd ed. London, 1913.

L'Inde des Rajahs, Voyage dans l'Inde Centrale, par L. Rousselet. 2e éd., 3 vols. Paris, 1877.

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